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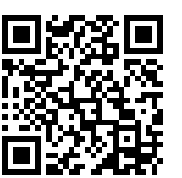

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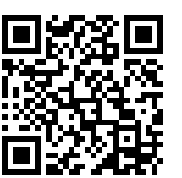

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The Journal of Theological Studies.

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NOTES AND STUDIES

INTELLECTUAL TOLERATION IN DANTE.

THE principles, the limits, and even the meaning of toleration seem almost to baffle definition. Were we to adopt as a likely point of departure the old Platonic distinction of knowledge and opinion, the way would at once become ambiguous. At first, perhaps, we might be disposed to argue that knowledge alone could justify coercion, inasmuch as it alone could claim the authority of truth. On the other hand, the very notion of 'orthodoxy', a term which again we inherit from Plato, is enough to point in the opposite direction. If certitude be indeed attainable by man, in mathematics or elsewhere, the failure of a few eccentric persons to enjoy it may be remedied by instruction, or dismissed with the plea of invincible ignorance. Dissenters of that kind will be subjects of laughter rather than of public reprobation; their destiny, at the worst, will be the asylum, not the dungeon or the stake. Opinion, as it now appears on second thoughts, becomes intolerable only when nothing better than opinion is to be had. The excuse for dogmatism, inquisition, and persecution is not knowledge but ignorance. Paradoxical as this version of the facts may sound, the explanation is partly to be found in the commonplace, that action in human affairs must often precede and outrun knowledge. The fabric of society rests at all times upon what men opine and believe, and the delicate task of 'authority' is to measure the limits within which heterodoxy may be licensed without entailing the risk of political disaster.

The Platonic antithesis of knowledge and opinion must, in any case, prove inadequate as soon as we begin to consider the position of the Church. The conception of 'faith', the claim to 'revelation', the formulation of a creed, and the gradual erection of a formidable ecclesiastical power were productive of difficulties, both intellectual and political, which had no real existence in the ancient world. Moreover, the demand for doctrinal orthodoxy by no means implied that the Church was guided only by opinion. Long before the ominous word 'infallibility' was inscribed on any banner, popes and councils were sustained by perfect confidence in the Divine illumination of their footsteps, to keep them in the highway of truth. And since it was upon

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this truth, absolute and final, that salvation depended, to tolerate the errors of heretics was to imperil the fate of immortal souls. What room, then, could be found, in a society thus constituted, either for a theory of toleration or for practical concessions to liberty of thought? Yet in human constructions, where speculation is complicated with practice, the empire of logic is never complete. In surveying the mediaeval structure we need not dwell overmuch on inconsistencies due to the mixture of better and worse in human motives. It is enough to remark one inevitable consequence of organizing the Church into a visible society with a claim to moral jurisdiction over all mankind. The more the ideal of a Christendom united at least in acknowledgement of a Divine law superior to all human enactments was realized, the more certain it became that heresy must rank as a political offence. Heresy, in other words, could scarcely fail to generate schism, and schism was a menace to the order and security which every ruler was bound to maintain. Modern theological disputes and sectarian divisions are, perhaps, more likely to confuse than to aid our interpretation of the Middle Ages. The cry of heresy may still enliven a Church newspaper or perplex a bishop, but it will not cause a riot in the University of Oxford, much less provoke the citizens to rush to arms. And again, even students of mediaeval history may be deceived by the prominence of the conflict between spiritual and secular power. It is easy to forget that the most bitter quarrels of popes and emperors were conducted without prejudice to the common hypothesis, that the business of all rulers was to defend the faith. So, too, the canonists and civil lawyers might often fall into antagonism; yet between them they fashioned but one philosophy of Jurisprudence, in which the validity of all human laws was made to depend on their derivation from the higher law, alternately described as natural and divine. If, then, it is true that the intolerance of the Middle Ages was no mere affront to liberty of speculation in a field beyond the range of politics, another aspect of the same truth will be that accusations of heresy, condemnations and acquittals, were often determined by the needs of the political situation; and this not only in the larger campaigns of kings and prelates, but in more restricted areas, such as the University of Paris. It is, in fact, impossible to pass a sober judgement on the fortunes of men like Abelard, or Roger Bacon, or even Thomas Aquinas, without a careful study of the factions among schools and teachers, the hostility of seculars to regulars, the mutual rivalry of religious orders, the division of students into 'nations', the conflict of 'faculties', and indeed the whole position of universities in relation to the life of the age.

The mere thought of so large a programme is enough to exclude it from a paper of moderate dimensions. It will be enough if the mention

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of these general considerations can serve as a preface to a brief visitation of Dante's mind, as revealed explicitly in some of his statements about philosophy, more obscurely in his treatment of certain historical persons who appear in the Divine Comedy. The story of his first attraction to philosophy Dante himself has briefly recounted. If the story is a little confused by his allegorical interpretation of the compassionate lady described in the latter part of the *Vita Nuova*, no doubts that we may feel about the true significance of that episode, or about the possible allusion to it in the reproaches of Beatrice, need disturb our estimate of the poet's general position. It may be true, as some have conjectured, that his enthusiasm for the triumphs of human reason was at one time extravagant, and that afterwards he was more inclined to dwell on the limitations of Virgil, as compared with the heavenly wisdom of Beatrice. The evidence for that opinion is not, however, decisive. It is hard to point to anything in the *Convivio* that calls for recantation on any ground of principle: enthusiasm for philosophy is still conspicuous in the *Divina Commedia*, so that even in the supreme moment of ecstasy, at the close of the *Paradiso*, one of the secrets revealed is the relation of substance to accident, a philosophical mystery, if we please so to call it, but a rather strange companion to the loftier mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation. On the whole, I can find no definite evidence that Dante ever moved very far from the attitude towards human reason that a disciple of St Thomas might be expected to assume.

To call Dante a disciple of St Thomas is no misuse of language. For though he would never have ranked any modern teacher with Aristotle and the ancients, his own Aristotelianism, and indeed his whole method of handling philosophy, agrees so nearly with Thomist principles that the glorification of St Thomas in the *Paradiso* is only the magnificent confession of an evident debt. Now the work of St Thomas, in one of its clearest aspects, bore directly upon the question of toleration. For his whole defence of philosophy, his plea for liberty of thought, as we may fairly style it, was based on a division of provinces between faith and reason, and on his firm conviction that between the two there could be no essential discrepancy. This *duplex veritatis modus*, as he called it, though it could have no existence in the Divine understanding, was a necessary accident of man's finite mind. Certain doctrines peculiar to the Church could be neither proved nor disproved; they were matters of faith, yet not of credulity, since personal acceptance of them implied a genuine illumination of the mind. How, then, did the separation of this theological province from the philosophical affect the exercise of 'authority' and the demand for an orthodox profession of faith? In the sphere proper to reason the appeal to authority could

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only be a *locus infirmissimus*: there was no philosophical orthodoxy, and no ground for disciplinary measures against the recalcitrant. But did it follow that no question of heresy could arise in relation to truths demonstrable by reason? Unfortunately the situation was not so simple as that. The power of reasoning philosophically is confined to the few, and even those few must await the arrival of intellectual maturity. Meanwhile it may be essential to salvation that certain truths, in themselves demonstrable by reason, should be believed by all. Thus the existence and unity of God, or the personal immortality of man, were, in the opinion of St Thomas, not beyond demonstration. But the arguments were high and difficult, incomprehensible to the majority, whereas the need of embracing these truths was imperative for all. It followed that there must, in practice, be some overlapping between the propositions discoverable by reason and the articles of Christian belief. Nor, again, would it be legitimate, merely because the being of God was demonstrable, to deny His being on philosophical grounds. The negative arguments might be refuted philosophically, but the conclusion itself no Christian could lawfully defend. Hence it would not be a wholly unfair account of St Thomas's position to say that philosophers were at liberty to debate the problem, but were only allowed to arrive at one conclusion. Whether that criticism be adequate or not, we shall at least be right in attributing the gravest importance to the actual overlapping of conclusions at once established by reason and demanded by faith. It was precisely within this ambiguous territory that the most conspicuous disturbances of the thirteenth century arose. No one then proposed, with any hope of general support, to deny the Virgin Birth or the Resurrection of Christ. On the other hand, to maintain that philosophy (represented for the moment by Aristotle) discountenanced belief in personal immortality or freedom of the will was both possible and frequent. Still worse was it when a sophistical attempt was made to mend the situation by declaring that the same propositions might be false in philosophy, yet true as matters of faith. Nothing exasperated St Thomas so deeply as this parody of his own position: nothing, perhaps, could persuade him, despite his ample charity, that a man could sincerely combine the profession of faith with the assertion that his unaided reason would have led him to an infidel conclusion. Whether so painful a distraction of mind may not in fact be possible we need not stay to enquire. That one with the clear and candid judgement of St Thomas should have doubted it will at least be readily understood.

Now Dante was far removed from the station and career of Aquinas. He was not a professed theologian; he was never called upon to advise a pope about the licensing of Aristotle, or to compose an alarming faction in the University of Paris. Yet the character of his poem

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gives him an unexampled opportunity of anticipating, if one may so express it, the judgements of God. His own faith and his protestation of orthodoxy are plainly declared on his pages. Were he convinced, then, that any notorious person was heretical, and should he think fit to encounter the delinquent in course of his pilgrimage, we should certainly expect the meeting to take place in Hell. At the same time, we learn from definite examples that Dante sometimes contrived to place the figures of his Comedy in positions scarcely justified by their moral or doctrinal past. Thus is Cato found on the shore of Purgatory; thus is Manfred credited with a deathbed repentance, and Statius with a secret conversion to the faith; thus is Rhipeus exalted, on the wings of a Virgilian epithet, to the joys of Paradise. None of these, however, can properly be styled heretics; and what I wish to enquire more particularly is whether there are any cases in which Dante appears to be moved by the spirit of toleration, or at least by intellectual sympathy, to better the *status post mortem* of men technically qualified as heretics for one of the infernal circles.

There are, in fact, some three or four cases susceptible of this interpretation; but, before proposing any names for discussion, it will be worth while to glance at such evidence as Dante provides in his writings of his general aptitude for toleration or for the opposite temper. It is obvious, in the first place, that Dante did not set up to be an original thinker, or even an independent critic of philosophies already established in fame. There is, indeed, the rather puzzling claim to originality at the beginning of the *Monarchia*, but that particular treatise scarcely affects our main enquiry. The *Convivio* is his most considerable essay in philosophical exposition, and the *Convivio* combines the ardour of a missionary with the modesty of an amateur. 'Blessed are those few', he says, 'who sit at the table and eat the food of angels'; but he is not himself one of these. He is but 'a picker up of learning's crumbs', one who has fled from the pastures of the vulgar and now is moved by compassion to prepare for those left behind so much of the better food as they can hope to digest. Approaching his task in this spirit, Dante not unnaturally displays a respect for authority, especially that of Aristotle, which almost amounts to passive obedience. The supreme Philosopher is clothed in *venerabilis auctoritas*; as *maestro e duca* of human reason, as the consummate exponent of his craft, he is most worthy of faith and obedience. In his historical (or unhistorical) retrospect of the ancient schools Dante regards them all as superseded or absorbed by the Peripatetics, whose teaching, he says, now dominates the world, and may almost be styled the *cattolica opinione*. Thus, to judge by his explicit statements, and to some extent by his practice, Dante goes far nearer than St Thomas to uncritical acceptance of Aristotle's teaching; partly

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because the work of St Thomas had actually established the pre-eminence of Aristotle, but still more, perhaps, because the genius of Dante belonged to poetry, while in philosophical construction and criticism he possessed no exceptional gifts. The implications of his deference to Aristotle require, however, to be carefully examined. He does not think it necessary, as might be expected, to prove the supremacy of one philosophy by vigorous refutation of others. The point is rather that Aristotle is the arch-representative of a profession in which all the reputed teachers are worthy of honour. The Master, as we see him in the *Inferno*, sits in the midst of the *filosofica famiglia*, and receives the homage of his extremely various assessors. Their differences are forgotten; their common pursuit of knowledge remembered. In like manner, Dante himself, when he discusses varieties of philosophical doctrine, is more disposed to dwell on their several merits than to expose the falsity of all but one. When, for example, he reviews the ethical schools of antiquity, not only do Zeno, Socrates, and Plato receive honourable mention, but even Epicurus is treated politely and dismissed without rebuke. A brief explanation of Hedonism is offered, and an illustrious Roman who followed that way of life is named. In other passages we find a still more striking expression of this general toleration. Thus, after recounting (*Conv.* iv 21. 25 sqq.) the various opinions about the human soul bequeathed by Avicenna, Algazel, Pythagoras, and Plato, Dante makes the following comment: 'if each were here to defend his own opinion, it may be that the truth would be seen to be contained in all. But since, at first sight, they appear to be a little remote from the truth, it is expedient to proceed, not according to them, but according to the veracious opinion of Aristotle and the Peripatetics.' In the same spirit, but with a still bolder thought of reconciliation, he declares in *Conv.* iii 14. 133 sqq. that by means of the three theological virtues 'si sale a filosofare a quella Atene celestiale, dove gli Stoici e Peripatetici ed Epicurei, per l'arte della Verità eterna, in un volere concordevolmente concorrono'. The admission of Epicureans to the celestial Athens does not, it is true, agree with a passage in the *Inferno* which will presently be considered, but the conception of a final harmony between the three great rival schools is none the less remarkable. Remarkable we may fairly call it, yet, on the whole, it is not surprising. For Dante only expresses the prevailing tendency of his age. The entire dialectical movement, from the lean antitheses of Abelard to the massive 'objections' and responsions of Aquinas is a movement towards reconciliation. As in the systematizing of Canon Law Gratian reveals his intention by his very title, *Concordantia discordantium Canonum*, so in the grander edifice of the *Summa Theologica* St Thomas incorporates materials drawn from every Pagan and Christian source, resolving con-

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tradictions and healing old antagonisms by the purifying alchemy of his critical art. Moreover, this steady progress towards the formation of a *cattolica opinione* in philosophy was assisted by historical transformations going deeper than the conscious effort of any individual writer. Although St Thomas himself was bent on disentangling the real Aristotle from distorting accretions and perverse interpretations, neither he nor any of his contemporaries could escape the influence of Neo-Platonism, or pierce beyond the colours imparted to ancient philosophy by the manifold new lights of Christianity, and even by the oblique illumination of Islam. The result of this general intellectual tendency upon Dante's work is easily discerned. Despite his avowed and sincere allegiance to Aristotle, I venture to doubt whether Aristotelianism is really the determining element in the composition of his mind. On many definite occasions, usually when he is making some deliberate appeal to argument, he does invoke the philosopher's authority. But in his maturest work, when he had moved far beyond the rather naïve enthusiasm of the *Convivio*, the texture interwoven of philosophy and poetry is of Platonist rather than of Aristotelian quality. To quote but one example, the doctrine of the diffusion of the Divine goodness, which permeates the structure of the *Paradiso*, has nothing to do with Aristotle. It comes from Dionysius 'the Areopagite' and from the *Liber de Causis*; or, in other words, it descends by two independent channels from Proclus, and thus is derived from Plotinus or, more remotely, from Plato himself. Facts such as these are no evidence of a calculated policy; nor can we speak of toleration, save in a very general sense, when no immediate question of orthodoxy is involved. Nevertheless, it remains true that the tendency, conscious or unconscious, to embrace in one vast synthesis the divers aspects of truth revealed by philosophies ostensibly conflicting was active in the moulding of Dante's mind. Hence the right hypothesis with which to approach his treatment of philosophical heretics is that he would always be disposed to give them the benefit of the doubt.

Armed with this charitable assumption, let us now inspect the specific facts that call for remark. And first of all, is anything to be learned from the circle of the Heretics, adorned by the magnificent Farinata, whose contempt for most of his neighbours unfortunately forbids him to honour them with names? A similar reticence is preserved by Dante himself as represented by Virgil. At the end of the ninth canto of the *Inferno* the 'heresiarchs of every sect' are mentioned collectively, and at the beginning of the eleventh we have the name of him who led Pope Anastasius astray, but without specification of the error. The tenth canto deals with only one group, Epicurus and his followers, who are condemned for asserting the mortality of the soul. If a suggestion

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that I have made elsewhere be correct, Dante's reason for this strange selection of an ancient philosopher as the single named representative of heresy was his desire to make the whole scheme of the *Inferno* appropriate to Virgil's condition. He could not wholly omit the sin of heresy, but he could give it a Pagan flavour by enrolling the Sadducees of his own age in the sect of Epicurus. The implied exclusion of the Epicureans from the 'celestial Athens', wherein the more hopeful theory of the *Convivio* had promised them a home, need not be taken to signify any definite change in Dante's position. Denial of immortality had consequences too grave to be disregarded; and if heresy, as a sin of the intellect, was somehow to be presented in ancient dress, no better device was open to Dante than to derive a doctrine incompatible with Christianity from a Pagan source. To slay the soul with the body was, as we know, a heinous offence in Dante's eyes. In *Conv.* ii 9. 49 sqq. he denounces it as the most brutish form of stupidity, and we may note, in that context, that he affirms the general consent of all philosophers in teaching some doctrine of immortality. No mention of Epicurus as an exception is made; which again suggests that in the *Inferno* Dante sacrificed this one ancient philosopher only because he saw no other means of depicting heresy in a form agreeable to Virgil's status and knowledge.

We cannot, however, expect to learn so much from those actually classed as heretics as from those who might be but are not. In this latter category the *Inferno* supplies two examples, Averroes and Avicenna; while in the *Paradiso* we have Joachim of Flora and Siger, the notorious Brabantine, described, to the astonishment of posterity, by St Thomas himself as one who 'syllogized invidious truths'. Avicenna and Averroes, though not of equal importance, will naturallly be classed together. Both were Mohammedans, both interpreters of Aristotle, both, in some measure, opponents of the Christian faith. With what right, then, do they appear in the Limbo of the unbaptized, who were innocent of mortal sin? They cannot plead infancy; they did not live *dinanzi al Cristianesmo*; they knew of the Christian faith and deliberately refused to accept it. To assume that Dante would naturally rank them with Pagans like Virgil and Aristotle is to misunderstand the mediaeval attitude towards Islam. Mohammedans were heretics, or at least schismatics, and Dante's agreement with this common estimate is proved by the situation of the Prophet himself, who is placed with the schismatics for no other possible reason but that he had divided the religious empire belonging of right to the Church. Moreover Averroes, not content with hostility to the Christian and, for that matter, to the Mohammedan faith, was the author of a deadly schism within the Peripatetic school. If Ali, Mohammed's son-in-law, was to be condemned

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for dividing his own household of faith, why not Averroes, who had brought discord and faction into the Aristotelian camp, so that St Thomas was moved to say of him, *non tam fuit Peripateticus quam philosophiae Peripateticae depravator* (*De Unit. Int. contra Averr.*)? He it was, as Dante knew very well, who had preached the doctrine of the soul least compatible with the Christian assertion of responsibility before and after death. In a word, there was every reason for banishing Averroes to the company of Mohammed, or possibly of Farinata; and no excuse whatever for associating him with the sages who lived before the advent of Christ, except that he was the author of the great commentary and, for all his errors, an Aristotelian of almost unrivalled fame. The artistic propriety of joining him to Aristotle's *filosofica famiglia* is obvious enough; but it is somewhat remarkable that Dante, ignoring the judgement of St Thomas, should treat him, not as the corrupter, but as the great exponent of Peripatetic truth.

Since the greater includes the less, the case of Avicenna need not detain us. There remain the two questionable inhabitants of Paradise, both encountered by Dante in the heaven of the Sun. The Abbot of Flora's reputation for saintliness and prophetic insight doubtless outweighed, in common esteem, the formal condemnation of his teaching. Nevertheless, he was in some sense the originator of the heresy of the Eternal Gospel, and his works had been banned in 1260, some fifty-eight years after his death. More significant, perhaps, in relation to Dante, was the earlier repudiation of him at the fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Joachim had written a tract, no longer extant, in which he indicted no less a person than Peter the Lombard for heresy in Trinitarian doctrine. The Council, however, upheld the *Magister Sententiarum*, and condemned his critic. St Thomas afterwards wrote a comment upon this decision and observed that Joachim, being only *rudis* in the subtleties of doctrine, had misrepresented the Lombard's meaning. Some of these details may have been unknown to Dante, but it is interesting to find that he places the former antagonists in the same heaven. They are not in immediate conjunction, for it was natural, in view of their different modes of thought, to associate Joachim with Bonaventura, and Peter with Aquinas. Yet in the scene described in *Paradiso* xii the two circles of saintly doctors are closely surrounding Dante, in the perfect harmony of the celestial Athens.

In passing from Joachim to the more disputable case of Siger we may begin by observing a small, but possibly significant, point of resemblance. It is that both are mentioned last in the lists of names recited severally by Aquinas and Bonaventura. If not merely accidental, this seems to throw a certain emphasis on their presence, as though Dante, instead of slipping his dubious cases into the middle of a catalogue, were

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determined to allow them a special prominence. Be that as it may, the transformation of the discredited and once infamous Averroist into *l' eterna luce di Sigieri* cannot, at first sight, be other than surprising. Why Dante should have ventured upon this hazardous beatification the commentators have been much exercised to discover. That he was himself tainted with Averroism, and therefore anxious to proclaim its fallen champion a martyr in the cause of truth, is an untenable hypothesis. Not only is the whole character of his Aristotelianism opposed to that suggestion, but in *Purg.* xxv 62–66 he deliberately puts into the mouth of Statius a refutation of the Averroist heresy about the soul:

> Quest' è tal punto
> Che più savio di te fe' già errante;
> Sì che, per sua dottrina, fe' disgiunto
> Dall' anima il possibile intelletto,
> Perchè da lui non vide organo assunto.

And further, since it is St Thomas himself who pays the tribute to Siger in *Par.* x, we should have to suppose that the saint was making a kind of recantation, and confessing that, after all, it was Siger who had interpreted Aristotle aright. To call this incredible is scarcely to say too much. What alternatives, then, remain? So far as I know, the only current explanation plausible enough to deserve serious criticism is simply that Dante was ignorant of the facts. If he was unacquainted with the nature of Siger's teaching, and if, perhaps, he had picked up some romantically inaccurate account of the man, the translation of him to Paradise would be intelligible. This suggestion acquires, too, a certain colour of possibility from the fact that William of Tocco, pupil and biographer of St Thomas, makes notable blunders about Siger's career, and appears to couple him with William of St Amour, who had disturbed Paris by attacking the religious orders, but had no connexion whatever with Averroism. If the good William could thus go astray, why not Dante likewise? The question is fair and not without force. Nevertheless I shall reject it as an evasion, and shall venture to advance the opposite hypothesis, that Dante was familiar with all the important facts, and consequently that his reconciliation of the heretical Aristotelian with St Thomas was perfectly deliberate, yet perfectly free from any insinuation that St Thomas himself had erred.

First of all, then, is it a tenable opinion that Dante was misled by ignorance? Given that William of Tocco, and also the early commentators, are hazy about Siger's teaching, it by no means follows that Dante was in the same predicament. William was a careless historian, and the commentators were mostly devoid of that acute interest in philosophy which Dante so clearly betrays. The mere fact of Siger's appearance in the Divine Comedy is enough to prove, at least, that he

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was, in Dante's eyes, a person of note. For what is it that Cacciaguida says to Dante in *Par.* xvii 136 sqq.?

Però ti son mostrate in queste rote,
Nel monte, e nella valle dolorosa,
Pur l'anime che son di fama note.

Dante's steadfast adherence to this principle will scarcely be disputed. Hence, if he decided to make room for Siger on his canvas, we can be certain, not indeed that the portrait was lifelike, but that the original was famous, and also that the fame was of a kind to appeal to Dante. On no other hypothesis is it conceivable that the eternal light of the Brabantine should have been eulogized by St Thomas himself. With this much established, we may proceed to estimate the chances of Dante being accurately informed. Siger did not belong to ancient history; on the contrary, he died at Orvieto when Dante was not less than sixteen, and possibly as much as eighteen or nineteen years old. Assuming too, as is reasonable, that he came straight to Italy when he fled from Paris in 1277, he had been living in the country for at least four or five years before he fell a victim to the knife of a crazy clerk. He may even have passed through Florence on his way to the papal court; or, at least, it would be surprising if Dante, in his wanderings through Italy, had never met with any one who had known the unhappy exile and heard his own version of his misfortunes. Incidentally, one may risk the suggestion that Dante, who had tasted the bitter salt of exile, was touched with pity for one condemned to drag out weary years in a foreign land. This would well account for the description of Siger as a spirit:

che in pensieri
Gravi a morir gli parve venir tardo (*Par.* x 134 sq.)

The crucial question, however, is whether Dante understood the character of Siger's doctrines and the reason for the ban pronounced on him at Paris. Certainly there is no proof that he did, but, once more, I believe, it would be very surprising if he did not. For the act of authority which swept away Siger and the Averroists was no trifling incident. It was embodied in a document containing no less than 219 'distinct damnations'; it reverberated, as we know, in Oxford; it brought Albertus Magnus back to Paris from Cologne; it stimulated literature and encouraged Ramon Lull to write a book glorifying the 219 propositions as the death-knell of philosophers who claimed independence of theology; it was taken up by the Inquisitor of France, who, not satisfied with the episcopal action, indicted Siger and Boethius of Dacia for the crime of heresy in the realm of France. And though all this happened in Dante's lifetime, we are asked to believe that he endowed the villain of the piece with eternal bliss without ever troubling

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to discover the character of his opinions. And again: Dante learnt his philosophy, as he tells us, 'in the schools of the religious'; which, in all probability, would mean that he sat under Dominican masters. Now the Dominicans, as we shall presently see, were directly affected by the 219 propositions, and were vitally concerned to declare their own position in relation to them. There was constant movement in those days between one educational centre and another. Like Aquinas himself, a teacher would go from Italy to Paris, and then, a few years later, would return to Italy; so that the absence of railways, telegrams, and newspapers was quite compatible with the rapid circulation of ideas. I find it impossible, therefore, to believe that Dante lacked either opportunity or inclination to acquaint himself with the doctrines of one whom he proposed to place in so grand a constellation in the heaven of the Sun. That he had actually read Siger's *De Anima Intellectiva* is, I think, improbable; that he had read the answer to it by St Thomas is possible but uncertain; that he was so ignorant of the whole affair as inadvertently to unite the two protagonists of the controversy in the same heavenly mansion is almost beyond belief. He did it, I feel perfectly convinced, on purpose: it only remains to ask—why? Broadly speaking, it was, I believe, for the same reason that induced him to prophecy a final reconciliation of Stoics, Epicureans, and Peripatetics in the light of the Eternal Truth. Beatrice herself does not discourage this hopeful anticipation when she offers a charitable interpretation of Plato's apparent error about the return of souls to the stars (*Par.* iv 58). And when she notes the lack of uniformity in human teaching—

> Voi non andate giù per un sentiero
> Filosofando— (*Par.* xxix 85).

she adds that, in Heaven, such diversity is counted more tolerable than neglect or perversion of the Scriptures. As regards Beatrice, however, the point to remember is that she represents the Divine Wisdom, for which there is, as St Thomas says, no *duplex veritatis modus*. In other words, she recognizes no distinction between theological and philosophical truth; and hence it is natural for her to mention the errors of Parmenides and Melissus in the same breath with the heresies of Arius and Sabellius (*Par.* xiii 125). Dante's position is different. He has only to consider whether Siger's false interpretation of Aristotle was compatible with his profession of the Christian faith. For further light on this question we must examine the career of Siger, so far as it is known, and the particular circumstances of his expulsion from Paris.

His name is unknown to history until the year 1266, but the events of his life must be interpreted by the whole story of Aristotelianism at Paris during a period of about seventy years, a story which clearly illustrates the political character of intellectual struggles. The reading

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of Aristotle at Paris was prohibited in the years 1210, 1215, 1231, and 1263. The earlier edicts were only local, and we gather that at Toulouse, in 1229, the study could be freely pursued. In fact, it was not until 1245 that Gregory IX's prohibition of 1231 was extended to Toulouse. Meanwhile the University of Paris soon ceased to take these pronouncements seriously. In 1252 the *De Anima* was officially recognized, and in 1255 the Faculty of Arts prescribed virtually the whole of the Aristotelian canon as part of the regular course. Now it was precisely in this period, from 1252 onwards, that St Thomas was studying and teaching at Paris; and whether or no he actually read the text of Aristotle in public, it is certain that he taught the Aristotelian doctrines, in spite of the papal command. Still more interesting, therefore, is the prohibition of 1263 by Urban IV. For at that time St Thomas was teaching at the papal court, and was collaborating with William of Moerbeka for the production of better translations. Why, then, did Urban seize this moment to inhibit Aristotle at Paris? There is no definite evidence, but the answer I should give with some confidence is that the virtual author of the manifesto was St Thomas himself. That Urban should not have consulted him is incredible, while the action which I conjecturally ascribe to St Thomas could be justified by two good reasons; first, that they were preparing a kind of authorized version in Italy, and wished to suspend inferior interpretations until it was ready; secondly, that the factions at Paris, due partly to the rise of Averroism, were threatening serious disturbances. Not in 1263 alone, but at every important date in the romance of Aristotle at Paris, it is tolerably clear that variations in the official attitude had remarkably little to do with any general principle of toleration or intolerance. Some of the decisions were governed by considerations of university discipline and public order; while all of them, probably, can be traced in some degree to the rivalry of the old school and the new, the Augustinians or Platonists on one side, the Aristotelians on the other, either of whom might succeed in getting the ear of the Pope. Now the great trouble about Averroism was that it brought a new perplexity into the campaign. Its partisans were more royalist than the king; they were fanatical Aristotelians, and thus far allies of the Dominican masters. On the other hand, they threatened to ruin the whole cause of Peripateticism by insisting that doctrines plainly incongruous with the faith were upheld by Aristotle and only to be rejected on the ground of revelation. Nothing could have helped the reactionary party more than this. The dangers of the new philosophy were now visibly exposed; the seculars were provided with a new weapon against the regulars; in fact, nothing could save the Aristotelian fortress but the expulsion from within of part of the garrison.

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At what date this Parisian Averroism first became prominent is uncertain. In 1256 Albertus Magnus wrote, by invitation of Alexander IV, his tract *De Unitate Intellectus contra Averroem*, but it was the Master rather than contemporary disciples that he attacked. Fourteen years later there was a crisis at Paris, and between these dates, in 1266, Siger appears on the scene. Nothing is yet heard of his doctrines; all we learn is that he was a turbulent fellow, involved in a riot against the French 'nation' of students, and accused of a mild assault on a respectable canon. He must, however, have begun already his career as a teacher; for only four years later the first condemnation of Averroism took place, and Siger was then in the foreground. His treatise *De Anima Intellectiva* was probably in circulation, and St Thomas replied to it in the same year, 1270, with his masterpiece of controversial writing, the *De Unitate Intellectus contra Averroistas*. The crisis evidently was serious. The return of St Thomas to Paris in 1268, or early in 1269, was due to the gravity of the situation, and about the same time an appeal was sent to Albertus Magnus to express his opinion on the truth or falsity of fifteen suspect propositions. He replied in the tract *De Quindecim Problematibus*, lately published by Mandonnet, and we find that thirteen of the fifteen were identical with the propositions authoritatively condemned in 1270. The other two are of peculiar interest, because they appear, though not very distinctly, to express opinions maintained by St Thomas; which shews that an attempt, unsuccessful on this occasion, was made to implicate the Dominican teaching with the errors of Averroism. The renewal of this project on a larger scale in 1277 will presently be considered. But first we must briefly inspect the two treatises on the Intellect which express the opposed contentions of Siger and Aquinas. The technicalities of the problem, and the comparative merits of the rival interpretations of Aristotle it will be needless to discuss, so long as the general tone and basis of the controversy are sufficiently understood.

Siger's *De Anima Intellectiva* is the work of an able man, with no small talent for presenting a case. At the request of his friends, he says, he will propose certain questions about the soul, and will explain *quid sentiendum sit secundum documenta philosophorum probatorum, non aliquid ex nobis asserentes* . . . After a few pages of argument, he observes that *praecipui viri in philosophia, Albertus et Thomas* maintain certain opinions, which in fact *deficiunt ab intentione philosophi, nec intentum determinant*. Proceeding to refute them, he declares that his sole business is to expound the meaning of the philosophers, especially of Aristotle, *etsi forte Philosophus senserit aliter quam veritas se habeat, et per revelationem aliqua de anima tradita sint quae per rationes*

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naturales concludi non possunt. He is not, he adds, enquiring *de Dei miraculis*, but *de naturalibus naturaliter.* So again, a page or two later, he gives what he believes to be the *sententia Philosophi*, but allows that, if the philosopher's view is opposed to the *sententia Catholicae fidei*, the latter is to be preferred. Towards the end of the treatise, after debating some difficult points, he says that, after hesitating for so long, *quid via rationis naturalis in praedicto problemate sit tenendum, et quid senserit Philosophus*, he has come to the conclusion that the only way is to adhere to the faith, *quae omnem rationem humanam superat.*

Now Siger may have been an impostor, an atheist, or what you will. The secrets of his conscience must elude us; not even to his contemporaries can they have been fully disclosed. As the treatise stands, it is impossible to brand it as heretical; for it professes to demonstrate only one thing, the incompatibility of certain Aristotelian doctrines with the Catholic faith. Moreover, this conclusion, when accompanied by the author's repeated protestations of orthodoxy, must have placed Aquinas in a very awkward position. For he was himself by no means committed to the infallibility of Aristotle, and with regard to some other matters, not connected with the analysis of the soul, he had pointed out the discrepancy between Aristotle and the faith, and had argued that Aristotle was wrong. The difference was, however, that in those cases St Thomas was prepared to differ from Aristotle on philosophical grounds, while Siger clearly implied that Aristotle represented the verdict of reason, which could only be corrected by faith. Not unnaturally, therefore, St Thomas was roused to vigorous opposition. To accept Siger's view was, in the first place, to strike a blow at the study of Aristotle; and, secondly, to allow that, in at least one vital respect, faith and reason were antagonistic. In his answer to Siger he writes, as always, with gravity and restraint, yet with a scarcely concealed scorn of his opponent's pretended erudition, rising at the end to a defiant note of challenge. If the man has anything to say, let him come out into the open. *Non loquatur in angulis, nec coram pueris, qui nesciunt de causis arduis iudicare, sed contra hoc scriptum scribat, si audet.* In spite of his exasperation, and in spite of his evident disbelief in Siger's profession of faith, St Thomas, like a true dialectician, is ready to argue on the ground chosen by his adversary. It is not our business, he says, to shew that the aforesaid opinion about the soul is repugnant to the Christian faith, for that is obvious, but only to prove that it is *non minus contra philosophiae principia quam contra fidei documenta.* Conforming strictly to this principle, he refrains from appealing to authority of any kind; and when he has shewn that Averroism is unfaithful to the Aristotelian tradition he is careful to

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add the statement: *hoc autem praemisimus, non quasi volentes philosophorum auctoritatibus reprobare supra positum errorem, sed ut ostendamus quod non solum Latini . . . sed etiam Graeci et Arabes hoc senserunt.* Siger, in fact, had claimed the support of tradition, but St Thomas is able, by his superior learning, to disallow the claim. It is not authority alone that refutes the Averroists. They destroy the principles of moral authority; they deny the existence of personal responsibility, and then profess to hold to it *propter revelationem fidei*; whereas the truth is, says St Thomas, that, far from following reason, they are striving *contra manifeste apparentia.*

Such, then, was the character of this remarkable controversy; and no better refutation could be found of the popular fallacy, that in the Middle Ages an appeal to reason was always met with an appeal to force. All the more instructive is it to examine the gesture of authority which did in this same year, 1270, condemn the thirteen Averroist propositions already mentioned. Whence did it originate, and what was its effect? For my own part, I decline to believe that St Thomas had anything to do with an act so foreign to his own genius as the forcible suppression of a rival philosopher. The chief point, however, is that the judgement upon Averroism in 1270 proceeded in fact from Étienne Tempier, once Chancellor of the University, and thereafter Bishop of Paris. Now Tempier was no mere critic of Averroism. He detested the whole school of Aristotelians, or detested them, perhaps, because they were mostly Dominicans; and his comment upon the arguments of St Thomas would probably have been, *Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis.* It is important, therefore, to bear in mind that, if ever Siger was convicted of heresy, St Thomas, so far as we know or can reasonably conjecture, had nothing to do with it. Moreover, to speak of conviction of heresy in relation to the year 1270 would be wholly inaccurate. For one of the most obvious facts is that Tempier's demonstration had no serious effect. Not only did Siger remain in Paris for another seven years, but the teaching of Averroism must have steadily continued; for otherwise the greater crisis of 1277 would lose most of its meaning. Now in 1272 St Thomas was recalled to Italy, and in 1274 he died. Hence we can assert with confidence that, during the lifetime of his most eminent antagonist, Siger had never been condemned for heresy, but had merely suffered the *brutum fulmen* of an episcopal rebuke. St Thomas may or may not have believed him to be heretical, but he treated him only as a muddle-headed Aristotelian, who defended reason on irrational grounds.

And now for the events of 1277. The denunciation of the famous 219 propositions is aptly described by Mandonnet as 'the condemnation of Peripateticism'. The *praecipui viri in philosophia*, as Siger had styled

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them, were no longer to be feared. Thomas was dead, and Albert was growing old in Germany. And so the Bishop of Paris, our same friend Étienne Tempier, judged that the hour for launching a more imposing thunderbolt had arrived. Though many of the 219 propositions are clearly Averroist, modern scholars have discovered at least twenty which belong to the teaching of St Thomas. Personally I feel some doubt about the details, for most of the statements are so brief and so devoid of commentary that their exact implication remains uncertain. No doubt was felt in Paris, however, that the Peripatetic cause was in jeopardy, and in Oxford that fact was still more manifest. Tempier and Kilwardby (himself, strangely enough, a Dominican) were probably in collaboration; and, since Thomism did not flourish at Oxford so strongly as at Paris, it was possible there to condemn even the 'unity of substantial forms', a doctrine steadfastly upheld by St Thomas. The condemnation of 1277 was, in fact, no authoritative decision of the Church, but the high-handed act of a turbulent bishop, proceeding from a plot hatched in Oxford and Paris. Pope John XXI had sent to Tempier for a report on the doctrinal situation; but Tempier, without wasting time on reports, seized the opportunity to strike. In earlier years protests against his arbitrary actions had been made at the papal court, and now once more the protests broke out. Albert, despite his years, came back to Paris to defend his pupil's reputation; the Dominican Order was strongly incensed against Kilwardby, and we may fairly assume that the Pope himself was far from pleased. Some months later, when the Inquisitor of France took a hand in the game, he was content to indict Siger and the rather obscure Boethius of Dacia, who lacked the powerful support of the Friars. It seems, however, that they had already fled the country, and this brings us to the consideration of Siger's final years.

Besides the vaguer references in Dante and the poem entitled *Fiore*, the one definite piece of evidence is the statement in a Brabantine chronicle, to the effect that Siger, *eo quod quasdam opiniones contra fidem tenuerat, Parisiis subsistere non valens, Romanam curiam adiit, ibique post parvum tempus a clerico suo quasi dementi perfossus periit.* To this may be added some words from a letter written by John Peckham in 1284. He mentions neither Siger nor Boethius by name, but, in an almost certain allusion to them, he states that 'they are said to have perished miserably in Transalpine parts, since they were not natives of those parts'. By *miserabiliter* he probably means no more than that they were exiles, and therefore miserable. What evidence is there, then, that Siger was ever found guilty of heresy? The answer is—none whatsoever. *Adiit curiam Romanam*, says the chronicler, but how soon he went there, whether he was officially summoned,

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NOTES AND STUDIES

INTELLECTUAL TOLERATION IN DANTE.

THE principles, the limits, and even the meaning of toleration seem almost to baffle definition. Were we to adopt as a likely point of departure the old Platonic distinction of knowledge and opinion, the way would at once become ambiguous. At first, perhaps, we might be disposed to argue that knowledge alone could justify coercion, inasmuch as it alone could claim the authority of truth. On the other hand, the very notion of 'orthodoxy', a term which again we inherit from Plato, is enough to point in the opposite direction. If certitude be indeed attainable by man, in mathematics or elsewhere, the failure of a few eccentric persons to enjoy it may be remedied by instruction, or dismissed with the plea of invincible ignorance. Dissenters of that kind will be subjects of laughter rather than of public reprobation; their destiny, at the worst, will be the asylum, not the dungeon or the stake. Opinion, as it now appears on second thoughts, becomes intolerable only when nothing better than opinion is to be had. The excuse for dogmatism, inquisition, and persecution is not knowledge but ignorance. Paradoxical as this version of the facts may sound, the explanation is partly to be found in the commonplace, that action in human affairs must often precede and outrun knowledge. The fabric of society rests at all times upon what men opine and believe, and the delicate task of 'authority' is to measure the limits within which heterodoxy may be licensed without entailing the risk of political disaster.

The Platonic antithesis of knowledge and opinion must, in any case, prove inadequate as soon as we begin to consider the position of the Church. The conception of 'faith', the claim to 'revelation', the formulation of a creed, and the gradual erection of a formidable ecclesiastical power were productive of difficulties, both intellectual and political, which had no real existence in the ancient world. Moreover, the demand for doctrinal orthodoxy by no means implied that the Church was guided only by opinion. Long before the ominous word 'infallibility' was inscribed on any banner, popes and councils were sustained by perfect confidence in the Divine illumination of their footsteps, to keep them in the highway of truth. And since it was upon

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this truth, absolute and final, that salvation depended, to tolerate the errors of heretics was to imperil the fate of immortal souls. What room, then, could be found, in a society thus constituted, either for a theory of toleration or for practical concessions to liberty of thought? Yet in human constructions, where speculation is complicated with practice, the empire of logic is never complete. In surveying the mediaeval structure we need not dwell overmuch on inconsistencies due to the mixture of better and worse in human motives. It is enough to remark one inevitable consequence of organizing the Church into a visible society with a claim to moral jurisdiction over all mankind. The more the ideal of a Christendom united at least in acknowledgement of a Divine law superior to all human enactments was realized, the more certain it became that heresy must rank as a political offence. Heresy, in other words, could scarcely fail to generate schism, and schism was a menace to the order and security which every ruler was bound to maintain. Modern theological disputes and sectarian divisions are, perhaps, more likely to confuse than to aid our interpretation of the Middle Ages. The cry of heresy may still enliven a Church newspaper or perplex a bishop, but it will not cause a riot in the University of Oxford, much less provoke the citizens to rush to arms. And again, even students of mediaeval history may be deceived by the prominence of the conflict between spiritual and secular power. It is easy to forget that the most bitter quarrels of popes and emperors were conducted without prejudice to the common hypothesis, that the business of all rulers was to defend the faith. So, too, the canonists and civil lawyers might often fall into antagonism; yet between them they fashioned but one philosophy of Jurisprudence, in which the validity of all human laws was made to depend on their derivation from the higher law, alternately described as natural and divine. If, then, it is true that the intolerance of the Middle Ages was no mere affront to liberty of speculation in a field beyond the range of politics, another aspect of the same truth will be that accusations of heresy, condemnations and acquittals, were often determined by the needs of the political situation; and this not only in the larger campaigns of kings and prelates, but in more restricted areas, such as the University of Paris. It is, in fact, impossible to pass a sober judgement on the fortunes of men like Abelard, or Roger Bacon, or even Thomas Aquinas, without a careful study of the factions among schools and teachers, the hostility of seculars to regulars, the mutual rivalry of religious orders, the division of students into 'nations', the conflict of 'faculties', and indeed the whole position of universities in relation to the life of the age.

The mere thought of so large a programme is enough to exclude it from a paper of moderate dimensions. It will be enough if the mention

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of these general considerations can serve as a preface to a brief visitation of Dante's mind, as revealed explicitly in some of his statements about philosophy, more obscurely in his treatment of certain historical persons who appear in the Divine Comedy. The story of his first attraction to philosophy Dante himself has briefly recounted. If the story is a little confused by his allegorical interpretation of the compassionate lady described in the latter part of the *Vita Nuova*, no doubts that we may feel about the true significance of that episode, or about the possible allusion to it in the reproaches of Beatrice, need disturb our estimate of the poet's general position. It may be true, as some have conjectured, that his enthusiasm for the triumphs of human reason was at one time extravagant, and that afterwards he was more inclined to dwell on the limitations of Virgil, as compared with the heavenly wisdom of Beatrice. The evidence for that opinion is not, however, decisive. It is hard to point to anything in the *Convivio* that calls for recantation on any ground of principle: enthusiasm for philosophy is still conspicuous in the *Divina Commedia*, so that even in the supreme moment of ecstasy, at the close of the *Paradiso*, one of the secrets revealed is the relation of substance to accident, a philosophical mystery, if we please so to call it, but a rather strange companion to the loftier mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation. On the whole, I can find no definite evidence that Dante ever moved very far from the attitude towards human reason that a disciple of St Thomas might be expected to assume.

To call Dante a disciple of St Thomas is no misuse of language. For though he would never have ranked any modern teacher with Aristotle and the ancients, his own Aristotelianism, and indeed his whole method of handling philosophy, agrees so nearly with Thomist principles that the glorification of St Thomas in the *Paradiso* is only the magnificent confession of an evident debt. Now the work of St Thomas, in one of its clearest aspects, bore directly upon the question of toleration. For his whole defence of philosophy, his plea for liberty of thought, as we may fairly style it, was based on a division of provinces between faith and reason, and on his firm conviction that between the two there could be no essential discrepancy. This *duplex veritatis modus*, as he called it, though it could have no existence in the Divine understanding, was a necessary accident of man's finite mind. Certain doctrines peculiar to the Church could be neither proved nor disproved; they were matters of faith, yet not of credulity, since personal acceptance of them implied a genuine illumination of the mind. How, then, did the separation of this theological province from the philosophical affect the exercise of 'authority' and the demand for an orthodox profession of faith? In the sphere proper to reason the appeal to authority could

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only be a *locus infirmissimus*: there was no philosophical orthodoxy, and no ground for disciplinary measures against the recalcitrant. But did it follow that no question of heresy could arise in relation to truths demonstrable by reason? Unfortunately the situation was not so simple as that. The power of reasoning philosophically is confined to the few, and even those few must await the arrival of intellectual maturity. Meanwhile it may be essential to salvation that certain truths, in themselves demonstrable by reason, should be believed by all. Thus the existence and unity of God, or the personal immortality of man, were, in the opinion of St Thomas, not beyond demonstration. But the arguments were high and difficult, incomprehensible to the majority, whereas the need of embracing these truths was imperative for all. It followed that there must, in practice, be some overlapping between the propositions discoverable by reason and the articles of Christian belief. Nor, again, would it be legitimate, merely because the being of God was demonstrable, to deny His being on philosophical grounds. The negative arguments might be refuted philosophically, but the conclusion itself no Christian could lawfully defend. Hence it would not be a wholly unfair account of St Thomas's position to say that philosophers were at liberty to debate the problem, but were only allowed to arrive at one conclusion. Whether that criticism be adequate or not, we shall at least be right in attributing the gravest importance to the actual overlapping of conclusions at once established by reason and demanded by faith. It was precisely within this ambiguous territory that the most conspicuous disturbances of the thirteenth century arose. No one then proposed, with any hope of general support, to deny the Virgin Birth or the Resurrection of Christ. On the other hand, to maintain that philosophy (represented for the moment by Aristotle) discountenanced belief in personal immortality or freedom of the will was both possible and frequent. Still worse was it when a sophistical attempt was made to mend the situation by declaring that the same propositions might be false in philosophy, yet true as matters of faith. Nothing exasperated St Thomas so deeply as this parody of his own position: nothing, perhaps, could persuade him, despite his ample charity, that a man could sincerely combine the profession of faith with the assertion that his unaided reason would have led him to an infidel conclusion. Whether so painful a distraction of mind may not in fact be possible we need not stay to enquire. That one with the clear and candid judgement of St Thomas should have doubted it will at least be readily understood.

Now Dante was far removed from the station and career of Aquinas. He was not a professed theologian; he was never called upon to advise a pope about the licensing of Aristotle, or to compose an alarming faction in the University of Paris. Yet the character of his poem

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gives him an unexampled opportunity of anticipating, if one may so express it, the judgements of God. His own faith and his protestation of orthodoxy are plainly declared on his pages. Were he convinced, then, that any notorious person was heretical, and should he think fit to encounter the delinquent in course of his pilgrimage, we should certainly expect the meeting to take place in Hell. At the same time, we learn from definite examples that Dante sometimes contrived to place the figures of his Comedy in positions scarcely justified by their moral or doctrinal past. Thus is Cato found on the shore of Purgatory; thus is Manfred credited with a deathbed repentance, and Statius with a secret conversion to the faith; thus is Rhipeus exalted, on the wings of a Virgilian epithet, to the joys of Paradise. None of these, however, can properly be styled heretics; and what I wish to enquire more particularly is whether there are any cases in which Dante appears to be moved by the spirit of toleration, or at least by intellectual sympathy, to better the *status post mortem* of men technically qualified as heretics for one of the infernal circles.

There are, in fact, some three or four cases susceptible of this interpretation; but, before proposing any names for discussion, it will be worth while to glance at such evidence as Dante provides in his writings of his general aptitude for toleration or for the opposite temper. It is obvious, in the first place, that Dante did not set up to be an original thinker, or even an independent critic of philosophies already established in fame. There is, indeed, the rather puzzling claim to originality at the beginning of the *Monarchia*, but that particular treatise scarcely affects our main enquiry. The *Convivio* is his most considerable essay in philosophical exposition, and the *Convivio* combines the ardour of a missionary with the modesty of an amateur. 'Blessed are those few', he says, 'who sit at the table and eat the food of angels'; but he is not himself one of these. He is but 'a picker up of learning's crumbs', one who has fled from the pastures of the vulgar and now is moved by compassion to prepare for those left behind so much of the better food as they can hope to digest. Approaching his task in this spirit, Dante not unnaturally displays a respect for authority, especially that of Aristotle, which almost amounts to passive obedience. The supreme Philosopher is clothed in *venerabilis auctoritas*; as *maestro e duca* of human reason, as the consummate exponent of his craft, he is most worthy of faith and obedience. In his historical (or unhistorical) retrospect of the ancient schools Dante regards them all as superseded or absorbed by the Peripatetics, whose teaching, he says, now dominates the world, and may almost be styled the *cattolica opinione*. Thus, to judge by his explicit statements, and to some extent by his practice, Dante goes far nearer than St Thomas to uncritical acceptance of Aristotle's teaching; partly

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because the work of St Thomas had actually established the pre-eminence of Aristotle, but still more, perhaps, because the genius of Dante belonged to poetry, while in philosophical construction and criticism he possessed no exceptional gifts. The implications of his deference to Aristotle require, however, to be carefully examined. He does not think it necessary, as might be expected, to prove the supremacy of one philosophy by vigorous refutation of others. The point is rather that Aristotle is the arch-representative of a profession in which all the reputed teachers are worthy of honour. The Master, as we see him in the *Inferno*, sits in the midst of the *filosofica famiglia*, and receives the homage of his extremely various assessors. Their differences are forgotten; their common pursuit of knowledge remembered. In like manner, Dante himself, when he discusses varieties of philosophical doctrine, is more disposed to dwell on their several merits than to expose the falsity of all but one. When, for example, he reviews the ethical schools of antiquity, not only do Zeno, Socrates, and Plato receive honourable mention, but even Epicurus is treated politely and dismissed without rebuke. A brief explanation of Hedonism is offered, and an illustrious Roman who followed that way of life is named. In other passages we find a still more striking expression of this general toleration. Thus, after recounting (*Conv.* iv 21. 25 sqq.) the various opinions about the human soul bequeathed by Avicenna, Algazel, Pythagoras, and Plato, Dante makes the following comment: 'if each were here to defend his own opinion, it may be that the truth would be seen to be contained in all. But since, at first sight, they appear to be a little remote from the truth, it is expedient to proceed, not according to them, but according to the veracious opinion of Aristotle and the Peripatetics.' In the same spirit, but with a still bolder thought of reconciliation, he declares in *Conv.* iii 14. 133 sqq. that by means of the three theological virtues 'si sale a filosofare a quella Atene celestiale, dove gli Stoici e Peripatetici ed Epicurei, per l'arte della Verità eterna, in un volere concordevolmente concorrono'. The admission of Epicureans to the celestial Athens does not, it is true, agree with a passage in the *Inferno* which will presently be considered, but the conception of a final harmony between the three great rival schools is none the less remarkable. Remarkable we may fairly call it, yet, on the whole, it is not surprising. For Dante only expresses the prevailing tendency of his age. The entire dialectical movement, from the lean antitheses of Abelard to the massive 'objections' and responsions of Aquinas is a movement towards reconciliation. As in the systematizing of Canon Law Gratian reveals his intention by his very title, *Concordantia discordantium Canonum*, so in the grander edifice of the *Summa Theologica* St Thomas incorporates materials drawn from every Pagan and Christian source, resolving con-

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tradictions and healing old antagonisms by the purifying alchemy of his critical art. Moreover, this steady progress towards the formation of a *cattolica opinione* in philosophy was assisted by historical transformations going deeper than the conscious effort of any individual writer. Although St Thomas himself was bent on disentangling the real Aristotle from distorting accretions and perverse interpretations, neither he nor any of his contemporaries could escape the influence of Neo-Platonism, or pierce beyond the colours imparted to ancient philosophy by the manifold new lights of Christianity, and even by the oblique illumination of Islam. The result of this general intellectual tendency upon Dante's work is easily discerned. Despite his avowed and sincere allegiance to Aristotle, I venture to doubt whether Aristotelianism is really the determining element in the composition of his mind. On many definite occasions, usually when he is making some deliberate appeal to argument, he does invoke the philosopher's authority. But in his maturest work, when he had moved far beyond the rather naïve enthusiasm of the *Convivio*, the texture interwoven of philosophy and poetry is of Platonist rather than of Aristotelian quality. To quote but one example, the doctrine of the diffusion of the Divine goodness, which permeates the structure of the *Paradiso*, has nothing to do with Aristotle. It comes from Dionysius 'the Areopagite' and from the *Liber de Causis*; or, in other words, it descends by two independent channels from Proclus, and thus is derived from Plotinus or, more remotely, from Plato himself. Facts such as these are no evidence of a calculated policy; nor can we speak of toleration, save in a very general sense, when no immediate question of orthodoxy is involved. Nevertheless, it remains true that the tendency, conscious or unconscious, to embrace in one vast synthesis the divers aspects of truth revealed by philosophies ostensibly conflicting was active in the moulding of Dante's mind. Hence the right hypothesis with which to approach his treatment of philosophical heretics is that he would always be disposed to give them the benefit of the doubt.

Armed with this charitable assumption, let us now inspect the specific facts that call for remark. And first of all, is anything to be learned from the circle of the Heretics, adorned by the magnificent Farinata, whose contempt for most of his neighbours unfortunately forbids him to honour them with names? A similar reticence is preserved by Dante himself as represented by Virgil. At the end of the ninth canto of the *Inferno* the 'heresiarchs of every sect' are mentioned collectively, and at the beginning of the eleventh we have the name of him who led Pope Anastasius astray, but without specification of the error. The tenth canto deals with only one group, Epicurus and his followers, who are condemned for asserting the mortality of the soul. If a suggestion

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that I have made elsewhere be correct, Dante's reason for this strange selection of an ancient philosopher as the single named representative of heresy was his desire to make the whole scheme of the *Inferno* appropriate to Virgil's condition. He could not wholly omit the sin of heresy, but he could give it a Pagan flavour by enrolling the Sadducees of his own age in the sect of Epicurus. The implied exclusion of the Epicureans from the 'celestial Athens', wherein the more hopeful theory of the *Convivio* had promised them a home, need not be taken to signify any definite change in Dante's position. Denial of immortality had consequences too grave to be disregarded; and if heresy, as a sin of the intellect, was somehow to be presented in ancient dress, no better device was open to Dante than to derive a doctrine incompatible with Christianity from a Pagan source. To slay the soul with the body was, as we know, a heinous offence in Dante's eyes. In *Conv.* ii 9. 49 sqq. he denounces it as the most brutish form of stupidity, and we may note, in that context, that he affirms the general consent of all philosophers in teaching some doctrine of immortality. No mention of Epicurus as an exception is made; which again suggests that in the *Inferno* Dante sacrificed this one ancient philosopher only because he saw no other means of depicting heresy in a form agreeable to Virgil's status and knowledge.

We cannot, however, expect to learn so much from those actually classed as heretics as from those who might be but are not. In this latter category the *Inferno* supplies two examples, Averroes and Avicenna; while in the *Paradiso* we have Joachim of Flora and Siger, the notorious Brabantine, described, to the astonishment of posterity, by St Thomas himself as one who 'syllogized invidious truths'. Avicenna and Averroes, though not of equal importance, will naturallly be classed together. Both were Mohammedans, both interpreters of Aristotle, both, in some measure, opponents of the Christian faith. With what right, then, do they appear in the Limbo of the unbaptized, who were innocent of mortal sin? They cannot plead infancy; they did not live *dinanzi al Cristianesmo*; they knew of the Christian faith and deliberately refused to accept it. To assume that Dante would naturally rank them with Pagans like Virgil and Aristotle is to misunderstand the mediaeval attitude towards Islam. Mohammedans were heretics, or at least schismatics, and Dante's agreement with this common estimate is proved by the situation of the Prophet himself, who is placed with the schismatics for no other possible reason but that he had divided the religious empire belonging of right to the Church. Moreover Averroes, not content with hostility to the Christian and, for that matter, to the Mohammedan faith, was the author of a deadly schism within the Peripatetic school. If Ali, Mohammed's son-in-law, was to be condemned

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for dividing his own household of faith, why not Averroes, who had brought discord and faction into the Aristotelian camp, so that St Thomas was moved to say of him, *non tam fuit Peripateticus quam philosophiae Peripateticae depravator* (*De Unit. Int. contra Averr.*)? He it was, as Dante knew very well, who had preached the doctrine of the soul least compatible with the Christian assertion of responsibility before and after death. In a word, there was every reason for banishing Averroes to the company of Mohammed, or possibly of Farinata; and no excuse whatever for associating him with the sages who lived before the advent of Christ, except that he was the author of the great commentary and, for all his errors, an Aristotelian of almost unrivalled fame. The artistic propriety of joining him to Aristotle's *filosofica famiglia* is obvious enough; but it is somewhat remarkable that Dante, ignoring the judgement of St Thomas, should treat him, not as the corrupter, but as the great exponent of Peripatetic truth.

Since the greater includes the less, the case of Avicenna need not detain us. There remain the two questionable inhabitants of Paradise, both encountered by Dante in the heaven of the Sun. The Abbot of Flora's reputation for saintliness and prophetic insight doubtless outweighed, in common esteem, the formal condemnation of his teaching. Nevertheless, he was in some sense the originator of the heresy of the Eternal Gospel, and his works had been banned in 1260, some fifty-eight years after his death. More significant, perhaps, in relation to Dante, was the earlier repudiation of him at the fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Joachim had written a tract, no longer extant, in which he indicted no less a person than Peter the Lombard for heresy in Trinitarian doctrine. The Council, however, upheld the *Magister Sententiarum*, and condemned his critic. St Thomas afterwards wrote a comment upon this decision and observed that Joachim, being only *rudis* in the subtleties of doctrine, had misrepresented the Lombard's meaning. Some of these details may have been unknown to Dante, but it is interesting to find that he places the former antagonists in the same heaven. They are not in immediate conjunction, for it was natural, in view of their different modes of thought, to associate Joachim with Bonaventura, and Peter with Aquinas. Yet in the scene described in *Paradiso* xii the two circles of saintly doctors are closely surrounding Dante, in the perfect harmony of the celestial Athens.

In passing from Joachim to the more disputable case of Siger we may begin by observing a small, but possibly significant, point of resemblance. It is that both are mentioned last in the lists of names recited severally by Aquinas and Bonaventura. If not merely accidental, this seems to throw a certain emphasis on their presence, as though Dante, instead of slipping his dubious cases into the middle of a catalogue, were

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determined to allow them a special prominence. Be that as it may, the transformation of the discredited and once infamous Averroist into *l' eterna luce di Sigieri* cannot, at first sight, be other than surprising. Why Dante should have ventured upon this hazardous beatification the commentators have been much exercised to discover. That he was himself tainted with Averroism, and therefore anxious to proclaim its fallen champion a martyr in the cause of truth, is an untenable hypothesis. Not only is the whole character of his Aristotelianism opposed to that suggestion, but in *Purg.* xxv 62–66 he deliberately puts into the mouth of Statius a refutation of the Averroist heresy about the soul:

> Quest' è tal punto
> Che più savio di te fe' già errante;
> Sì che, per sua dottrina, fe' disgiunto
> Dall' anima il possibile intelletto,
> Perchè da lui non vide organo assunto.

And further, since it is St Thomas himself who pays the tribute to Siger in *Par.* x, we should have to suppose that the saint was making a kind of recantation, and confessing that, after all, it was Siger who had interpreted Aristotle aright. To call this incredible is scarcely to say too much. What alternatives, then, remain? So far as I know, the only current explanation plausible enough to deserve serious criticism is simply that Dante was ignorant of the facts. If he was unacquainted with the nature of Siger's teaching, and if, perhaps, he had picked up some romantically inaccurate account of the man, the translation of him to Paradise would be intelligible. This suggestion acquires, too, a certain colour of possibility from the fact that William of Tocco, pupil and biographer of St Thomas, makes notable blunders about Siger's career, and appears to couple him with William of St Amour, who had disturbed Paris by attacking the religious orders, but had no connexion whatever with Averroism. If the good William could thus go astray, why not Dante likewise? The question is fair and not without force. Nevertheless I shall reject it as an evasion, and shall venture to advance the opposite hypothesis, that Dante was familiar with all the important facts, and consequently that his reconciliation of the heretical Aristotelian with St Thomas was perfectly deliberate, yet perfectly free from any insinuation that St Thomas himself had erred.

First of all, then, is it a tenable opinion that Dante was misled by ignorance? Given that William of Tocco, and also the early commentators, are hazy about Siger's teaching, it by no means follows that Dante was in the same predicament. William was a careless historian, and the commentators were mostly devoid of that acute interest in philosophy which Dante so clearly betrays. The mere fact of Siger's appearance in the Divine Comedy is enough to prove, at least, that he

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was, in Dante's eyes, a person of note. For what is it that Cacciaguida says to Dante in *Par.* xvii 136 sqq.?

Però ti son mostrate in queste rote,
Nel monte, e nella valle dolorosa,
Pur l'anime che son di fama note.

Dante's steadfast adherence to this principle will scarcely be disputed. Hence, if he decided to make room for Siger on his canvas, we can be certain, not indeed that the portrait was lifelike, but that the original was famous, and also that the fame was of a kind to appeal to Dante. On no other hypothesis is it conceivable that the eternal light of the Brabantine should have been eulogized by St Thomas himself. With this much established, we may proceed to estimate the chances of Dante being accurately informed. Siger did not belong to ancient history; on the contrary, he died at Orvieto when Dante was not less than sixteen, and possibly as much as eighteen or nineteen years old. Assuming too, as is reasonable, that he came straight to Italy when he fled from Paris in 1277, he had been living in the country for at least four or five years before he fell a victim to the knife of a crazy clerk. He may even have passed through Florence on his way to the papal court; or, at least, it would be surprising if Dante, in his wanderings through Italy, had never met with any one who had known the unhappy exile and heard his own version of his misfortunes. Incidentally, one may risk the suggestion that Dante, who had tasted the bitter salt of exile, was touched with pity for one condemned to drag out weary years in a foreign land. This would well account for the description of Siger as a spirit:

che in pensieri
Gravi a morir gli parve venir tardo (*Par.* x 134 sq.)

The crucial question, however, is whether Dante understood the character of Siger's doctrines and the reason for the ban pronounced on him at Paris. Certainly there is no proof that he did, but, once more, I believe, it would be very surprising if he did not. For the act of authority which swept away Siger and the Averroists was no trifling incident. It was embodied in a document containing no less than 219 'distinct damnations'; it reverberated, as we know, in Oxford; it brought Albertus Magnus back to Paris from Cologne; it stimulated literature and encouraged Ramon Lull to write a book glorifying the 219 propositions as the death-knell of philosophers who claimed independence of theology; it was taken up by the Inquisitor of France, who, not satisfied with the episcopal action, indicted Siger and Boethius of Dacia for the crime of heresy in the realm of France. And though all this happened in Dante's lifetime, we are asked to believe that he endowed the villain of the piece with eternal bliss without ever troubling

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to discover the character of his opinions. And again: Dante learnt his philosophy, as he tells us, 'in the schools of the religious'; which, in all probability, would mean that he sat under Dominican masters. Now the Dominicans, as we shall presently see, were directly affected by the 219 propositions, and were vitally concerned to declare their own position in relation to them. There was constant movement in those days between one educational centre and another. Like Aquinas himself, a teacher would go from Italy to Paris, and then, a few years later, would return to Italy; so that the absence of railways, telegrams, and newspapers was quite compatible with the rapid circulation of ideas. I find it impossible, therefore, to believe that Dante lacked either opportunity or inclination to acquaint himself with the doctrines of one whom he proposed to place in so grand a constellation in the heaven of the Sun. That he had actually read Siger's *De Anima Intellectiva* is, I think, improbable; that he had read the answer to it by St Thomas is possible but uncertain; that he was so ignorant of the whole affair as inadvertently to unite the two protagonists of the controversy in the same heavenly mansion is almost beyond belief. He did it, I feel perfectly convinced, on purpose: it only remains to ask—why? Broadly speaking, it was, I believe, for the same reason that induced him to prophecy a final reconciliation of Stoics, Epicureans, and Peripatetics in the light of the Eternal Truth. Beatrice herself does not discourage this hopeful anticipation when she offers a charitable interpretation of Plato's apparent error about the return of souls to the stars (*Par.* iv 58). And when she notes the lack of uniformity in human teaching—

> Voi non andate giù per un sentiero
> Filosofando— (*Par.* xxix 85).

she adds that, in Heaven, such diversity is counted more tolerable than neglect or perversion of the Scriptures. As regards Beatrice, however, the point to remember is that she represents the Divine Wisdom, for which there is, as St Thomas says, no *duplex veritatis modus*. In other words, she recognizes no distinction between theological and philosophical truth; and hence it is natural for her to mention the errors of Parmenides and Melissus in the same breath with the heresies of Arius and Sabellius (*Par.* xiii 125). Dante's position is different. He has only to consider whether Siger's false interpretation of Aristotle was compatible with his profession of the Christian faith. For further light on this question we must examine the career of Siger, so far as it is known, and the particular circumstances of his expulsion from Paris.

His name is unknown to history until the year 1266, but the events of his life must be interpreted by the whole story of Aristotelianism at Paris during a period of about seventy years, a story which clearly illustrates the political character of intellectual struggles. The reading

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of Aristotle at Paris was prohibited in the years 1210, 1215, 1231, and 1263. The earlier edicts were only local, and we gather that at Toulouse, in 1229, the study could be freely pursued. In fact, it was not until 1245 that Gregory IX's prohibition of 1231 was extended to Toulouse. Meanwhile the University of Paris soon ceased to take these pronouncements seriously. In 1252 the *De Anima* was officially recognized, and in 1255 the Faculty of Arts prescribed virtually the whole of the Aristotelian canon as part of the regular course. Now it was precisely in this period, from 1252 onwards, that St Thomas was studying and teaching at Paris; and whether or no he actually read the text of Aristotle in public, it is certain that he taught the Aristotelian doctrines, in spite of the papal command. Still more interesting, therefore, is the prohibition of 1263 by Urban IV. For at that time St Thomas was teaching at the papal court, and was collaborating with William of Moerbeka for the production of better translations. Why, then, did Urban seize this moment to inhibit Aristotle at Paris? There is no definite evidence, but the answer I should give with some confidence is that the virtual author of the manifesto was St Thomas himself. That Urban should not have consulted him is incredible, while the action which I conjecturally ascribe to St Thomas could be justified by two good reasons; first, that they were preparing a kind of authorized version in Italy, and wished to suspend inferior interpretations until it was ready; secondly, that the factions at Paris, due partly to the rise of Averroism, were threatening serious disturbances. Not in 1263 alone, but at every important date in the romance of Aristotle at Paris, it is tolerably clear that variations in the official attitude had remarkably little to do with any general principle of toleration or intolerance. Some of the decisions were governed by considerations of university discipline and public order; while all of them, probably, can be traced in some degree to the rivalry of the old school and the new, the Augustinians or Platonists on one side, the Aristotelians on the other, either of whom might succeed in getting the ear of the Pope. Now the great trouble about Averroism was that it brought a new perplexity into the campaign. Its partisans were more royalist than the king; they were fanatical Aristotelians, and thus far allies of the Dominican masters. On the other hand, they threatened to ruin the whole cause of Peripateticism by insisting that doctrines plainly incongruous with the faith were upheld by Aristotle and only to be rejected on the ground of revelation. Nothing could have helped the reactionary party more than this. The dangers of the new philosophy were now visibly exposed; the seculars were provided with a new weapon against the regulars; in fact, nothing could save the Aristotelian fortress but the expulsion from within of part of the garrison.

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At what date this Parisian Averroism first became prominent is uncertain. In 1256 Albertus Magnus wrote, by invitation of Alexander IV, his tract *De Unitate Intellectus contra Averroem*, but it was the Master rather than contemporary disciples that he attacked. Fourteen years later there was a crisis at Paris, and between these dates, in 1266, Siger appears on the scene. Nothing is yet heard of his doctrines; all we learn is that he was a turbulent fellow, involved in a riot against the French 'nation' of students, and accused of a mild assault on a respectable canon. He must, however, have begun already his career as a teacher; for only four years later the first condemnation of Averroism took place, and Siger was then in the foreground. His treatise *De Anima Intellectiva* was probably in circulation, and St Thomas replied to it in the same year, 1270, with his masterpiece of controversial writing, the *De Unitate Intellectus contra Averroistas*. The crisis evidently was serious. The return of St Thomas to Paris in 1268, or early in 1269, was due to the gravity of the situation, and about the same time an appeal was sent to Albertus Magnus to express his opinion on the truth or falsity of fifteen suspect propositions. He replied in the tract *De Quindecim Problematibus*, lately published by Mandonnet, and we find that thirteen of the fifteen were identical with the propositions authoritatively condemned in 1270. The other two are of peculiar interest, because they appear, though not very distinctly, to express opinions maintained by St Thomas; which shews that an attempt, unsuccessful on this occasion, was made to implicate the Dominican teaching with the errors of Averroism. The renewal of this project on a larger scale in 1277 will presently be considered. But first we must briefly inspect the two treatises on the Intellect which express the opposed contentions of Siger and Aquinas. The technicalities of the problem, and the comparative merits of the rival interpretations of Aristotle it will be needless to discuss, so long as the general tone and basis of the controversy are sufficiently understood.

Siger's *De Anima Intellectiva* is the work of an able man, with no small talent for presenting a case. At the request of his friends, he says, he will propose certain questions about the soul, and will explain *quid sentiendum sit secundum documenta philosophorum probatorum, non aliquid ex nobis asserentes* . . . After a few pages of argument, he observes that *praecipui viri in philosophia, Albertus et Thomas* maintain certain opinions, which in fact *deficiunt ab intentione philosophi, nec intentum determinant.* Proceeding to refute them, he declares that his sole business is to expound the meaning of the philosophers, especially of Aristotle, *etsi forte Philosophus senserit aliter quam veritas se habeat, et per revelationem aliqua de anima tradita sint quae per rationes*

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naturales concludi non possunt. He is not, he adds, enquiring *de Dei miraculis*, but *de naturalibus naturaliter.* So again, a page or two later, he gives what he believes to be the *sententia Philosophi*, but allows that, if the philosopher's view is opposed to the *sententia Catholicae fidei*, the latter is to be preferred. Towards the end of the treatise, after debating some difficult points, he says that, after hesitating for so long, *quid via rationis naturalis in praedicto problemate sit tenendum, et quid senserit Philosophus*, he has come to the conclusion that the only way is to adhere to the faith, *quae omnem rationem humanam superat.*

Now Siger may have been an impostor, an atheist, or what you will. The secrets of his conscience must elude us; not even to his contemporaries can they have been fully disclosed. As the treatise stands, it is impossible to brand it as heretical; for it professes to demonstrate only one thing, the incompatibility of certain Aristotelian doctrines with the Catholic faith. Moreover, this conclusion, when accompanied by the author's repeated protestations of orthodoxy, must have placed Aquinas in a very awkward position. For he was himself by no means committed to the infallibility of Aristotle, and with regard to some other matters, not connected with the analysis of the soul, he had pointed out the discrepancy between Aristotle and the faith, and had argued that Aristotle was wrong. The difference was, however, that in those cases St Thomas was prepared to differ from Aristotle on philosophical grounds, while Siger clearly implied that Aristotle represented the verdict of reason, which could only be corrected by faith. Not unnaturally, therefore, St Thomas was roused to vigorous opposition. To accept Siger's view was, in the first place, to strike a blow at the study of Aristotle; and, secondly, to allow that, in at least one vital respect, faith and reason were antagonistic. In his answer to Siger he writes, as always, with gravity and restraint, yet with a scarcely concealed scorn of his opponent's pretended erudition, rising at the end to a defiant note of challenge. If the man has anything to say, let him come out into the open. *Non loquatur in angulis, nec coram pueris, qui nesciunt de causis arduis iudicare, sed contra hoc scriptum scribat, si audet.* In spite of his exasperation, and in spite of his evident disbelief in Siger's profession of faith, St Thomas, like a true dialectician, is ready to argue on the ground chosen by his adversary. It is not our business, he says, to shew that the aforesaid opinion about the soul is repugnant to the Christian faith, for that is obvious, but only to prove that it is *non minus contra philosophiae principia quam contra fidei documenta.* Conforming strictly to this principle, he refrains from appealing to authority of any kind; and when he has shewn that Averroism is unfaithful to the Aristotelian tradition he is careful to

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add the statement: *hoc autem praemisimus, non quasi volentes philosophorum auctoritatibus reprobare supra positum errorem, sed ut ostendamus quod non solum Latini . . . sed etiam Graeci et Arabes hoc senserunt.* Siger, in fact, had claimed the support of tradition, but St Thomas is able, by his superior learning, to disallow the claim. It is not authority alone that refutes the Averroists. They destroy the principles of moral authority; they deny the existence of personal responsibility, and then profess to hold to it *propter revelationem fidei*; whereas the truth is, says St Thomas, that, far from following reason, they are striving *contra manifeste apparentia.*

Such, then, was the character of this remarkable controversy; and no better refutation could be found of the popular fallacy, that in the Middle Ages an appeal to reason was always met with an appeal to force. All the more instructive is it to examine the gesture of authority which did in this same year, 1270, condemn the thirteen Averroist propositions already mentioned. Whence did it originate, and what was its effect? For my own part, I decline to believe that St Thomas had anything to do with an act so foreign to his own genius as the forcible suppression of a rival philosopher. The chief point, however, is that the judgement upon Averroism in 1270 proceeded in fact from Étienne Tempier, once Chancellor of the University, and thereafter Bishop of Paris. Now Tempier was no mere critic of Averroism. He detested the whole school of Aristotelians, or detested them, perhaps, because they were mostly Dominicans; and his comment upon the arguments of St Thomas would probably have been, *Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis.* It is important, therefore, to bear in mind that, if ever Siger was convicted of heresy, St Thomas, so far as we know or can reasonably conjecture, had nothing to do with it. Moreover, to speak of conviction of heresy in relation to the year 1270 would be wholly inaccurate. For one of the most obvious facts is that Tempier's demonstration had no serious effect. Not only did Siger remain in Paris for another seven years, but the teaching of Averroism must have steadily continued; for otherwise the greater crisis of 1277 would lose most of its meaning. Now in 1272 St Thomas was recalled to Italy, and in 1274 he died. Hence we can assert with confidence that, during the lifetime of his most eminent antagonist, Siger had never been condemned for heresy, but had merely suffered the *brutum fulmen* of an episcopal rebuke. St Thomas may or may not have believed him to be heretical, but he treated him only as a muddle-headed Aristotelian, who defended reason on irrational grounds.

And now for the events of 1277. The denunciation of the famous 219 propositions is aptly described by Mandonnet as 'the condemnation of Peripateticism'. The *praecipui viri in philosophia*, as Siger had styled

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them, were no longer to be feared. Thomas was dead, and Albert was growing old in Germany. And so the Bishop of Paris, our same friend Étienne Tempier, judged that the hour for launching a more imposing thunderbolt had arrived. Though many of the 219 propositions are clearly Averroist, modern scholars have discovered at least twenty which belong to the teaching of St Thomas. Personally I feel some doubt about the details, for most of the statements are so brief and so devoid of commentary that their exact implication remains uncertain. No doubt was felt in Paris, however, that the Peripatetic cause was in jeopardy, and in Oxford that fact was still more manifest. Tempier and Kilwardby (himself, strangely enough, a Dominican) were probably in collaboration; and, since Thomism did not flourish at Oxford so strongly as at Paris, it was possible there to condemn even the 'unity of substantial forms', a doctrine steadfastly upheld by St Thomas. The condemnation of 1277 was, in fact, no authoritative decision of the Church, but the high-handed act of a turbulent bishop, proceeding from a plot hatched in Oxford and Paris. Pope John XXI had sent to Tempier for a report on the doctrinal situation; but Tempier, without wasting time on reports, seized the opportunity to strike. In earlier years protests against his arbitrary actions had been made at the papal court, and now once more the protests broke out. Albert, despite his years, came back to Paris to defend his pupil's reputation; the Dominican Order was strongly incensed against Kilwardby, and we may fairly assume that the Pope himself was far from pleased. Some months later, when the Inquisitor of France took a hand in the game, he was content to indict Siger and the rather obscure Boethius of Dacia, who lacked the powerful support of the Friars. It seems, however, that they had already fled the country, and this brings us to the consideration of Siger's final years.

Besides the vaguer references in Dante and the poem entitled *Fiore*, the one definite piece of evidence is the statement in a Brabantine chronicle, to the effect that Siger, *eo quod quasdam opiniones contra fidem tenuerat, Parisiis subsistere non valens, Romanam curiam adiit, ibique post parvum tempus a clerico suo quasi dementi perfossus periit.* To this may be added some words from a letter written by John Peckham in 1284. He mentions neither Siger nor Boethius by name, but, in an almost certain allusion to them, he states that 'they are said to have perished miserably in Transalpine parts, since they were not natives of those parts'. By *miserabiliter* he probably means no more than that they were exiles, and therefore miserable. What evidence is there, then, that Siger was ever found guilty of heresy? The answer is—none whatsoever. *Adiit curiam Romanam*, says the chronicler, but how soon he went there, whether he was officially summoned,

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or went to make an appeal, we are not informed. Paris was too hot to hold him, and he went, let us suppose, to invoke the protection of the Pope, or perhaps to clear himself of damaging imputations. That he was never convicted of heresy in the gravest sense is proved by the fact that he lived to be assassinated. Mandonnet assumes that he was condemned to some kind of loose imprisonment, and forbidden to leave the papal court. But even this is uncertain. He may only have become a hanger-on of the Court, who dared not cross the Alps to France, and had nowhere else to go. He may have recanted his errors, or convinced the Pope of his orthodoxy; he may have died, for aught we know, a little hastily indeed, but in the odour of sanctity. There is no need, however, to erect a stained-glass window to his memory. The only important question is whether Dante, as a good Catholic and devout Aristotelian, had any pretext for reconciling him to St Thomas in the glory of Paradise. My own reply must be that this is exactly what we should expect Dante to do.

The commentators, for the most part, have approached the problem with wrong hypotheses in their minds. They have assumed that Dante lived in an age of general intolerance, that Siger had been condemned by the Church, and that the Dominican Order, inspired by St Thomas, had instigated or acquiesced in the condemnation. None of these things is true. It was an age, for philosophers at least, of dialectical reconciliation and enormous intellectual charity. Siger was not condemned by Rome; he was driven out of France by a turbulent bishop, a notorious enemy of the Dominicans, who had dared to condemn, along with Siger, the doctrines of Albert and Thomas, men whom Siger himself had allowed to be *viri praecipui in philosophia*. And again, the commentators have failed to grasp the significance of another important fact, Dante's treatment of Averroes. Even one so learned in mediaeval writings as Rashdall allows himself to state that, in Dante's eyes, Averroes was simply the arch-heretic; whereas the whole point is that Dante, far from damning him with the heretics, allows him the high privilege of consorting with the philosophers who were saved from eternal torment because they had never heard the name of Christ. Of the two cases, as they appear in the Divine Comedy, Averroes is, to my mind, more remarkable than Siger. Dante, as we know, was quite capable of treating the damned with a certain measure of respect. He might, on clear doctrinal grounds, have placed Averroes in an infernal circle, and yet have allowed him such marks of honour as he grants to Farinata or Brunetto Latini. On the other hand, it was impossible to deal with Siger by any lenient compromise like residence in Limbo. He must be damned or saved without qualification. Dante might, indeed, have ignored his existence, but, since he deemed

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him worthy of mention, his only excuse for classing him with the heretics would have been the official verdict of the Church. But no such verdict had been uttered. He decides, therefore, to accept Siger's profession of loyalty to the faith, and to assure him by the solid fact of his personal salvation that his former interpretation of the *De Anima* was wrong. If it be asked, finally, what were the *invidiosi veri* taught by Siger, the answer is not difficult. Along with his errors, he had taught much sound Aristotelianism, and, in particular, he had defended, in company with St Thomas, the unity of substantial forms, which Tempier, Kilwardby, and Peckham had the effrontery to deny. Peckham even went so far as to insinuate that Siger and other secular persons were the authors of that doctrine, while in fact it was essential to the Thomist position. Although Dante, very probably, had never heard of Peckham's allegation, from Dominicans in Italy he would have heard a version of the year 1277 which would strongly incline him to sympathize with one driven into exile by Tempier and his friends. What further details of Siger's life in Italy he may have known it is impossible to say; but in no case can I find it inexplicable, or even very surprising, that one deeply imbued with the spirit of St Thomas should have chosen to adorn the memory of an exiled and murdered philosopher with the radiance of eternal light.

W. H. V. Reade.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE *QUICUMQUE VULT*.

Professor R. Seeberg of Berlin in the new edition of his great work on the History of Dogmas [1] has done us good service by recalling attention to a remarkable dissertation by a Jesuit scholar, Heinrich Brewer, 'The so-called Athanasian Creed a work of Saint Ambrose'.[2] I confess that after my first reading, ten years ago, I put it away unconvinced, but under the stimulus of Seeberg's lucid summary of the argument I turned to it again and found that one after another of my former difficulties melted away.

In 1905 Dr K. Künstle published a book with the title *Antipriscilliana*,[3] in which he warmly espoused my theory that the *Quicumque vult* was written to meet the heresy of Priscillian, and endeavoured to prove that it was written in Spain. The first section of Brewer's book deals

[1] *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* ii 165.

[2] *Das sogenannte Athanasianische Glaubensbekenntnis ein Werk des heiligen Ambrosius* in *Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte*, herausgegeben von Dr A. Ehrhard und Dr J. P. Kirsch, ix. Band, 2. Heft, Paderborn, 1909.

[3] Freiburg, 1905.

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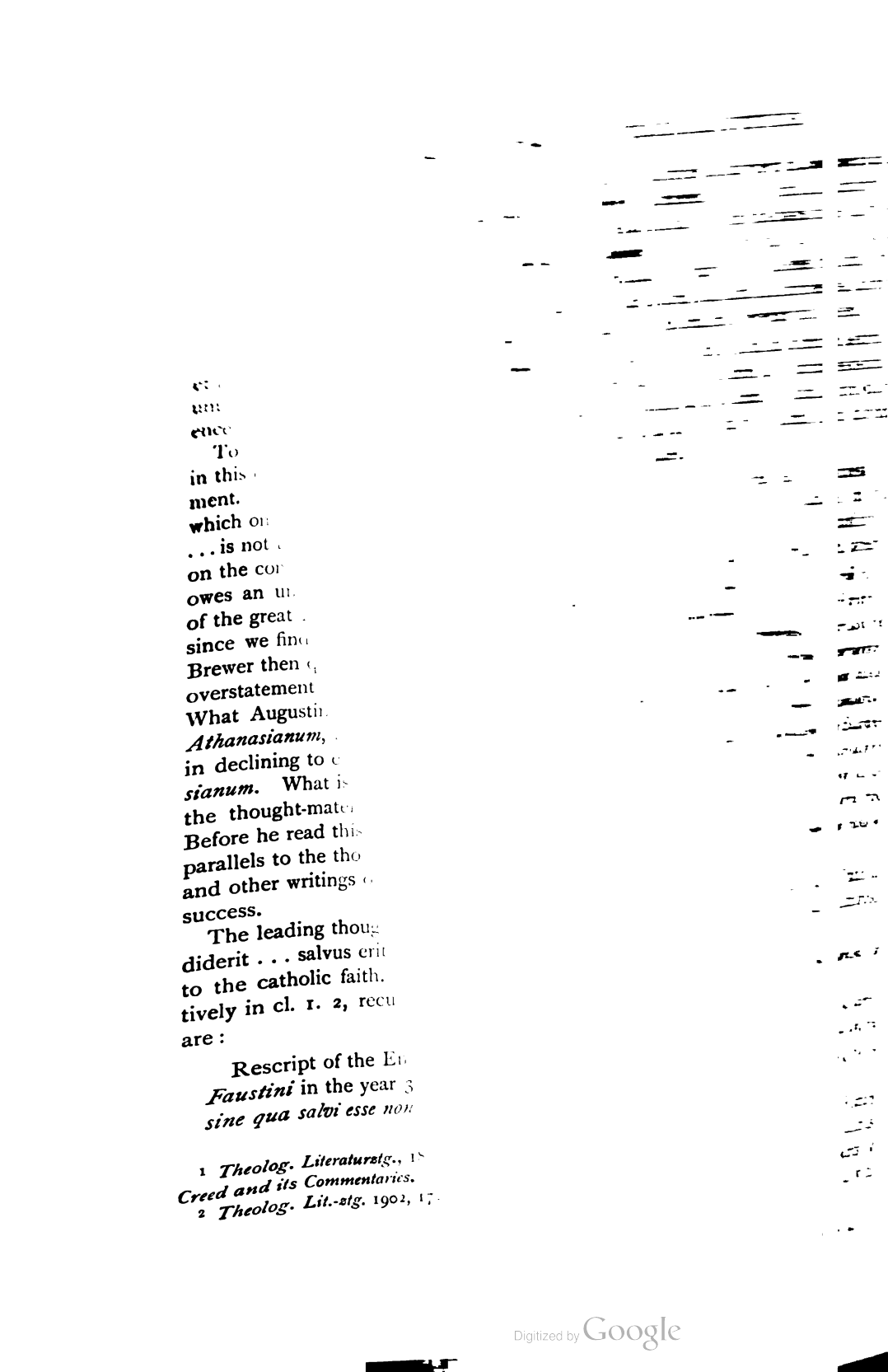

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to the catholic faith.
tively in cl. 1. 2, recu
are :

Rescript of the E
Faustini in the year 3
sine qua salvi esse no

1 *Theolog. Literaturztg.*, 1
Creed and its Commentaries.
2 *Theolog. Lit.-ztg.* 1902, 17

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Anath. 24 ends: haec ergo est salus Christianorum, ut credentes
rinitati, id est patri et filio et spiritui sancto ⟨et baptizati⟩ (so accord-
ng to the Greek translation given by Theodoret *H. E.* v 11) in eam
ram, solam, unam divinitatem et potentiam eiusdem, haec sine
bio credamus.

he heresies of Sabellius, Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, and Photinus
ondemned by name, and also those who deny that the Lord had
oning soul.

Anath. 7: Anathematizamus eos qui pro hominis anima rationabili
ntelligibili dicunt Dei Verbum in humana carne versatum, quum
Filius est Verbum Dei et non pro anima rationabili et intelligibili
corpore fuerit, sed nostram, id est, rationabilem et intelligibilem
eccato animam susceperit atque salvaverit.

more important section follows on 'the stylistic and linguistic
of the creed and its witness to the Ambrosian origin'.
produces many passages from the *de Spiritu sancto* to prove
s method of teaching by repetition. The following may suffice:

S. s. i 112: donat solus pater, solus filius, solus spiritus sanctus.
140: sunt pater lumen ita etiam filius lumen, et spiritus
umen est.

figure of *Repetitio* is connected that of *Antithesis* in cl. 11–18.

s. iii 109: ergo sanctus pater, sanctus et filius, sanctus et
sed non tres sancti, quia unus est deus sanctus.

nd *in Luc.* viii 67.
n produces parallels to quicumque vult salvus esse, ante
tenere, Catholica fides, (fides) integra, (fidem) servare,
, in aeternum perire, fides autem catholica haec est, ut . . .,
ri = adorare, et tamen, similiter, (confiteri) compellimur,
bemur, etc.
remarkable are those to the use of *totus = omnis,* which
writing on Caesarius of Arles, called a Gallican peculiarity.
produces eight illustrations from Ambrose, and refers to
Vit. s.v. 'totus' ii; Roensch *Itala und Vulgata* § 338;
de S. Jérôme p. 402.
of the reading 'Deus *pariter* et homo est' Brewer has nine
prove that Ambrose used the expression in similar

pare with *resurgere habent*

Elia 6: quod per cibos mundus haberet imminui.

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trenchantly with this theory of origin, and I think finally disposes of it. He then turns to the theory of Gallican origin, maintained by the late Prebendary Ommanney and myself, and disputes the keystone of the argument that the first part of the *Quicumque vult* is dependent on the teaching of St Augustine.

He introduces his own argument by a quotation from Augustine's *De Trinitate* viii made by Professor Kattenbusch [1]: 'sed in ea (catholica fide) nonnulli perturbantur, *cum audiunt* deum patrem, et deum filium, et deum spiritum sanctum, et tamen hanc trinitatem non tres deos, sed unum deum'. Augustine, writing *c.* A. D. 400, appears to imply the existence of the creed from which he quotes cl. 15, 16.

To this I replied, *Introduction to the Creeds* p. 146, that 'the reference in this case seems too weak to bear the weight of so important an argument. It comes to this. If the main portion of part i clauses 7–19, which one has been accustomed to think of as pre-eminently Augustinian ... is not the fruit of Augustine's influence upon the author, but exercised, on the contrary, a constraining influence upon Augustine, the Church owes an unacknowledged debt of gratitude to a mind superior to that of the great African teacher. Surely this is an incredible hypothesis, since we find no trace of such influence in Victricius or Vincentius.' Brewer then quotes the reply of Kattenbusch [2]: 'I hold that this is an overstatement of the theological importance of the *Athanasianum*. What Augustine says about the Trinity lies quite in the line of the *Athanasianum*, but is far deeper, finer, and greater. I agree with Morin in declining to estimate too highly the theological art of the *Athanasianum*. What is characteristic and remarkable in the formula is not the thought-material as such but the form into which it is brought.' Before he read this discussion Brewer had been for some time seeking parallels to the thought of the *Quicumque* in the writings of St Ambrose and other writings of his time, and I am bound to admit with amazing success.

The leading thought of the author is based on Mk. xvi 16: 'Qui crediderit ... salvus erit, qui vero non crediderit, condemnabitur,' referred to the catholic faith. This motive expressed both positively and negatively in cl. 1. 2, recurs in cl. 26 and cl. 40. Brewer's first parallels are:

> Rescript of the Emp. Theodosius to the *Liber precum Marcellini et Faustini* in the year 384: *Catholicam fidem* omni favore veneramur, *sine qua salvi esse non possumus.*

[1] *Theolog. Literaturztg.*, 1897, n. 5, s. 144 in a review of my book *The Athanasian Creed and its Commentaries.*

[2] *Theolog. Lit.-ztg.* 1902, 172.

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Ambrosius *in Luc.* vii 9: Nemo potest resurrectionis gloriam videre, nisi qui integrum mysterium trinitatis incorrupta fidei sinceritate servaverit.

Ambrosius *Epist.* xxii 21 of year 386: Audivimus hodie dicentes eos (obsessos), quibus manus imponebatur, *neminem posse esse salvum ... qui trinitatis omnipotentem virtutem non crederet.*

Ordo Ambrosianus (ed. Mercati) p. 23[1]: Omnesque (deus)... propitius dignare respicere, ut semper *tua religione* laetantes *constanter in sanctae trinitatis unitate et fide catholica perseverent.*

Brewer then sets out at length all the parallels to the *Quicumque* which he can find in writings of St Ambrose, printing below the parallels which Ommanney and I had collected from Augustine, Faustus, and Vincentius. They make an imposing show, particularly in the case of clauses 7, 8, 9, where we had none to produce.

Cl. 7. *Hexaem.* 1, 19: Filius est imago dei invisibilis: *qualis* ergo deus est, *talis* imago.

De Incarn. 112: *Talis* ergo, *qualis* est deus, sua videtur in imagine. Unde oportet, ut imaginem eius talem credas, qualis est deus.

Cl. 8. *De Incarn.* 112: Unde quia *increatus pater*, *increatus* et *filius.*

Cl. 9. *De Fide* 5, 228: *Immensum* te, *filium*que tuum et *spiritum sanctum* legi frequenter, credo libenter.

Cl. 10. *De Incarn.* 17: Non possum de patris aeternitate dubitare, cuius *aeternus* est *filius.*

And the list is not complete, for I have found to add to the last quotation:

De Spiritu sancto i. viii: Ergo si mutationem non habet, aeternitatem habet, et ideo Spiritus sanctus sempiternus est.

I may add to illustrate the use of *singulatim* in cl. 19 the following:

De Fide 1: Singularitas ad personam pertinet, unitas ad naturam.

A few more specimens illustrating part ii may suffice.

Cl. 28. *In Luc.* 10, 3: Ergo et *deum Christum et hominem credamus*, unum in utroque.

Cl. 29. *De Sp. s.* 3, 168: *Ante saecula ex patre* ut dei filius natus, et *in saeculo* ut *homo* carnis assumptione generatus.

Cl. 30. *In Luc.* 4, 45: Iesum *deum hominem*que, in utroque *perfectum.*

Cl. 31. Ambros. *in Gestis Aquileiens.* n. 37: *Secundum* carnem filius *minor* est *patre*, *secundum divinitatem aequalis* est *patri.*

[1] *Antiche Reliquie Liturgiche* (Studi e Testi 7), Roma, 1902.

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I put a query to this, as to the use by Ambrose of the word *humanitas*, but I am now satisfied with Brewer's statement (p. 88) that Ambrose generally used the word in the classical sense. In one passage he gives it the extended meaning of *humanum genus*: *De offic.* iii 19 'in uno homine communio totius humanitatis solvitur'. It seems that the Arians used it in the sense of human nature, and that Ambrose accordingly took up what was apparently the meaning in everyday speech.

Frag. Arianum xiii: Ipsum igitur Verbum Deum, ut non aestimes hunc innatum Filium unigenitum Dei, certissime et manifestissime ostendit Spiritus sanctus per beatissimum Ioannem; simul et modum humanitatis manifestissime adnuntians, obstruit os eorum qui dicunt eum animam cum corpore assumpsisse.

Brewer goes on to speak of the content of the creed as a witness for Ambrose as the author, and calls attention to the parallels in the Synodal Letter which the Catholic bishops assembled in Constantinople in 382 sent to their brothers in Rome, Damasus, Ambrose, and others:

ἡμᾶς πιστεύειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, δηλαδὴ θεότητός τε καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ οὐσίας μιᾶς τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος πιστευομένης, ὁμοτίμου τε τῆς ἀξίας καὶ συναϊδίου τῆς βασιλείας ἐν τρισὶ τελείοις ὑποστάσεσιν, ἤγουν τρισὶ τελείοις προσώποις ὡς μήτε τὴν Σαβελλίου νόσον χώραν λαβεῖν συγχεομένων τῶν ὑποστάσεων, ἤγουν τῶν ἰδιοτήτων ἀναιρουμένων· μήτε μὴν τῶν Εὐνομιανῶν καὶ Ἀρειανῶν καὶ Πνευματομάχων τὴν βλασφημίαν ἰσχύειν, τῆς οὐσίας ἢ τῆς φύσεως ἢ τῆς θεότητος τεμνομένης . . . καὶ τὸν τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως δὲ τοῦ Κυρίου λόγον ἀδιάστροφον σώζομεν . . . ὅλον δὲ εἴδοτες τέλειον μὲν ὄντα πρὸ αἰώνων Θεὸν Λόγον, τέλειον δὲ ἄνθρωπον ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν γενόμενον.[1]

There are other remarkable parallels to clauses 3 and 24 in Orations of Gregory of Nazianzus published in the year 380, and used by Ambrose in his work *de Spiritu sancto* in the following year.

Orat. xxv 17 Νῦν δὲ δίδασκε τοσοῦτον εἰδέναι μόνον, μονάδα ἐν τριάδι, καὶ τριάδα ἐν μονάδι προσκυνουμένην.

Orat. xxxi 14 Ἡμῖν εἷς θεός, ὅτι μία θεότης καὶ πρὸς ἓν τὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἔχει, κἂν τρία πιστεύηται· οὐ γὰρ τὸ μὲν μᾶλλον, τὸ δὲ ἧττον θεός, οὐδὲ τὸ μὲν πρότερον τὸ δὲ ὕστερον . . . ἀχρόνως ἐκεῖθεν ὄντα καὶ ὁμοδόξως, τρία τὰ προσκυνούμενα.

Seeberg notes that the Synodal Letter was a reply to the Roman Synod of 380 at which Ambrose was present, and which sent to Paulinus of Antioch a Creed with twenty-four anathemas which have points of contact with the *Quicumque*: e.g. anath. 20 with *Q.* 6, anath. 24 with *Q.* 16.[2]

[1] Theodt. *H. E.* v 9.

[2] Hahn[3] *Bibliothek der Symbole* § 199.

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Anath. 24 ends: haec ergo est salus Christianorum, ut credentes trinitati, id est patri et filio et spiritui sancto ⟨et baptizati⟩ (so according to the Greek translation given by Theodoret *H. E.* v 11) in eam veram, solam, unam divinitatem et potentiam eiusdem, haec sine dubio credamus.

The heresies of Sabellius, Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, and Photinus are condemned by name, and also those who deny that the Lord had a reasoning soul.

Anath. 7: Anathematizamus eos qui pro hominis anima rationabili et intelligibili dicunt Dei Verbum in humana carne versatum, quum ipse Filius est Verbum Dei et non pro anima rationabili et intelligibili in suo corpore fuerit, sed nostram, id est, rationabilem et intelligibilem sine peccato animam susceperit atque salvaverit.

A yet more important section follows on 'the stylistic and linguistic character of the creed and its witness to the Ambrosian origin'.

Brewer produces many passages from the *de Spiritu sancto* to prove Ambrose's method of teaching by repetition. The following may suffice:

De Sp. s. i 112: donat solus pater, solus filius, solus spiritus sanctus.
140: sunt pater lumen ita etiam filius lumen, et spiritus sanctus lumen est.

With the figure of *Repetitio* is connected that of *Antithesis* in cl. 11–18.

De Sp. s. iii 109: ergo sanctus pater, sanctus et filius, sanctus et spiritus: sed non tres sancti, quia unus est deus sanctus.

Cf. iii 28 and *in Luc.* viii 67.

Brewer then produces parallels to quicumque vult salvus esse, ante omnia fidem tenere, Catholica fides, (fides) integra, (fidem) servare, absque = sine, in aeternum perire, fides autem catholica haec est, ut . . ., Deum venerari = adorare, et tamen, similiter, (confiteri) compellimur, (dicere) prohibemur, etc.

The most remarkable are those to the use of *totus = omnis*, which Dom Morin, writing on Caesarius of Arles, called a Gallican peculiarity. But Brewer produces eight illustrations from Ambrose, and refers to Forcellini *De Vit. s.v.* 'totus' ii; Roensch *Itala und Vulgata* § 338; Goelzer *Latinité de S. Jérôme* p. 402.

In defence of the reading 'Deus *pariter* et homo est' Brewer has nine quotations to prove that Ambrose used the expression in similar connexions.

We may compare with *resurgere habent*

De Elia 6: quod per cibos mundus haberet imminui.

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For the use of *suis* and *propriis* in the clause cum corporibus suis et reddituri sunt de factis *propriis* rationem', we may note:

In Luc. vii 205: igne aduretur *proprio* et *suis* vermibus consumetur.

In Ps. xxxvii n. 51: David non erubescebat *sua* recensere peccata . . . non esset hodie in requie . . . si erubuisset delicta *propria* confiteri.

Brewer adds eight others.

He finds traces of the use of the creed in the tract of the Presbyter Faustinus *De Trinitate sive de Fide contra Arianos*:

Cl. 6. vii 3: Una est ergo divinitas patris et filii et spiritus sancti.

Cl. 7. iv 3: Qualis enim pater deus est talis et filius deus est.

Cl. 13, 14. iii 2: Sed ne duos omnipotentes intellegas praecavendum est; *licet enim et pater omnipotens sit et filius, tamen unus est omnipotens, sicut et unus deus.*

And the *Liber de Haeresibus* of Philastrius of Brescia:

Cap. 93: Ergo est vera persona patris, quae misit filium, et est vera persona filii, quae advenit de patre, et est vera persona spiritus, quae a patre et filio missa est. Trium itaque harum personarum una est veritas, maiestas et substantiae aequalitas et divinitas sempiterna. Qualis est enim immensa et inenarranda patris persona, talis est et filii, talis est et sancti spiritus.

Both of these writings belong to the year 384: so Brewer suggests that the creed was written between the autumn of 382 and the winter of 383. Seeberg is more cautious and prefers 'after 382'. When the empire was divided between Gratian and Theodosius in 379 Moesia and Dacia fell to the latter.[1] Brewer is able to prove that in 381 and the year following Ambrose was in close communication with Theodosius about the deposition of Arian bishops, and suggests that the Emperor may have asked for an instruction of this kind on the Catholic faith, as Ambrose had supplied Gratian with the first books of his *de Fide* against Illyrian Arianism.

This would certainly explain the curious statements of Honorius of Autun (1090–1125) and Sicardus of Cremona (1185–1215).

Honorius *Gemma animae* ii 59: Quarto fidem 'Quicumque vult' (ecclesia catholica) quotidie ad Primam iterat, quam Athanasius, Alexandrinus episcopus, *rogatu Theodosii imperatoris edidit.*

Sicardus *Mitrale* iv 6: Subditur symbolum fidei, scilicet 'Quicumque vult', quod Athanasius Alexandrinus episcopus, *rogatu Theodosii imperatoris* ad eradicandam invalescentem haereticorum perfidiam et divulgandam fidem catholicam *edidit.*

[1] Ambrose *Ep.* xii n. 3 'Equidem per Occidentales partes duobus in angulis tantum, hoc est in latere Daciae Ripensis ac Moesiae fidei obstrepi videbatur.'

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It is obvious that they quote from a common source, and their mistake about Athanasius is easily explained by the number of MSS which in the twelfth century attributed the creed to him. The conjecture is certainly attractive that Theodosius asked Ambrose to write it. Brewer notes that the biographer of Ambrose Paulinus (n. 36) speaks of a lost treatise on the faith *ad modum catechismi* which he sent to Frigitil, Queen of the Marcomanni. But he wavers between the theory that the *Quicumque* was such a popular catechism and the theory that it was written to be sung as a hymn.

In 385 when the Empress Justina threatened to banish Ambrose and set Auxentius in his place, and her guards kept watch round the basilica, he kept the people quiet as Augustine tells us by teaching them to sing hymns after the Eastern fashion.[1] And in a sermon against Auxentius quoted in *Ep.* xxi, Ambrose himself refers to a Confession of the Trinity which the people sing daily.

(n. 34): Hymnorum quoque meorum carminibus deceptum populum ferunt. Plane ne hoc abnuo. Grande carmen istud est, quo nihil potentius. Quid enim potentius, quam confessio trinitatis, quae quotidie totius populi ore celebratur? Certatim omnes student fidem fateri: patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum norunt versibus praedicare: facti sunt igitur omnes magistri, qui vix poterant esse discipuli.

Dreves[2] suggests that we have a reference here to the famous hymn *Splendor paternae gloriae*, the first three strophes of which are addressed to the three Persons of the Trinity. But Brewer proves that Ambrose used the word *Hymnus* for the *Tersanctus* as for Old Testament Psalms, and he thinks that the expression *grande carmen* points to something longer than his metrical hymns. Is it the *Quicumque vult*?

The *Quicumque vult*, like the *Te Deum*, is written after the style known as *Cursus Leoninus* with rhythmical cadences governed by accent at the ends of the sentences. Brewer seems to identify the style with the metrical prose of e. g. Cyprian *de Mortalitate*, although Meyer told him it was not. On p. 127 n. 2 he attempts to make a metrical analysis of the first sentences, and scans 'neque substantiam separantes' thus: ∪ ∪ | — — ∪ | — — ∪ | — ∪.

This is really a good specimen of the ending called *velox*: 'substántiam separántes'. The other endings are *planus*: 'únus aetérnus', and *tardus*: 'cárne subsístens'. And there is the fifth of the metrical endings classified by Meyer which was allowed as a sixth form of the *cursus* — ∪ ‖ ∪ ∪ — ∪: 'in unitātĕ vĕnĕrēmŭr'. Possibly the *Te Deum* was

[1] *Conf.* ix 15.

[2] *Aurelius Ambrosius der Vater des Kirchengesanges* p. 29f.

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one of the hymns (from the East?) introduced at this time, and if so the *Quicumque* might have been sung to a similar chant.

But I think that the use of the *Quicumque* as a canticle began with the revival of Church music in the schools founded by Charles the Great, when we find his scholars looking about for canticles and inserting the *Quicumque* and the *Te Deum* at the end of their Psalters.

I find it difficult to believe that the author ever intended the *Quicumque* to be sung. One of the old commentaries, the so-called Oratorian, speaks of it as 'frequently made the subject of meditation by our priests'. This was written in Gaul in the eighth century, and such use preparing for catechetical instruction seems to me the best use which we can make of the creed to-day.

Ambrose writing to his sister Marcellina (*Ep.* xxii) in 386 about the discovery of the bodies of the martyrs Gervasius and Protasius says that demoniacs delivered at the shrine cried out at the moment of their exorcization, n. 21: 'neminem posse esse salvum, nisi qui in patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum credidisset . . . qui trinitatis omnipotentem uirtutem non crederet'. Brewer regards this as a proof that the creed had taken hold of the popular mind.

He is not very successful in tracing the early use of the creed in the Church of Milan. The following parallels are not decisive:

Liturgy for *Feria V in Autentica* (Thursday in Holy Week) the Milanese Canon compared with the Roman has an interpolation:

> 'Tu nos Domine participes filii tui, tu consortes regni tui, tu incolas paradisi, tu angelorum comites esse iussisti, si tamen inlaesa et intemerata fide caelestis militiae sacramenta servemus'.
>
> *Oratio ad consecrandam ecclesiam*: 'Omnesque homines venientes adorare in hoc loco propitius dignare respicere, ut semper felices, semperque tua religione laetantes, constanter in sanctae Trinitatis unitate et fide catholica perseverent.'[1]

He has to fall back on a long quotation from Ommanney on the use of the Creed in North Italy ending with the words: 'But the most important evidence of the early reception and use of the *Quicumque* in North Italy is furnished by the fact of its being said—as we have every reason to believe from a remote antiquity—in the Milanese or Ambrosian rite or office of Divine worship, being sung daily at Prime.'[2]

The evidence may be quoted as follows:

Epistola canonica, published by the Ballerini and assigned by them to the sixth century, is an episcopal charge directing that all clergy should learn the Catholic Faith by heart. It belongs to North Italy and was adopted by Atto, bishop of Vercellae, in the tenth century.

[1] Mercati *Antiche Reliquie Liturgiche Ambrosiane e Romane*, Roma, 1902, p. 23.

[2] *Dissertation* p. 445.

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Ratherius of Verona held a visitation of his clergy in Lent 966 and directed that they should learn the three Creeds, ascribing the *Quicumque* to Athanasius.

A Synod held at Siponto at the end of the ninth century directed all clergy to sing the Creed every Lord's Day.

Ommanney quotes a commentary connected with Milan which he found in the Ambrosian library (*Cod.* T. 103) of the tenth century.

It is obviously important that all MSS containing the text of the Creed which are in any way connected with Italy should now be scrutinized afresh. I may mention (1) *Cod. Vat.* 82, a Psalter of the tenth century which belongs to the Province of Milan; (2) *Cod. B.M. Add.* 16413, written in a Lombard or Beneventan hand of the tenth century; (3) I have a note of a MS at Monte Casino, *Cod.* 439 (c), but I do not know the date.

The earliest MS of all, Cod. Ambros. O. 212 *sup. c.* A. D. 700, comes from Bobbio, which is in the province of Milan. In it the *Quicumque* follows the *Liber de ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* of Gennadius and the *Faith of Bachiarius*, a priest who came from Spain apparently to Gaul, and was challenged about A. D. 410 to clear himself from the suspicion of Priscillianist heresy.

I have been accustomed to think of the *provenance* of this collection, as such, as being Gallican rather than Italian, and the *Quicumque* might have been brought to Bobbio with those other Gallican documents. But we must allow that it might have come from Milan.

So far as I know not a single MS has handed down the name of Ambrose as the author of *Quicumque*.

In the parallel case of the *Te Deum* an important series of MSS preserves the name of Niceta (Nicetius), and we know now that this was the tradition of authorship at Lincoln Cathedral as well as Salisbury in the sixteenth century. But further research in Italy may yet discover the last link in the chain of evidence connecting the *Quicumque* with Ambrose.

Looking back over the whole argument I feel bound to confess that I am converted to an earlier date for the creed than I formerly thought possible. I have always contended for the theory of Waterland that the creed dated from Apollinarian times, that is before the rise of Nestorianism. This remains true, for the Roman Synod of 380 and the synod at Constantinople in 382 were concerned with Apollinarianism as well as Arianism.

The Gallican quotations, which Ommanney and I collected with such pains, remain valid as quotations. But the theory that the creed came from the Monastery of Lérins must go by the board. We have only proved that the monks of Lérins were among the first to quote and use it.

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Also my theory that it was written to meet the heresy of Priscillian is undermined. This I regret the more because it had recently received the considered approval of Dr Kidd.[1] We may still say that it was found useful to meet that heresy in Spain and Gaul. Since Priscillian himself came to see Ambrose about 381 after his unsuccessful effort to see Damasus, the implied criticism of Manichean error which Brewer acknowledges in clause 28 may be referred to Priscillianism. He quotes Künstle[2] as finding in the words 'shall give account for their own deeds' a protest against Priscillianist teaching about 'stellae fatales' as governing human lives.

But I had suggested that since Priscillian was both Sabellian and Apollinarian the combination of the two parts of the *Quicumque* was explained by my theory. In view of the evidence that Ambrose and the Synod of Rome in 380 were occupied in explaining the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation together, this is not as necessary as it seemed to be when we were chiefly occupied in combating the Two-Portion theory of Swainson and Lumby.

In my *Introduction to the Creeds*[3] I wrote these words, and I gladly repeat them:

'A kindly French critic of my former book took me to task for "somewhat rash hypotheses". I must plead guilty to the charge of repeating some of those hypotheses, and even of adding to them. Surely it is not possible to make any progress without new hypotheses. The one thing needful is to state the evidence fully enough to serve the critic, who has a better hypothesis to suggest.'

When the ground has been cleared by shewing that the *Quicumque* is not dependent on Augustine, all is ready for the new theory. The wealth of quotations by which Brewer proves that in every detail the creed corresponds to the literary style of the great Bishop of Milan produces a profound impression. His book is the fruit of years of patient labour and acute observation. His courtesy to his predecessors in the field is charming. Others may succeed in detecting flaws in his argument which I cannot discover. If not—we may congratulate him indeed on unravelling one of the most obscure problems of early Christian literature, and I hope that his theory that Ambrose was the author of the creed will receive universal recognition.

A. E. BURN.

[1] *A History of the Church* ii 309 sq.
[2] *Antipriscilliana* p. 229.
[3] p. ix.

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THE ENOCHIC PENTATEUCH.

THE Ethiopic Book of Enoch (1 Enoch) has been used by scholars mainly for the purpose of illustrating and explaining the apocalyptical and eschatological passages in the New Testament, though it is generally recognized as the most important of the pseudepigraphs for determining the Jewish background against which the mission of Christ ought to be viewed, since it exemplifies that remarkable phase of Jewish thought which had the closest affinities with the religion which enriched the world with a new view of human life and its purpose. The lofty Messianic teaching of this book, its use of the Messianic titles 'Son of Man' and 'Elect One' which are found in the Gospels, and its descriptions of the person and work of the Messiah who should come from heaven to inaugurate the Kingdom of God, in which righteousness should triumph and sin be cast down, caused it to be regarded as an inspired writing by the Jewish apocalyptic circles for which it was composed, and by the Christian church of the first three centuries.

What then was the purpose of this work? What were the ideas which gave rise to it? Did the authors of it simply wish to record the doctrines of their Messianic circle, or had they a larger aim than this? The work is a pentateuch, and its earliest title was probably 'The Books of Enoch',[1] as the earliest title of the Mosaic Pentateuch was probably 'The Books of Moses'. Without doubt there was a convention among Jewish writers that pentateuchs were desirable, for there are other notable examples in the Psalms, Proverbs, &c. But we may go much further than this in the case of the Enochic Pentateuch, since its title and its contents suggest that it bears likenesses to the Mosaic Pentateuch closer than those which other pentateuchs bear.

Book i opens with Enoch's vision of God, and describes the diverse fates which await the righteous and the wicked in the Day of the Lord. This Day will mark the end of the present world-order, and the beginning of the New Creation. It is therefore comparable with 'the beginning' in which 'God made the heavens and the earth'. The following chapters give an account of the origin of sin, and the discordance which it introduced into the state of 'goodness' which God ordained for all things that He created. The origin of evil is attributed to the fallen angels whose story is told in Genesis vi: they revealed knowledge to men, brought forth the giants whose disembodied spirits are demons, and led human beings into sinful courses of life whereby the order of

[1] Charles *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* ii 164.

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nature was corrupted. The wanderings of the patriarchs in Genesis are matched with the journeys of Enoch through the other world. Abraham journeys from Chaldaea to the Land of Promise, thence to Egypt, and afterwards returns to Canaan; Enoch journeys to Paradise to behold the place of bliss promised to his spiritual children, thence to Sheol to the places of torment reserved for the wicked, and again returns to the garden of God. In that garden he beholds the Tree of Wisdom and the Tree of Life which, according to Genesis, were growing there; for it was the belief of Jewish eschatologists that in the New Creation the bliss of the primeval Paradise would be renewed. Enoch's journeys are mystical interpretations of Abraham's: the latter prelude the bliss of the earthly Canaan for his descendants after the flesh; Enoch's prelude the rest of the heavenly Promised Land for his descendants after the Spirit. The first book of Enoch may therefore well be called the Enochic Genesis.

Book ii describes the person and future mission of the Messiah, the heavenly Son of Man whose dwelling-place is 'beneath the wings of the Lord of Spirits'. He has been existent from eternity, for before the world was made he was named, i.e. he was known as the King to Come. He is described in three 'Similitudes', or 'Parables', which are really three 'showings' or 'appearances' to Enoch. His function in the Messianic Age will be to lead the righteous into everlasting bliss, to cast out from his kingdom all things that offend, and to put all enemies beneath his feet. His prototype in Hebrew history was Moses, who led the chosen people into the Promised Land. The Son of Man is the second and greater Moses who shall deliver 'the elect' from their oppressors, and bring them into the paradisal bliss of promised sinlessness and peace. As we shall have to consider the 'Similitudes' at greater length, it is sufficient at this stage to notice that they form the apocalyptical counterpart of the Book of Exodus.

Book iii, the book of astronomical secrets, tells the laws which God ordained that the heavenly bodies should obey. According to the author, who evidently has in mind Gen. i 14, 'let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days and years', the year is to be divided exactly into fifty-two weeks of three hundred and sixty-four days. Irregularities in the ordained order of the seasons, and of the courses of the moon and planets, are due to the sins of men who take the 'chiefs of the stars' to be gods. The idea of the book was unquestionably influenced by the Mosaic Leviticus: it sets forth an ideal law and an ideal observance of its decrees as an example for 'the righteous' to imitate. The obedience of men to the law of righteousness of life ought to be as stedfast as is the obedience of the heavenly bodies to the Divine laws which govern them. Here then is the Enochic Leviticus.

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Book iv, after giving a first 'dream-vision' of the Divine purpose to destroy the world, and Enoch's petition that a remnant of his posterity may be saved, recounts in a second 'dream-vision' the vicissitudes of the righteous seed from the beginning of the world until the inauguration of the Messianic kingdom, which appears to follow the Maccabaean revolt. Thereafter the Heavenly Jerusalem takes the place of the earthly, and the righteous in Israel are first gathered into it. The Messiah then appears to rule over his Kingdom which will be composed of converted Gentiles as well as Jews. The author had in mind the Mosaic Book of Numbers, which gives 'the sum of all the congregation of Israel', tells of the preservation of all the righteous among them as they journeyed to the Holy Land, their settlement there under Joshua, and ends with the appointment of the Cities of Refuge. Hence Book iv is the Enochic Numbers.

Book v is a book of admonition to his children, spoken by Enoch before his departure from the world. The patriarch exhorts them to obedience by promises of blessings to come, contrasting their future lot with that of the ungodly. We have here, therefore, an Enochic sermon upon obedience to the law of righteousness after the manner of the Mosaic Deuteronomy.

The similarity of idea between the Mosaic and Enochic Pentateuchs makes the latter an important work for the study of one of the latest phases of pre-Christian Judaism. It shews that the eschatological beliefs and Messianic expectations of the circles for which this apocalyptical pentateuch was written, were probably more widespread than has been so far recognized. The great religious parties of orthodox Jewry insisted upon the Law of Moses as the Torah to be observed; but here is another Torah, framed upon the model of the Mosaic Torah, which looks, however, for obedience not to the Law which Pharisee and Scribe had burdened with their traditions, but to a Law with a quite different provenance and purpose, 'the Law of Righteousness', a Law which simplified and smoothed out the complex enactments of the Mosaic Pentateuch.

What then was the conception of this 'Law of Righteousness' which the Enochic Pentateuch speaks of? It depended upon the account of Enoch which was given in Gen. v 24: 'he walked with God' in simplicity of faith and obedience long before Moses delivered the Law to Israel. He knew not therefore the Mosaic Law's ritual and ceremonial enactments, he knew nothing of sacrifice, and still less could he have known of the developements in minutiae which it had undergone in later Judaism. He was no priest of Levi's house, but a layman who yet was so exemplary in his righteousness that 'God took him'. The Enochic pentateuch, therefore, seems to have been composed by a body

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of laity who, holding themselves aloof from the official religion of Judaism, set themselves to observe the great moral and spiritual principles for which the prophets contended, and made little of the demands of the Mosaic Torah. They were the non-conformists of their day. Probably they were largely of 'the common people' who, according to the Pharisees, 'knew not the Law and were accursed'. An allusion to this state of things appears to be made in chapter xcv where woe is threatened against those 'who fulminate anathemas which cannot be reversed'. The few commands enjoined upon the righteous are found in the last book of admonition: they reflect the spirit of Deuteronomy—that great prophetic sermon on the Law—and shew wherein sin consists. Evidently this sect paid greater attention to morality and spirituality of life than to the requirements of Levitical ordinances.

The Enochites were manifestly religious rebels. They found no hope of salvation for themselves in orthodox Judaism and so sought it elsewhere. They considered that their type of religion was older far than Mosaism, that it was the religion which Enoch followed when he 'walked with God'—the primary revelation given by God to man; that it was intended not for the Jew only but for the penitent Gentile also; and that it afforded hope of salvation to all who 'were troubled of heart'. We may understand how it would appeal to 'the common people who knew not the Law', and were hopeless of ever observing its details—like St Paul at a later day. These spiritual revolutionaries—who were yet in the true order of succession from the great prophets—bade their disciples be of good cheer, though self-righteous Pharisaism and scholastic Sadduceeism held them 'accursed', and look to the issue of their faith and hope in the certain fulfilment of the promises of God that all should yet be well for His 'elect ones of righteousness and faith'. Hence they constructed this new-old Enochic Pentateuch to teach that the kingdom of bliss which should recompense them for all their faithfulness was nigh at hand.

But if the writers of this apocalyptical pentateuch were such as we suggest, where did they live, and who formed their hearers? The book gives the clue which we seek, for it was written 'at the waters of Dan, in the land of Dan, to the south of the west of Hermon' (xiii 7), i. e. in the northern part of Palestine, whence its teaching must have been carried over Galilee and still farther afield. The only complete copies of the book are in Ethiopic, which shews that it must have been known in Africa: fragments of it are preserved in Greek, and as the Ethiopic versions were translated from the Greek, it must also have been known among the Diaspora.

It may have been then that the Enochic authors and their immediate circles, being remote from Jerusalem, found ready disciples among those

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who, being likewise remote from official Judaism, could not possibly have observed the details of the Mosaic Torah, and so were alienated from the great religious parties. They were thus open to the charge of desiring 'to destroy the Law', and probably the Temple also—a charge from which Jesus had to defend Himself in later days.[1] Inspired by the spirit of a large religious liberty, they made their disciples ready to welcome the Gospel which proclaimed liberty to the captives, and opened the doors of the kingdom of heaven that the poor in Spirit might enter thereinto. They promised the blessings of this kingdom to those who were sad at heart, and to the meek they foretold possession of the new earth; satisfaction should be theirs who hungered and thirsted after righteousness; the vision of God was reserved for the pure in heart; and everlasting joy should be the reward of those who were persecuted for righteousness' sake. The Sermon on the Mount was spoken to 'the multitudes' who, because they had no hope of attaining to the righteousness of the Mosaic Law, had accepted the hope held out to them by the Enochic Pentateuch of gaining a new heaven and a new earth in the Day of the Son of Man: this Pentateuch prepared them for the coming of Him who would reconcile legalism with apocalyptic, Moses with Enoch, the Torah of the priesthood with the Torah of the laity, in an all-embracing synthesis of the truth.

It is perhaps worth while to notice that the Enochic Pentateuch is probably referred to in Jn. xii 34: 'We have heard out of *the Law* that the Christ abideth for ever'. The Mosaic Law certainly makes no such assertion; the Book of Enoch asserts it often. The multitude cannot reconcile the saying of Jesus that He must be 'lifted up' with the teaching of 'the Law' that the Christ must abide for ever. Death seemed inconsistent with the claim to be the Messiah spoken of in their 'Law'. Hence they asked, 'Who is *this* (οὗτος, *emphatic*) Son of Man', i.e. the Son of Man of whom you speak as about to die?

Again, we may ask whether there is any connexion between the Ethiopic version of this book and the conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts viii). It is true that the incident depends upon Isa. liii and its interpretation by Philip, but the preceding preparation may have been through the Messianism of the apocalyptical pentateuch; while the rapidity of the event, and the subsequent departure of the eunuch to his own home, suggests that it was not for the first time that the new convert had heard of the Messiah even in his African home.

The Christian church of to-day may yet preserve one or two reminiscences of the book in her worship, for she still sings the Songs of those expectants, Zacharias and Simeon, who sang of the fulfilment of the promises which God 'spake by the mouth of His holy prophets *which*

[1] Mat. v 17: Mk. xiv 58.

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have been since the world began', that His salvation should be 'a light for revelation to the Gentiles, and the glory of His people Israel'.

Of the influence of the book upon New Testament thought this is not the place to speak at length. We would only call attention to the likeness of many of its ideas to those in the Gospels and in the Christian Apocalypse. It gave a preparation for the teaching of Jesus, it furnished Him with the Messianic title 'Son of Man' which His hearers well understood, and it helped in the developement of the Christologies of the New Testament.

So we pass to the teaching which the book gives concerning the person and mission of the Expected Messiah, who is called Son of Man, Elect One, Righteous One, Anointed, and the Son of God. The first four titles are found in the 'Similitudes', the last in chapter cv. The advent of the Messiah is the dominating interest of the whole work, since it is for this event that 'the elect' are bidden to watch and wait.

Among the first four titles we have to distinguish carefully between those which imply that he is endowed for his mission by the Spirit of God (viz. Elect One, Righteous One, Anointed), and that which makes no reference thereto (Son of Man), because upon this distinction we shall analyse the 'sources' of the 'Similitudes'. It is necessary, however, to trace the genesis and developement of the two ideas in the earlier Messianic thought of the Hebrew prophets.

The conception of the Spirit-endowed Messiah had its origin in the belief that the Spirit of the Lord came upon the early rulers of Israel to equip them for their tasks of rulership. Thus the Judges were Spirit-endowed, and their successors, the Kings, were similarly spoken of. Even after the Davidic monarchs had proved themselves failures there were yet prophets and psalmists who believed that the covenant given to David through Nathan was inviolable, and that some one of David's house, fully endowed with the Spirit, should be Israel's deliverer from its foes. We can trace the course of this belief through the books of the Old Testament from Jeremiah (xxx 9), Ezekiel (xxxvii 26), Ps. cxxxii 17, and Zechariah (iv 6), into the Psalms of Solomon, and so to the Pharisees of our Lord's day. The belief persists that this new 'David' shall yet come to inaugurate the Messianic kingdom through the Spirit with which he is endowed. The characteristics of this Messiah, his righteousness of life, his just rule, his cleansing of the kingdom from sin, are most strongly expressed in Isa. xi 1–6, xlii 1–4, and lxi 1–3, and these three passages, which indicate the Spirit's activities through him, are the sources from which the three titles, Elect One, Righteous One, and Anointed are undoubtedly derived by the Enochic writers. In particular the title, God's Elect One, is a literal translation of the Hebrew of Isa. xlii 1.

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Now in none of these passages is there a single mention of angels as the intermediaries between God and the world, and in this respect they resemble the Priestly document of the Hexateuch, which likewise avoids all mention of angels. The writers of this school preferred to think of God as His own Agent, and apparently objected to the idea of any other agency than His Spirit, invisible, incorporeal, and known only by the effects produced by His indwelling. Possibly they were afraid of making angelology a rival to their monotheistic beliefs, especially in the later phases of Judaism when much was made of the heavenly hierarchy. They therefore developed the doctrine of the Spirit, as against the doctrine of the Angel of the Lord; and later still the doctrine of the *sevenfold* activity of the Spirit, as against the doctrine of the seven archangels. This sevenfold Spirit is the endowment of the Messiah in Isa. xi 1, 2, i.e. of the 'Elect One'.

Accordingly we should expect that an apocalypse of the Spirit-endowed Messiah, whatever title may be given to him, will make considerable use of this doctrine of the Sevenfold Spirit, but will reject the doctrine of angels and archangels. It would view the Gentiles with a compassionate eye, in accordance with the teaching given in Isa. xlii 4: 'He shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles'; its title for God would be 'the Lord of Spirits'; and probably it would teach that bliss would come to the righteous in this world.

In contrast with the theme of the Spirit-endowed Messiah, there was a parallel developement in another school of thought of the theme of the Messianic Angel of the Lord. This Angel was the visible manifestation of God to men. Without now considering the origin of this idea, it may be noticed that David was compared with him[1]; and when the descendants of David proved failures, certain prophets bade people expect the coming of the Angel Himself in the Messianic office, e. g. Isa. vii 14, ix 6, and Mal. iii 1, 2.

A reconciliation between the two themes of the Spirit-endowed Messianic Man, and the Angel-Messiah, was made in the 'Songs of the Suffering Servant', where the 'Elect One' of Isa. xlii 1 is identified with 'the Arm of the Lord' of liii 1: but as this prophecy of a Suffering Messiah was rejected by most Jews, in part if not as a whole, it remained for later apocalyptic to develope the two themes separately.

In Dan. vii the 'one like unto a Son of Man' is the apocalyptical developement of the Messianic Angel, whose full-length figure is drawn in chapters x and xii. A 'Son of Man' apocalypse based upon Daniel will therefore be marked by Danielic characteristics. An angel-interpreter, such as Daniel's archangel Gabriel, will certainly interpret the visions narrated; the Son of Man will be a Warrior-Messiah making

[1] 1 Sam. xxix 9: 2 Sam. xiv 17, 20: xix 27. Cf. Zech. xii 8.

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war against Israel's foes and destroying them ruthlessly; great use would be made of angelology in connexion with the Son of Man's victory and the glory bestowed upon him by God, Whose titles will reflect the Danielic titles 'Ancient of Days' and 'Most High'; and finally, the place of bliss will probably be the next world where the 'righteous' will shine as the stars.

We think, therefore, that the two titles of the Angel-interpreter in the 'Similitudes'—'the angel of peace' and 'the angel who went with me'—are not indicative of one 'Son of Man source' and one 'Elect One source', as Dr Charles suggests, but that they belong to *two* 'Son of Man sources' which the editor used for compiling his work. The fact that the two titles are blended into 'the angel of peace who went with me' is sufficient to shew that they are insufficient to provide a basis for documentary analysis; and further, they suggest that the problem of analysis is exceedingly complex since the editor was at such pains to compound even an angel's title.

But assuming that the two themes of the Spirit-endowed Messiah and the Angel-Messiah underwent such developements as we have indicated, we have the following components of the Similitudes:—

1. An 'Elect One' source, teaching the doctrine of the Spirit-Endowed Messiah.

2. Two 'Son of Man' sources, teaching the doctrine of the Angel-Messiah.

3. A 'Wisdom' source, allied to the 'Elect One' source in rejecting the doctrine of angels, and probably teaching the doctrine of the Warrior-Logos.

4. A 'Noah' source, allied to the 'Son of Man' sources in accepting an advanced angelology, and probably teaching the doctrine of the Creative-Logos.

5. An 'Enoch' source, which forms the framework into which the other sources are fitted.

The following analysis of these documents ignores the 'blending' of one with another, to which reference is made subsequently.

I. *Elect One Source*: 38, 39^{26-28}, 45^{2-6}, $46^{3\,ef}$, $47^{1,2,4}$, $48^{4-6,8}$–51, 56^{5}–58, 61^{4-13}, $62^{1,2}$, $63^{1-10,12}$.

II (*a*). *Son of Man Source A*: $46^{1-3d,4-8}$, 47^{3}, $48^{2,3}$, 62^{3-16}, 63^{11}, 69^{26-29}.

(*b*). *Son of Man Source B*: 40–41, 71^{14-17} (= 46^{1}–$3^{d,4-8}$ in *A*), 52^{2}–54^{3}, 71^{1-13}.

III. *Wisdom Source*: 42, $48^{1,7}$, 49^{1}.

IV. *Noah Source*: 54^{4}–56^{4}, 60–61^{3}, 64–$69^{21,25}$.

V. *Enoch Source*: $39^{1,2a}$, 43–44, 45^{1}, 59, 69^{22-24}, 70.

The editor was a thorough-going apocalyptist, and his school

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evidently had made a collection of such documents. The final draft of the 'Similitudes' is, however, no book of mere scissors and paste, but a real attempt to mingle the many elements contained in the sources, and to compound from them a work of some literary merit. The beautiful little passage from the 'Wisdom' source, and certain parts of the 'Son of Man' sources, shew that the editor had a feeling for the literary merits of his various documents. He also had certain prejudices of his own, for this is the only Messianic work, outside the Gospels and Epistles of the New Testament, which contains no reference to Babylonian mythology, though his predecessors among the prophets and apocalyptists of Jewry had lent the weight of their authority to its use in Messianic predictions.[1] Even in this respect, therefore, his work may be looked upon as preparatory for the coming of Christ who declared that His mission was to 'the lost sheep of the house of Israel', i. e. to such as had lost hope of any such 'righteousness' as belonged to those who observed the Mosaic Torah, and were therefore ready to welcome the freedom of His Gospel.

That Gospel contained many reflexions of Enochite doctrine. How could it be otherwise? Its ideas of the Messiah had been strongly implanted for at least half a century in the minds and hearts of those who 'heard him gladly'. As a teacher he was bound to make use of these ideas in His teaching, and in the short time at His disposal He could but lay down general principles of interpretation for His Church to work out. The essentially Jewish and Palestinian elements therein, while necessary, were but temporary: the permanent element was that He was the Divine Messiah, less than the Father, but the Father's Son, Who came to bring deliverance from sin to Jew and Gentile alike; and this element the Church made the centre of her faith, as it was the centre of the faith of apocalyptical Judaism.

The editor of the 'Similitudes' had one main interest: he wished to reconcile all the Messianic schools of apocalyptic, to make a synthesis of the whole Messianic expectation in its varying forms, round the person of the Messiah, heavenly and pre-existent, whom each apocalyptical document had described. For it must be noted that the Spirit-endowed 'Elect One' is no mere human Messiah such as Jeremiah's new David, or Ezekiel's prince; he has become a pre-existent heavenly Man, whose dwelling is 'beneath the wings of the Lord of Spirits'.[2] Similarly, the 'Son of Man', who from the beginning was hidden and preserved in the presence of the Most High,[3] is the same King under another aspect. It was the editor's merit to have perceived this fact, and to make the attempt of framing a single and unified apocalypse of the coming Messiah out of documents which differed widely upon less

[1] *J. T. S.* April, 1925. [2] 1 En. xxxix 7. [3] 1 En. lxii 7.

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important matters of faith. He puts aside these differences, or rather includes the differing ideas about 'angels' and 'spirits' in his glorification of God and the Son of Man. To him the differences are unimportant—a matter of words largely—but they express the truth that the universe is peopled by spiritual beings and mysterious powers whose origin is God, and whose purpose is to fulfil His Will. They are for His glory, and the names by which men call them are indifferent to this mystical visionary. It is God and His Messiah who are important; and in them he would fain have all the righteous put their trust.

So he sets forth his theme of the Messiah to come in the form of three 'Similitudes'. Perhaps the best translation of this word would be 'showings', after the use of this word by Julian of Norwich. He would, perhaps, have it understood that he speaks after the manner of his predecessors in apocalyptic, Ezekiel and Daniel: the former speaks of the 'similitude' of a throne, and the 'similitude' of the appearance of a man: the latter speaks of 'one like unto a son of man', or better still, 'as it were' a son of man. The visions of the mystics, he would say, are true, but they are only expressions of the realities which they half reveal and half conceal: they are 'similitudes' only, not the very realities themselves; mystics tell their personal experiences of the actualities, rather than the actualities themselves.

The division into *three* Similitudes is a mechanical device which approved itself to our editor because of its apparent simplicity; but his documentary sources did not readily lend themselves to this treatment. They were apparently straightforward writings, without divisions into scenes, continuous, and treating of one theme instead of several. Thus, for example, the 'Wisdom' source by its title suggests that it was a vision of this Heavenly Mother and of her son the Divine Logos, probably portraying his birth and his conquest of Israel's foes, as in Rev. xii and xix; the 'Son of Man' source would picture his heavenly abode, his revelation as Messiah, his judgement of the kings and mighty, and his establishment of the Messianic kingdom; the 'Elect One' source would probably speak of the revelation of this Messiah, his judgement of the Gentiles, and his establishment of the kingdom of 'the elect'; the 'Noah' source would deal rather with the judgement upon the fallen angels and the wicked. From this very complex material the editor planned to make his three 'Similitudes', and it is scarcely to be wondered at that he was not very successful in his presentation of his theme. Nevertheless he was inspired by a great purpose, which was to reconcile the differing schools of apocalyptic in a vision of faith, and to shew them the Messiah for whom they yearned as the central figure of their eschatological hope.

Having thus given the constituent documents of the 'Similitudes',

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we might go further and see how far these are employed in the other four books. This task, however, we must leave, though probably it will be found that, with the addition of other sources, such as the 'Apocalypse of Weeks', they run in varying proportions throughout the whole work. It is more to the point to notice the editor's method of work when composing the 'Similitudes', which closely resembles that of the priestly editors of the Mosaic Pentateuch.

His basis is the 'Elect One' document which he combines with the two 'Son of Man' sources. A passage from one of the latter he cannot incorporate into his resultant text; he will not omit it entirely, so he gives it a place at the close of this book.[1] It is parallel to chapter xlvi, which is taken from his other 'Son of Man' source. But he interweaves his sources inextricably as may be seen from his combination of the two titles of the angel-interpreter, still more from his mingling of the titles for God and His Messiah, the terms 'elect, righteous, holy', and his dispassionate use of 'angels' and 'spirits'.

Into this blended text he incorporated fragments from his 'Wisdom' source—fragments only, since this source as a whole was distasteful to him on account of the large amount of heathen mythology which it employed in describing the Heavenly Wisdom and her Son, the Divine Logos. Similarly he had rejected the heathen mythology which he found in his 'Son of Man' sources; for these undoubtedly contained such mythology since they were based upon the Danielic vision. For the same reason also he rejected the term Logos from the Noah apocalypse (chapter lxix),[2] because it was associated in his mind with the Babylonian mythological term, though he employed large sections of this source because it dealt with judgement upon the evil angels, who were the cause of sin, and also with the destruction of the wicked. Finally, he enclosed his composite text within the 'Enoch' document, modifying that source here and there by his own additions, as, for example, in chapter xxxvii 1, 2.

How closely this method of work resembles that which the priestly editors of the Mosaic pentateuch followed is evident. It may be that some members of the Enochite sect were priests—the spiritual descendants of those who in an earlier day had joined the Chasidim, and the spiritual progenitors of that 'great company of the priests' who became obedient to the Christian faith.[3] Possibly, too, there were Scribes among them—the 'Wisdom' apocalypse suggests as much. If so, the knowledge of the method by which the Mosaic pentateuch was fashioned may have been traditional among them, and they could easily have lent their knowledge towards the construction of an Enochic pentateuch upon similar lines. But however this may be, the Enochic pentateuch, both

[1] 1 En. lxxi. [2] *J. T. S.* Oct. 1924. [3] Acts vi 7.

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by its general resemblance to the Mosaic pentateuch and by its mode of structure, helps to confirm the conclusions of scholarship concerning the 'documentary theory' of the latter. The authors of the Enochic pentateuch were the first 'higher critics': they knew full well what modern scholars have worked to discover in the field of pentateuchal criticism, and they used their knowledge for their own purposes of drawing up the beginnings of an Enochic, as against a Mosaic, literature.

This attempt to unify the different opinions and beliefs of the apocalyptical writers, by presenting a synthesis of their teaching in the form of a pentateuch which, by its title, claimed an authority more ancient than the Mosaic Law, was a great idea, and expressed a great purpose. It centralized the faith of Jewish apocalypticism in the person of the Messiah who should deliver the righteous from all their troubles. That such a pentateuch, bringing together as it did many discordant opinions, should have found acceptance as 'the Law' among the multitudes of Galilee in the time of Christ, is at once a testimony to the missionary activities of the circles for whom it was written, and to the freedom which it brought to their disciples when they learnt to accept this Messianic faith. It was, therefore, an important factor in the preparation of the Galileans, and perhaps of others far beyond the bounds of Palestine, for the mission of Christ; and it contributed to Palestinian Christianity the terms and the ideas of the Christologies of the New Testament. When it was no longer needed by the Church which had gone forth to conquer the western world, it fell into oblivion. After the lapse of centuries it has been recovered that we may see the background of the pictures of the first days of Christianity, and also perhaps may verify the findings of modern scholarship concerning the structure of that Pentateuch whose canonicity both Jew and Christian have always acknowledged.

Note: The Hebrew and Greek equivalents of the title Son of Man.

Ezekiel's description of the Glory of Yahweh as 'a likeness (similitude) as the appearance of a man', is in Hebrew דְּמוּת כְּמַרְאֵה אָדָם, which the Septuagint translates by ὁμοίωμα ὡς εἶδος ἀνθρώπου. Daniel gives two phrases to describe his Messianic figure, כְּבַר אֱנָשׁ, in Aramaic, which the Septuagint translates by ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου (vii 13); and כְּמַרְאֵה אָדָם, in Hebrew, for which the Septuagint gives ὡς ὅρασις ἀνθρώπου (x 18). The latter phrase in the Hebrew reverts therefore to the exact words used by Ezekiel in describing the 'Glory', and accordingly warrants the identification of the 'great Angel' of Dan. x with the ancient Angel of Yahweh, whom Ezekiel names 'the Glory of Yahweh'.

The book of Revelation gives ὅμοιος υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου as the Greek form; but that the writer identified his 'one like unto a son of man', i. e. the

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Christ, with the figure in Dan. x is witnessed by comparing Rev. i 13–15 with Dan. x 6, and Rev. i 17 with Dan. x 8, 10.

The Gospels use the Greek phrase with the double article, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, which we believe was suggested by the Septuagint of Isa. liii 3 ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἄτιμον καὶ ἐκλεῖπον παρὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων.[1] We need, therefore, consider only the forms in apocalyptic.

Dr Charles has shewn that the use of ὅμοιος in Revelation makes it equivalent in meaning to ὡς, so that we may confine our attention to the meaning of ὡς in the Septuagint phrases. Now in Ezek. i 26 the Septuagint describes 'the likeness of a throne, as the appearance of a sapphire stone' in the words ὁμοίωμα θρόνου, ὡς ὅρασις λίθου σαπφείρου. Both the Hebrew and Greek therefore record a 'visionary' throne only, the image, or similitude, or form of a throne. Similarly ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου means a similar semblance or similitude of a man—a 'something' which appeared to wear a human form; and this is also the meaning of ὁμοίωμα ὡς εἶδος ἀνθρώπου.

The Hebrew of Ezekiel and of Dan. x 18, and the Aramaic of Dan. vii 13, must therefore also be identical in meaning. The English translation, 'one like unto a son of man', of the last phrase would therefore appear to give a far more definite meaning to Daniel's Aramaic than he intended. The nearest English translation of both the Aramaic and its Greek equivalent would be 'a similitude as the appearance of a son of man' (= man), as in Ezekiel, or 'as it were a son of man'.

The Greek of Isa. liii 2, ὡς παιδίον, 'as it were a little child', 'the similitude of a child', warrants such an English rendering. The prophet saw a visionary appearance wearing a child's form; the apocalyptists saw a similar visionary appearance wearing a man's form.

The author of the 'Similitudes' of 1 Enoch was well aware that Ezekiel and Daniel, his predecessors in the apocalyptical school, intended to indicate such a visionary form, for he labelled his Messianic visions 'Similitudes', using this word in Ezekiel's sense of דְּמוּת. 'The Son of Man' of the 'Similitudes' undoubtedly indicates the future Messiah; but the author of 1 Enoch means to say that up to the time his book was written only his 'similitude' has been seen in vision, not the actual Messiah who was 'hidden beneath the wings of the Lord of Spirits'. This 'similitude' was therefore conceived as the Son of Man's 'angel', just as more ancient thought believed that the Angel of Yahweh was Yahweh's 'similitude'. The fact that Jewish apocalyptic thus gave an angel to the Son of Man was transmitted into Christian apocalyptical

[1] This seems to be the only passage in the Septuagint to make use of the double article in translating the phrase (cf. e. g. Isa. lii 14): the usage in the Gospels bears witness therefore to the close study of this chapter by early Christians.

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circles, as the book of Revelation bears witness: 'The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave Him to shew unto His servants . . . and He sent and signified it by His "angel" unto His servant John' (i 1). Thus John did not claim to see the heavenly Christ, any more than did his predecessors in Jewish apocalyptic; he saw the 'similitude', the 'angel' of Christ, as did Ezekiel, Daniel, and the author of the Enochic visions. The same is true of the author of 4 Ezra, the very late Jewish apocalypse, the Latin of which gives *quasi similitudinem hominis* (xiii 2): this not only permits us to 'determine the Hebrew behind' the phrase (as Dr Charles rightly states), but through the Hebrew enables us to verify the continuity of the Figure in the visions of all the apocalyptists. That Figure is Ezekiel's 'Glory of Yahweh' who wears 'a similitude as the appearance of a man', and is the human form of the ancient Angel of the Lord, i.e. he is God in self-manifestation.

G. H. Dix.

ST SAMSON OF DOL.

The name of Saint Samson of Dol is now little known in this island, even in South Wales from whence he came. He was no doubt the Samson who signed his name (in a Hexameter line) at the Council of Paris about 560 (Maassen *Mon. Germ. hist.* 'Concilia' vol. i, p. 146), and the founder of the Monastery at Dol, a little Breton town half-way between St Malo and Mont St Michel. He also founded another Monastery at Pental on the Lower Seine, which is believed to have perished in the Norman invasions.

St Samson's *Vita*, first printed by Mabillon, was very well edited from all the available MSS by M. Robert Fawtier in 1912. This text has now been translated into English, with an Introduction, by Mr Thomas Taylor, of St Just, a known writer on mediaeval Cornwall.[1] Mr Taylor's book will serve to introduce the reader to the curious subject with which it deals: the account of Brittany in early times (pp. xxiii–xxxv), with the two instructive maps of the country in the 4th and 6th centuries respectively, may be specially commended. We must, however, know the position that the *Vita Samsonis* holds in Breton historical study, in order to understand the scope of Mr Taylor's work and also its very serious defects.

Writing the early history of Brittany is like making bricks without clay and with nothing but an intolerable deal of straw. There is no Breton chronicle of early date and Gregory of Tours tells us little, but

[1] *The Life of St Samson of Dol*, by Thomas Taylor, B.D.: London, S.P.C.K., 1925.

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there are plenty of wholly unhistorical legends, plenty of Saints' Lives that are rejected as unhistorical even by enthusiastic Celtic archaeologists—and there is the Life of Samson. It is the one document of its class, the claims of which to be regarded as *bona fide* historical can be considered seriously. But is it historical? In what sense is it historical? How far can we seriously trust anything in it? M. Fawtier asks (p. 78): 'What can we extract for the history of Brittany from a text like that of the *Vita sancti Samsonis*?' And he replies: 'Hardly anything at all, except that Samson is called, no doubt rightly, the founder of Dol and of Pental'. The death of Samson took place about 565; the oldest MSS are of the 11th century. But it is not so much a question of textual corruption, as of the historical qualifications of the author of the Life we possess.

Says Mr Taylor (p. xiv): 'M. Fawtier has been answered by the Abbé Duine and Professor Loth. It is a question of internal evidence involving scholarship and an intimate knowledge of language and religious literature. Here it must suffice to give, in brief, one or two of the points raised and their answers, leaving the reader to consult the bibliography for a further treatment of the subject'. In the pages that follow this statement (xiv–xviii) Mr Taylor mentions some of the 'points raised' and gives in a rather superficial way the solutions of M. Duine, to be found in his *Questions d'Hagiographie* (Paris, 1914).

M. Fawtier in his Introduction gives good reason for believing that all the forms of the tale of Samson, including those preserved in Welsh sources, are derived from what he calls 'Recension B', which he edits in full from twenty MSS. Three of these, called by him A, B, and J, are of the 11th century[1]: M. Fawtier prints A, giving the variants in his footnotes. It will probably be a convenience to give here a rapid summary of the story.

First comes a Prologue, written in a very involved style, and dedicated to Tigernomalus, bishop of the 'apostolic' see (i.e. of Dol), which explains the author's sources. Then follows the *Vita* proper in sixty-one chapters. Samson, the son of well-to-do parents, was born in South Wales, after his father and mother had almost given up hopes of a child, like Samson of old (§§ 1–6). At an early age, being regarded as a child of miracle, he was dedicated to God and sent to the famous school of Eltutus, i.e. to Llantwit Major in Glamorganshire (§§ 7–9). Here he distinguished himself by learning and sanctity, so that he was early ordained Deacon by Dubricius the bishop. At the ordination a dove, sent from heaven, was seen by Dubricius and Eltutus resting upon

[1] A = Metz 195, B = Paris, Mazarine 1708, J = Paris, B.N. 11884. A is a good text, but with many mistakes, and BJ united seem to me to be generally right against A.

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Samson (§ 13). Two years later[1] the same sign was seen, when Samson was ordained Priest (§ 15). After a while Samson goes to a certain *insula*—apparently a dependent monastery is meant—in order to lead a stricter life (§§ 20, 21). From this place he was sent for to see his father, who seemed to be dying (§ 22): on the way his companion was nearly killed by a wild woman-of-the-woods, here called a *theomacha*, but Samson rescued his friend and the *theomacha* dies (§§ 26–28). When he reaches his home his father Amon confesses his sins and recovers from his illness, and both he and Samson's mother, his brothers, and his uncle and aunt and their sons—in fact, the whole family except Samson's sister—decide to adopt the monastic life (§§ 29–31). A little later, after several miracles, Dubricius appointed Samson to be abbot of his monastery, in succession to his aged predecessor, who had fallen into a well *per ineptam ebrietatem* (§ 36).[2] After a year and a half Samson paid a visit to Ireland, possibly to Howth near Dublin (§§ 37–39).[3] On his return Samson retired to a hermit's life in a cave (§ 41), but was called from thence to be abbot of a monastery founded by St German, and presently was consecrated Bishop by Dubricius on the day of St Peter's Chair (§ 42). The ceremony was marked by a special vision, in which Samson is consecrated by Peter and James the Lord's brother and John the Evangelist, so that when he awoke he, Samson, knew that he had been consecrated a High Priest (*summum sacerdotem*) by the Holy Spirit (§ 43). At the ceremony the dove was again seen (§ 44): the utmost pains is taken by the biographer to shew that Samson was duly consecrated to the highest ecclesiastical dignity by God and man.

In obedience to a vision Samson set out after Easter for 'Europe', i. e. Brittany, with holy vessels and books which were carried in a two-horse cart (§ 45). On his way, somewhere south of the Severn Sea, i.e. in Devon or Cornwall, he meets a holy man, *Iuniauus* by name[4] (§ 46), demolishes an idol (§ 48), kills a serpent (§ 50), and finally sails across the Channel 'with very many monks' and above all with his cousin Henoc, from whose memoir the biographer professes to get his information (§ 52 and *Prol.* § 2). They land at Dol, a place the name of which the biographer appears to derive from the 'dolour' of a man whose wife

[1] Clearly *dubio* of the MSS is a corruption of *biduo*, as was seen by the scribe of one of the later copies. Dom Plaine's text also has *post biennium* (*Anal. Boll.* vi 93).

[2] Of Samson himself it is said *nunquam alius uidit eum ebrium* (§ 15). He was, besides, a strict vegetarian, and never slept in a bed (§ 36).

[3] *In arce Etri* = in Dun Etair (§ 38).

[4] As this saint's name is said to mean 'Light' in the British language it seems reasonable to write it *Viniauus*, and to identify him with the Uinniau, whose Penitential is quoted in the *Hibernensis* (see H. Bradshaw *Hibernensis* p. 37).

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and daughter Samson heals; there Samson founds his monastery and there after some years he dies.

The one event of Samson's life on the Continent that is related in the *Vita* is his visit to King Hiltbert, i. e. Childebert I, son of Clovis (A. D. 511–558), on behalf of Iudualus son of Ionas the *presul* of the country (§ 53). Ionas the rightful ruler had been killed and his young son Iudualus given up to Hiltbert by Commorus (§ 59), an 'external judge' (§ 53). Samson visited the king and performed several miracles, including the destruction of another serpent in a cave on the Lower Seine (§ 58), so that he obtained the release of Iudualus and permission to found a Monastery where the serpent was destroyed, i. e. at Pental[1]: he then goes to the Channel Islands, where he and Iudualus raise an army that overwhelms Commorus (§ 59). So Samson dies in peace and honour at Dol.

A second book of the *Vita*, in sixteen chapters, by the same hand follows, and is also dedicated to Tigernomalus. It is really an exhortation to celebrate the festival of Samson, 'our patron' (§ 5), and adds very little to the first book, except one or two miracles. In § 15 the 'holy and venerable Bishop Loucher' is mentioned as being in the monastery on the occasion of a fire, but he is not called the Abbot.

This is the tale of St Samson. It is not in itself a very exciting story, notwithstanding the miracles and prodigies, but if it be really founded on the reminiscences of a contemporary it would help to light up a very dark corner of the darkest period of European history. Mr Taylor's method of dealing with it is simple. He does not ask us to believe all the 'miracles' (p. xiii), but he assumes the complete *bona fides* of the biographer, and accepts his claim to have written 'at the beginning of the seventh century' (p. xxxviii). He then uses the various tales as exemplifications of the normal method of conducting services and ordinations in Britain in the sixth century—as if in the sixth century in Britain anything was normal or fixed or stable!

But indeed the first thing is to try and find out the real age of this pretentious *Vita*. At the end of the study it may be possible to attempt a reconstruction of the history of Samson, but we must begin by a critical examination of the *Vita* itself. I begin with the Biblical quotations, because this is a matter which can be treated separately.

There are about a dozen quotations or references to Biblical texts, which have been conveniently collected and printed side by side with the Latin Vulgate text by the Abbé Duine.[2] As a matter of fact the quotations differ very little from the Vulgate, and where they do differ there are only two points in which they agree with any known Old-Latin

[1] Pental is only named, proleptically, in § 38.

[2] F. Duine *Questions d'Hagiographie et Vie de S. Samson* pp. 43–45.

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text: the quotation of Rom. viii 18 in *Vita* i 14 has *ad superuenturam gloriam* instead of *ad futuram gloriam*, and the quotation of Exod. xii 11 in ii 14 has *lumbos uestros* instead of *renes uestros*. In the first passage the source is clear: the quotation of Rom. viii 18 agrees with that in the *Moralia* iii 41 of St Gregory, our biographer's favourite author for imitation. The other is a well-worn proof-text, found in every collection (e. g. Cyprian's *Testimonia*, Bk. iii, and the *Speculum*). Even here Samson's biographer has one definitely Vulgate element in his quotation, viz. the use of the 2nd pers. pl. (*praecingetis*, where vg. has *accingetis*). And *manducebitis illud* for *comedetis illum*, in the same quotation, is not Biblical; it shews us that our author is quoting from memory.

In several of the other quotations the Vulgate text is clearly used. Thus in ii 14 = Jerem. xv 1 *ad populum istum* agrees with the Vulgate, while the Greek text has *πρὸσ αὐτούσ*. And in the paraphrastic reference to Ezek. xxxiii 11–16 in ii 5 *obliuiscar* corresponds to *obliuioni tradentur* (*v.* 13): it is only in the Vulgate that 'forgetting' occurs instead of 'not remembering'.

The quotations in Gildas, the contemporary of Samson, are quite different. In Gildas the Old-Latin element is prominent in the Gospels, perceptible in the Pauline Epistles. For Isaiah and Jeremiah Gildas uses the Vulgate, for the Minor Prophets and Ezekiel he has an Old-Latin text, as any one may verify for himself.

I cannot therefore agree with M. Duine that the quotations in our *Vita* afford any evidence for a special *version bretonne de la Bible* which differed in any striking way from extant texts, and therefore I cannot think that the almost unique word *theomacha* in i 26 f can be derived from a wholly hypothetical Old-Latin version of Acts v 39. In this verse *θεομάχοι* occurs in the Greek, which is rendered *Deo repugnare* in the Vulgate, *Deo repugnantes* in *d laud gig* and *perp*: by a lucky chance *h* is extant and reads *aduersus dm* [*pugnantes*].[1] Thus there is evidence that neither the European nor the African branch of the Old-Latin had *theomachi* in the text, and we must seek some other explanation for the word in our *Vita*.

Bede in his Retractations on Acts notes that *Deo repugnantes* is only one word in Greek, *viz.* *θεομάχοι*, and he adds that he thinks it worth while to notice this fact, so that when we find *θεομάχοσ* or *θεομαχία* in history-books we may know the meaning more clearly. Now the *Corpus* of Latin Glosses conducts us directly to the one place where we can find *theomachia* in a Latin text: it is at the beginning of Rufinus's translation of the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius (i 2), a work doubtless as familiar to our biographer as it was to Victor of Capua. And the

[1] The margin is torn away, but the restoration is certain.

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context is quite suitable, for it describes the wild life in the woods of early fallen Man. Our biographer, having to tell a tale of Samson's encounter with the wild woman-of-the-woods,[1] calls her a *theomacha* as being one whose whole life was a *theomachia*.

Was he perhaps guided to this by having read the Note in Bede? I have not found any other use of Bede's *Rectractatio*, but the curious interpretation of Solomon's Porch as meaning peace and unity (*Vita* ii 3), which is alluded to by M. Duine, p. 45, may very well have been suggested by Bede's remarks in his Commentary on Acts iii 11.[2] Bede died in 735: if we admit that the biographer of St Samson had read his commentaries, it brings down the date of the work into the 8th century or the beginning of the 9th.

It has been proved by M. Duine that our author borrows from Jerome's Life of Paul the Hermit and Sulpitius Severus's Life of St Martin, but his favourite source for quotation and imitation is the Gospel Homilies of Gregory the Great, whom in ii 4 he quotes as *quidam sapiens*, and in ii 5 as 'Scripture'. St Gregory died in 604: it is known that his chief works were very early brought into general circulation, but this kind of citation surely implies the kind of inaccurate familiarity which is engendered by long use. And how long did it take for St Gregory's works to find their way into *Brittany*?

The important passage in *Prol.* § 2, where the biographer of Samson gives an account of his sources, is so confused that it is necessary to quote it in the Latin. He says:

'Primo omnium credi a me uos uolo quod non iuxta adinuentionis meae temeritatem nec iuxta inordinata et incomposita audita haec uerba collecta sunt, sed iuxta hoc a quodam religioso ac uenerabili sene, in cuius domo ultra mare ipse solus Samson †fundaueratt, ille per octogenarios fere annos catholicam religiosamque uitam ducens, propissimeque temporibus eiusdem . . . Samsonis, †mater eius tradidisse† auunculo suo sanctissimo diacono (qui et ipse diaconus consobrinus esset sancto Samsoni), mihi ueraciter affirmabat . . . et non solum hoc sed etiam quamplura ac delicata de eius prodigioribus actibus, quae citra mare in Britannia ac Romana[3] mirabiliose fecit, uerba supradictus sanctus diaconus, Henocus nomine, congruis stilis polite ultra mare adportauit, et ille . . . senex semper ante me in istud monasterium commanens pie legere ac diligenter faciebat'.

Thus an old man, eighty years a monk, had told the author many things about Samson, and had read to him the memoir of his deeds in Brittany and France which the deacon Henoc, Samson's cousin, had

[1] She had eight sisters (i 27), and no doubt they are a form of the famous Nine Witches of Gloucester whom we meet with in Welsh legend (*Mabinogion* p. 96).

[2] *Saluato per apostolos Israele concurrit omnis mundus ad limina ueri et pacifici Salomonis.*

[3] That is, in Brittany and the rest of France.

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written and carried overseas. This Henoc was the old monk's uncle.[1] Our author tells us expressly that this Henoc accompanied Samson to Dol (i 52). Professor Loth and Mr Taylor cannot believe that Henoc brought from Britain to Dol an account of what happened in Brittany, so they insert an *et quae* between *uerba* and *supradictus*. But there is no trace of this in the MSS, and it seems to me that another explanation must be found.

Whatever the date or the good faith of the biographer of Samson, he clearly wrote at Dol as a member of the community, and as an old man (ii 1, and *ultimus*, Prol. § 3). Why was he chosen? Clearly because he had information which no one else had. It is noteworthy that no appeal whatever is made to common tradition about the life of Samson, except how the Saint long after his death caused a shower of rain to extinguish a fire in the monastery bake-house (ii 14 *ad fin.*). Our author, therefore, had a special qualification for his task above the rest of the monks at Dol, and what this was may, I think, be deduced from the passage I have quoted, obscure as it is in places. It was that, though he now lived at Dol, he had been a monk in Britain, almost certainly at Llantwit itself. The 'old man', who had instructed our author, was therefore a monk of Llantwit in Wales.

In accordance with this we find a number of places in which our author speaks in the first person. They are the following :—

i 7 = p. 106[4,5] 'I was in Eltut's magnificent monastery'.
i 11 = p. 109[13] 'I know what the question was that puzzled Samson'.
i 20 = p. 120[6] 'I was in Piro's *insula*'.
i 38 = p. 135[8] 'I know this brother lived at Pental from letters sent to me'.
i 41 = p. 137[11] 'When I was in Britain the place where Umbraphel, Amon and the Irish brother lived was had in honour'.
i 42 = p. 138[1] 'I have heard read the summons sent to Samson'.
i 48 = p. 144[3] 'I have been to the hill where the idol was, and have touched the *signum crucis* that Samson cut in the stone'.

These seven personal notes, taken together, suggest to me that the writer of the *Vita Samsonis* had lived as a monk in Wales somewhere

[1] This is all that is said of the status of the old monk: Mr Taylor translates 'being himself a cousin of St Samson and a deacon', a phrase which really belongs to Henoc. The grammar of the whole paragraph quoted above is highly confused. *Hoc* seems to stand for *quod*, and *mater tradidisse* for *matrem tradidisse*, unless our author wrote *mater tradens ea* in a sort of nominativus pendens (*tradens se* BJ). But *in cuius domo . . . Samson fundauerat* seems to me corrupt: can we not read *fungiuerat* (a word which occurs i 15 in the sense of '*fonctionnait*')?

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near Llantwit (where Eltut's monastery was), and probably at Llantwit itself. It is in connexion with these notes that I would understand his statement in i 1 that he had heard the names of Samson's parents recited at Mass: this would not be at Dol, for in that case the remark would have had no interest for his audience, as they would have heard the names themselves, but it was at Llantwit where Samson's relations were locally venerated for their own sakes.[1] Further, it should be noted that the author of our biography, writing for the monks of Dol by command of the 'apostolic bishop' Tigernomalus, does not speak of the written memoir by Henoc as a document accessible in their own monastery library, but as something which he found in the monastery where he had lived (when in Wales):—*litteris quae catholice ac indubitanter a supradicto diacono in eodem monasterio conscriptas repperi* (*Prol.* § 4). He does not even say that he made a transcript of this work: on the contrary, he reproduces it from memory, together with things that his aged friend had told him about St Samson. If our author had been twenty years in Brittany and Henoc died about 570, and between this comes the greater part of the life of the aged monk, we arrive at somewhere about the year 650. But it is more likely that our author lived much later, and that his aged friend had not really been contemporary with Henoc the cousin of St Samson.

In any case this interpretation gives a reasonable meaning to what is said about Henoc's memoir. He had accompanied his cousin on his journey to Brittany and he knew something about his subsequent journey to the Merovingian King that resulted in the release of the native Princelet and the foundation of Pental, but we may suppose that after that he returned to South Wales before Samson's death. Henoc is the one real source of information, consequently the latter days of Samson, from which we might have expected reminiscences, are a blank in our *Vita*.

This is certainly a very curious circumstance. I venture to think that we can make from it one or two deductions. We have to bear two institutions in mind, which may indeed have once been identical, but certainly came in time to be distinct, viz. the Monastery of Dol and the See of Dol. Mr Taylor's second map, already referred to (Taylor, p. xxviii) is called Brittany in the 6th century, but it really represents the settlement of Noménoé, made in 848. Prof. Loth (*L'Émigration bretonne*, pp. 208–211), in discussing this settlement, gives good reasons for disbelieving the categorical statement of the late and prejudiced Chronicle of Nantes, that Noménoé among other things turned the monastery of Dol into a bishopric for the first time in 848, and shews

[1] Is it possible that Ammonford, in the region now mined for anthracite, was named after Amon, the father of Samson?

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that he was in the main consolidating a state of things that had already grown up and had been partially recognized. But that is a very different thing from the impression given by Mr Taylor's map, which in fact shews the various Breton bishoprics neatly marked out with the boundaries that they have had since the days of Noménoé. In the 6th century, i. e. in Samson's time, and for long after, there is nothing that suggests this agreed division of spheres of influence and much that points to its being an anachronism.

In the south of Brittany there were the three Gallo-Roman cities of Rennes, Nantes, and Vannes. These cities had had bishops since the 5th century, and their influence extended, no doubt, into the country round over the *pagani*. Had the 6th and following centuries been a period of peaceful developement, no doubt the territory administered by these bishops would ultimately have coincided with the limits of the old civil divisions, and any fresh sees created would have been connected with the civil divisions. But no such peaceful period ensued. The northern and western coasts of what is now called Brittany were invaded by the Bretons, that is by clans from Devon and Cornwall in the north, and by clans from the Severn Valley in the south-west. In most of the districts to which the invaders came the country seems to have been almost deserted, but wherever contact was made with the Gallo-Roman population there was long and devastating war. The three great centres of Roman civilization maintained themselves against the invaders, Rennes and Nantes entirely, Vannes to a certain extent, but their territory was reduced, and so when a settlement is reached in 848 we find that the three bishoprics are correspondingly diminished.

Meanwhile the invaders introduced their own ecclesiastical system, or want of system, into the territories occupied by them. It is possible to speak of the *Irish* system, for it lasted a long time in Ireland, and was regarded there as normal and not as a makeshift. But it is a question whether it was ever in vogue in Wales or in Brittany. In the Irish system there is what Mr Taylor (p. xvi) speaks of as 'a perverse developement which tended to destroy the governmental prerogative of the bishop altogether. The abbot became supreme and the bishop in some cases a mere conduit of the grace of Holy Orders. There are, however, no traces of this developement in Wales, Brittany, and Cornwall. There was nevertheless a very distinct tendency throughout Celtic Christendom to ignore the important principle of the Catholic Church, that a bishop should have not only succession from the Apostles, but also be in a right relation both to the local Church of which he claimed to be head and to the whole Church'. I quote this passage in full, because, if I have not mistaken Mr Taylor's meaning, it contains an assumption which the historian is not at liberty to make before the age of Charlemagne in

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north-western Europe. Mr Taylor speaks of 'the local Church', but was there a local Church? Is not the Irish system a system other than 'the parochial system', not an organization which existed alongside of it?

One very important fact seems generally to be left out of consideration in discussions whether the Irish system is to be found in Wales and Brittany, particularly with reference to the case of St Samson, and this is the general disturbance of the whole social fabric. In the 4th and 5th centuries, while Roman legions were keeping the peace in Britain, no doubt Christianity was being organized on Continental lines. We know the names of a bishop of London (Restitutus) and of York (Eborius); in fact, as York was the capital of Roman Britain, it would be surprising if York had been left without a bishop. But of the history of the British Church from the Synod of Arles (314) to the times of Gildas the contemporary of St Samson we hear practically nothing.

Then came the English invasions of the 5th and 6th centuries. We know now that they were no mere raids, but a permanent occupation of the country; but at the time many Britons, who fled to the borders of Wales and the other districts in the West that maintained themselves for long, or altogether, against the heathen English, must have hoped to return to their homes when the barbarian wave had spent itself. The life of Samson falls in the middle of the invasions. The year that Mr Taylor fixes for Samson's ordination to the episcopate is 521,[1] a year after the battle of Mount Badon, when the West-Saxons were driven back and the Britons in the districts round Gloucester and Malmesbury got a respite of nearly fifty years. It was a turbulent period, marked by civil dissensions. Mr Taylor admits (p. xi) that from the Life of Samson there is nothing to shew that there were any secular clergy in Britain. But he goes on to say: 'The inference to be drawn is that regulars and seculars were practically independent of each other', a sentence which suggests that after all the parish priests, however unworthy, were there.

I feel inclined to doubt it. There may have been, here and there, priests who were not monks, either still exercising their charges at Bath or Glevum, or other centres of Roman-British life as yet undisturbed by the heathen English, or else refugees from the conquered districts. But I imagine them to have been relics of a doomed society, and I doubt very much whether any true 'parochial system' had developed itself by this time, outside some of the greater towns. And the 'monks' were not orderly Benedictines, but persons who had abandoned regular human society in despair, and who lived some indeed in the greatest asceticism

[1] I cannot quite follow Mr Taylor's calculations: it is a year when Feb. 22 fell on a Sunday: why not 526?

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and sanctity, but others in a more or less irregular manner, having no fixed standard of life except the absence of household cares.[1]

All these considerations come from the general history of the period, supported more or less by the vague denunciations of Gildas. The hagiographical material tells us in addition of two, and only two, centres of continuity and ecclesiastical organization, viz. Bishop Dubricius and the School of Eltutus (or Illtyd). The Life of Dubricius in the Book of Llandaff is an almost worthless compilation of the 12th century; in fact, the most trustworthy details about his career are to be culled from the *Vita Samsonis* itself, but all our information is of the same character. It shews us a man and a bishop 'carrying on' when everything is crumbling around him, ordaining, regulating, appointing, degrading, according to the necessities of the moment; a man apparently with no fixed place of habitation, but glad to find a retreat in which he could stay at least for Lent and Easter. The other personage is Eltutus, a last relic of vanished learning, who lived in a comparatively safe and undisturbed district, and who spent his life there in trying to hand on some of the literary culture he had inherited.

I cannot believe that the activities of Dubricius and Eltutus were normal or conventional. As I view the matter, they were doing what they could to keep the Christian organization going somehow, and thankful to use any element of zeal or stability that came to their hand. It is not without reason that all the more famous Welsh and Breton Saints are said to have been schoolfellows—not necessarily therefore contemporaries—of Samson, for it seems likely that Llantwit was the only centre of learning left. It was under Dubricius and Eltutus that 'the Britons' came to an end, and what was left of them was organized as 'Wales'.

An extraordinary tradition, which cannot be traced beyond Geoffrey of Monmouth, makes Samson to have been consecrated Bishop of York. This is rejected, of course, by M. Fawtier, and also by M. Duine, and by Mr Taylor (p. xxxix). But I wonder whether, after all, there may not be something in it. Not, of course, that Samson ever went near York, but about the time that tradition puts his consecration Eboracum fell into the hands of the heathen English: is it not possible that Samson was consecrated to the title of York *in partibus infidelium*? It might seem natural to continue the succession to what had been the capital of Roman Britain, in the hope of better days.

However this may be, Samson evidently made no effort to go north. He went in the other direction, across the sea, and found a home at

[1] '*Cum quidquid putauerint uel elegerint hoc dicunt sanctum, et quod noluerint hoc putant non licere*': St Benedict is not likely to have put these Sarabaitae in such a prominent position, if they were merely rare examples of eccentricity.

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Dol. The fact that the monastery at Pental was somehow founded, though it is on the Lower Seine, in a district never politically occupied by Britons, lends support to the tradition that he did go on a mission to the King of the Franks and that he did win favour with him. What was the real point of the foundation of Pental? As it was founded by Samson, I suppose it was intended for men of British race, at least in the first instance. There must have been many British refugees all along the French coasts, and I imagine its function was to be a religious centre for these. It was not, and never became, a centre of political life.

But Dol was a different matter. Let us take the tradition, for the moment, as it stands. The status of Commorus, the 'external judge', is to us unknown. We do not read that he was an officer or nominee of Hiltbert. All we are told is that he was the usurping ruler of the country and that after his defeat Iudualus reigned over 'Dumnonia'. Of the *de facto* boundaries of this Dumnonian state we have little information. It almost certainly did not include Cornouailles, i. e. the see of Quimper, but how much of the rest of North Brittany ever came under the sway of Iudualus we have no idea, or indeed what was his place of residence.

Be this as it may, we find in the end along the north coast of Brittany the five Dumnonian sees—St Pol de Léon, Tréguier, St Brieuc, St Malo, and Dol. What really determined the limits of these sees is obscure, but it is likely to have been something connected with the conquests of the tribes which occupied the respective territories. Judging by the present limits of the Breton language, limits which according to Prof. Loth have hardly changed since the 12th or 13th century,[1] St Pol de Léon and Tréguier had a population predominantly Breton, while in St Brieuc, St Malo and Dol the population was mainly Gallo-Roman.

As to how these episcopal districts—it is perhaps a sort of anachronism to call them by the formal name dioceses—were administered in the period between Samson and Noménoé we have little information. Prof. Loth, judging mainly from documents connected with St Malo (pp. 204–205), gives reasons for believing that it was a quite different organization from that of the Irish monastery, where the non-episcopal abbot (or rather *coarb*) was at the head, and the bishop a subordinate. But it was not altogether on the pattern of the ordinary Roman model. On the one hand the Bishop was the head over a more or less defined tract of territory: there was no abbot of the mother-house to dispute his position, for he himself was its head. On the other hand we do not hear of any non-monastic clergy, of parish priests who are not monks. We do not know how, if at all, the scattered lay Christian population

[1] Loth *Émigration bretonne* pp. 192–193.

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were cared for. At a guess, I would say that they were not cared for, in our parochial sense; that by annual or occasional pilgrimages to Dol or Tréguier, or some other centre, they acquired the desired 'pardon' for their sins, or else they got it by the merits of pious hermits who might settle in the woods of their neighbourhood for a life of fasting and meditation.

The 9th century brought in a wholly new state of things. Brittany submitted to Charlemagne in 799. A quarter of a century later Noménoé, appointed duke or count of the province by Louis le Débonnaire, found means to unite the Breton and the Gallo-Roman elements of 'Brittany' in a common opposition to the foreigner. In the following reign (of Charles the Bald) Noménoé revolted and made all Brittany into one independent realm. He died in 851, but his work was permanent and Brittany never became part of France till it passed by inheritance to the French crown in the 15th century.

One thing only was lacking to the complete triumph of Noménoé. The Archbishop of Tours, the successor of St Martin, claimed archiepiscopal jurisdiction over all the land to the west, from sea to sea, and Tours was within the dominions of the French King. Noménoé, on the other hand, desired his Brittany to be a province of its own, independent of Tours and subject only to Rome. It was a weak point in his case that Rennes and Nantes, and also Vannes, the chief towns within his dominions, had been in the past subject to Tours. Possibly Tours had never exercised any *de facto* control over St Pol de Léon and Tréguier, but it might be replied that they were outlying districts, separated by forests and by barbarous tribes from their rightful ecclesiastical suzerain. It could not be claimed that by word or deed any properly constituted ecclesiastical authority in Gaul had ever formally recognized them.

But Dol was different. It was claimed, and it was not contested, that Samson, the founder of Dol, had been recognized by Hiltbert, that he had founded Pental within the dominions and therefore by the permission of the Frankish monarch. This was claimed, and that the claim had some historical foundation may be inferred not only from the fact of Pental, but also from the subscriptions to the Council of Paris, where after the signature of well-known bishops of Gaul we read

Samson subscripsi et consensi in nomine Christi.

No see is named: perhaps, as we have seen, Samson regarded himself as bishop of the now non-existent see of Eboracum. But it was enough for Noménoé. Samson of Dol was not subject to Tours. All that was necessary was to get Dol recognized as an Archbishopric and then Rennes and Nantes could do homage to Dol. It was not an

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absurd scheme: much the same had been done when, for instance, Coire was transferred from Milan to the new archbishopric of Mainz. And again, had Mercia maintained its political independence there is some likelihood that there might have been an archbishop of Lichfield.

As it was, the scheme failed, and the claim of Dol was finally disallowed by Innocent III in 1199, but only after several of its 'archbishops' had actually received the pallium. Of this claim the *Vita Samsonis*, the subject of this paper, is the earliest surviving monument. The theory that underlies it, from the beginning to the end, is that Samson had been duly consecrated *summus sacerdos*, to the highest ecclesiastical rank, by proper ecclesiastical authority, by Peter of Rome, by James of Jerusalem, by John of Ephesus, by the Holy Spirit in bodily form,—and that the successor of Samson is therefore bishop of an apostolic see. In our *Vita* Samson is not called 'archbishop', as he is in the later recension edited by Dom Plaine,[1] nor is there any endeavour to shew him as the ecclesiastical superior of any other places than Dol and Pental. The claim made, in fact, is a claim of independence rather than of dominion. The work, therefore, is older than Noménoé's constitution of 848.

But how much earlier our *Vita Samsonis* is than the first half of the 9th century it is difficult to say. It is evident from the work itself that there was no living reminiscence of the career of Samson at Dol, that the only account of him by a contemporary was preserved in Wales overseas, and that all we have is what the writer remembered having heard read and talked about when, some time ago, he was a young monk in Wales. His chief informant was a very aged man, whom he does not name, but of whom he says that Henoc, Samson's cousin, was his uncle. Frankly, I think our author is here inaccurate. I think he must have missed a generation and that his aged friend was not really Henoc's nephew. What our author did not get from Henoc's memoir seems to me to be worth very little to the historian.

But I feel compelled to believe in the existence of Henoc's memoir, because after all there do seem to be some real historical reminiscences in our *Vita*. First of all, there are the passages, quoted above, in which the writer speaks in the first person; the statements are quite credible in themselves and prove that the memory of Samson was then honoured in Wales: it was no unknown hermit that had wandered to Dol, but a personage already of consideration. I am even ready to believe that he was born of distinguished parents who had given up hope of offspring, and so regarded their first-born as a child of miracle, to be dedicated to God, because his parents named him Samson, no doubt in conscious reminiscence of the story in Judges. The name

[1] *Analecta Bollandiana* vi 79–150.

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became more common afterwards, because of St Samson himself, but I think he was the first Christian to be so named. Such a personage, who had confirmed the promise of his infancy by a well-spent early manhood, might be sent abroad on a roving commission to do what he could for Briton refugees in the Frankish dominions. He was exactly contemporary with Jacob Burd'ana, the founder of the Jacobite Church, whose long episcopate was a roving commission of this sort for his countrymen in Syria. Jacob was consecrated a Bishop to a see then vacant: Samson was also consecrated a Bishop, possibly to the then vacant see of York, or rather Eboracum.

Samson crossed over into Brittany, and later on succeeded in a political mission at the Frankish court of Childebert I. His orders were recognized, and at Paris he took part in a Synod or Council, signing his name among the bishops present, but as he claimed no territorial jurisdiction he mentioned no see in his signature. The fact that he signed at all shews that he was regarded as a bishop, but to the Franks generally then and for a century after he was known as the founder of a monastery at Pental on the Lower Seine, as well as one at a place called Dol, somewhere in the barbarous land north of Rennes where Merovingian writs did not run.

A generation later a Welsh saint called Maclovius settled at Aleth, now called after him St Malo, and extended his influence over the lapsed and the heathen to the west and south of Dol, so that Dol was almost cut off from direct contact with the territory still under the influence of the Bishop of Rennes. But Maclovius and his successors laid no claim to interfere with Dol itself, which continued to prosper in quiet, being governed and presided over, as Pental was not, by a chief in episcopal orders, the successor of Samson's status and immunities. Tigernomalus knew himself to be the bishop of an 'apostolic see'. No doubt it was recruited chiefly from its own district, no doubt therefore the Gallo-Roman element in its monks tended to increase and the Welsh to diminish. But no doubt also it felt the new Breton patriotism, of which Noménoé is the incarnation, as well as jealousy for its special privileges. The monks were now mostly of a different race from their founder, and the memory of his deeds had not been transmitted to them. So at some unknown period, I should guess at the end of the 8th century, the Bishop Tigernomalus ordered an old monk, who had passed his youth in Wales, to put down in writing the tales he had doubtless told from time to time to his brethren. The result is our *Vita Samsonis*. The author is uncritical and garrulous; he has a delight in wonderful tales of serpents killed by prayer and the sign of the cross, and such-like stories. But the framework of his narrative is an account of Samson made by a contemporary, who however had gone back to his native

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Wales before his hero died. This framework keeps the *Vita* on historical lines, notwithstanding the embroidery of fancy and of marvel that enwraps it.

I must conclude with a short note on the Latinity of the *Vita*. This is so curious as to be worth a study in itself, though I fear the style is too individual and peculiar to lead to any safe indication of date. The Prologue and Part ii are evidently the writer's own composition from beginning to end, and they shew clearly his very feeble grasp upon real Latin. The Latin of the *Vita Samsonis* is not like that of the *Hisperica Famina*, or the metrical Life of Wilfrid, or Aldhelm's poetry, but it resembles the style of these works in being bad Latin, Latin which is neither classical nor vulgar, but that of a foreigner who does not know the difference between what is common and what is rare.

For instance, *reciproca lux* is not the Latin for 'next day', yet it is so used (without emphasis) in i 5 and *reciprocus* is used in the same unnatural way in ii 3 and ii 12. The author must have got this from some school-book. *Librarius* for 'wizard' or 'magician' (i 3 f) is curious; something like it is found in the Latin life of St Guthlac. *Pilax* (or *pelax*) for 'cat' (i 16) occurs in the *Hibernensis* (liii 8), a collection of Canons that Henry Bradshaw shewed to be not Irish but Breton, in the form that we have it. *Theomacha* I have noticed already: the wild woman was '*bribetham* suis uestimentis', which M. Duine takes to mean *en bribes*, i. e. in tatters.

A writer who can use *Omnitonans* for 'God' in the middle of a plain narrative (i 51) must have had very little feeling for natural Latin, so that some things which look like scribal errors in the text may only be incorrect use of words. In i 32 *axim festinanter tenens* certainly does not mean 'swiftly bearing north', as Mr Taylor translates it: Samson is following the track of a serpent which is 'like a beam drawn through scorched grass', and Dom Plaine's text (p. 99) has *ille uero uelociter tendens per uestigium exustum*. In ii 1 *mogillatim ac politi operis* is nonsense: I should think the author meant *modulati*, but very likely the misspelling (except the final *m*) is his own.

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MARCAN USAGE: NOTES, CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL, ON THE SECOND GOSPEL

(continued).

VII. *Particles*: (1) Ὅτι *interrogative.*

1. ii 7 *διαλογιζόμενοι ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν Ὅτι οὗτος οὕτως λαλεῖ; βλασφημεῖ.*

Matthew gives simply *οὗτος βλασφημεῖ*, and so probably read *ὅτι* in Mark, understanding it as = 'that'. So B Θ and W-H margin: *τί* the rest.

2. ii 16 *ἔλεγον τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ Ὅτι μετὰ τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐσθίει;*

τί ὅτι A C Δ etc., *διὰ τί* ℵ D W with Matthew and Luke. Both these readings are obvious attempts to get rid of the difficulty of *ὅτι* interrogative. The modern editors give *ὅτι.*

3. viii 12 *καὶ ἀναστενάξας τῷ πνεύματι αὐτοῦ λέγει Ὅτι ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη ζητεῖ σημεῖον;*

So C, and Origen *Selecta in Ezech.* xiv 20[1] (Delarue iii 429) *ὁ Κύριος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγελίῳ Ὅτι ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη σημεῖον ἐπιζητεῖ;* The rest have *τί.* Matthew and Luke both make it a statement, not a question, and if they drew on Mark must have read *ὅτι*: but if, as is probable, they drew here from Q, no argument of course can be drawn from their phraseology.

4. ix 11 *καὶ ἐπηρώτων αὐτὸν λέγοντες Ὅτι λέγουσιν οἱ γραμματεῖς ὅτι Ἠλείαν δεῖ ἐλθεῖν πρῶτον;*

The Ferrar group for *ὅτι* substitutes *πῶς οὖν*: the Ethiopic omits. The Old Latin MSS vary between *quare, quid, quia*, but all imply *ὅτι.* Matthew has *τί οὖν;*

5. ix 28 *οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐπηρώτων αὐτόν Ὅτι ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἠδυνήθημεν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτό;*

Matthew has *διὰ τί* (Luke has no parallel), and *διὰ τί* is read in Mark by A D and others, while a few authorities have *ὅτι διὰ τί* and a few *τί ὅτι.* There can be no doubt that *ὅτι* is original in Mark.

Here are three certain cases of *ὅτι* as the direct interrogative, and two more probable ones—probable because in each case there are two good authorities in support, and the tendency to get rid of the construction was so obvious (neither Matthew nor Luke ever accepts it), and the change so easy, that I have no hesitation in accepting the evidence of B Θ and C Origen respectively on those two occasions.

I add two instances of what I take to be a similar employment of *ὅτι* as the *indirect* interrogative in Mark.

[1] In *Nouum Testamentum S. Irenaei* p. clxxiii (on Rom. iv 3) the reference is wrongly given as xv 20.

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6. viii 16, 17 *καὶ διελογίζοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὅτι ἄρτους οὐκ ἔχουσιν; καὶ γνοὺς λέγει αὐτοῖς Τί διαλογίζεσθε ὅτι ἄρτους οὐκ ἔχετε;*

I think this means 'they discussed with another why they had no loaves': after *διαλογίζομαι* we expect a reference to the question discussed. Matthew, who dislikes (as we have seen) *ὅτι interrogativum*, has to insert *λέγοντες* to make it *ὅτι recitativum*.

7. xiv 60 *καὶ ἀναστὰς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς εἰς μέσον ἐπηρώτησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγων Οὐκ ἀποκρίνῃ οὐδὲν ὅτι οὗτοί σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν;*

Ὅτι is read by L W Ψ and (according to Buttmann's edition of B and Huck's *Synopsis*[1]) by B also. It is supported by the Latins a c ff k q Vulg., who make no break after *οὐδέν* but construct the whole of the high priest's words as one question and not two. In that case *ὅτι* can only be the indirect interrogative.

Now *ὅτι* as indirect interrogative can be supported by good classical authority, as Field shews (*Notes on the Translation of N. T.* p. 33) on Mark ix 11; and therefore the last two passages are only cited here to shew that the construction was familiar to, and used by, Mark. It is otherwise with the direct interrogative: and the Revised Version makes a bold attempt to get rid of it, in the three passages (**2**, **4**, **5** above) where external evidence compels us to read *ὅτι*, by translating *ὅτι* 'that'. It needs only to cite their renderings to shew their futility.[2]

2. ii 16 'The scribes of the Pharisees . . . said unto his disciples He eateth and drinketh with publicans and sinners'.

4. ix 11 'And they asked him, saying, The scribes say that Elijah must first come'.

5. ix 28 'His disciples asked him privately, *saying*, We could not cast it out'.

Of these three renderings in the text of R.V. (there is a relative return to sanity in the margin in each case) the first makes just tolerable sense, the other two are quite impossible, or in Field's language 'simply intolerable'. Classical prepossessions must be frankly thrown overboard when they lead us to such an *impasse*. Even if no authority could be found outside St Mark for the direct interrogative use of *ὅτι*, Field is certainly right that 'these two instances, occurring in the same chapter of St Mark, must be held mutually to support and sanction each other'. [Cf. A. T. Robertson *Grammar of the Greek N. T.* p. 729, J. H. Moulton *Prolegomena* p. 94 l. 3.]

[1] I have taken the opportunity to verify the point by reference to the photographic edition of cod. Vaticanus: the reading *ὅτι* is quite clear, and Tischendort is wrong (how rarely, all things considered, that happens!) in omitting its testimony. W-H read *τί* in the text, *ὅτι* in the margin.

[2] It should be noted that all three passages are rightly punctuated as interrogative in Westcott and Hort.

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But it is the main object of this instalment of my Notes to produce outside authority. The first of the following citations comes from Field.

LXX. 1 Chron. xvii 6 *εἰ λαλῶν ἐλάλησα πρὸς μίαν φυλὴν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ ποιμαίνειν τὸν λαόν μου λέγων Ὅτι οὐκ ᾠκοδομήκατέ μοι οἶκον κέδρινον;* So both A.V. and R.V. 'Why . . .', so too Lagarde's Lucianic text, *Διὰ τί . . .;* So Tischendorf's LXX: and it can only be considered another freak of judgement if the Cambridge small LXX text prints *λέγων ὅτι Οὐκ . . .*

1. *Hermas* Similitudes.

Of the four passages which follow the first two are from the printed texts, the last two depend on the testimony of the newly discovered papyrus (said to be of the third century) belonging to the University of Ann Arbor, Michigan. I am indebted to the generosity of Prof. Campbell Bonner of that University, who is in charge of the publication of the text, for my knowledge of the readings of this most important witness: in his article in the *Harvard Theological Review* for April 1925 he has himself called attention to the passage where the interrogative *ὅτι* is direct, *Sim.* VIII 6. 2.

Sim. II 10 *μακάριοι οἱ . . . συνιέντες ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου πλουτίζονται.* In the Palatine version 'felices qui . . . sentiunt quomodo a domino locupletantur': though the older 'vulgate' version mistranslates it 'sentiunt se locupletari'.

Sim. V 6. 4 *ὅτι δὲ ὁ κύριος σύμβουλον ἔλαβε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐνδόξους ἀγγέλους . . . ἄκουε*: rightly rendered by both Latin versions 'quare autem dominus in consilio adhibuerit ('in consilium adhibuit' Pal.) filium honestosque nuntios . . . audi'.[1]

Sim. VIII 1. 4 (according to the new papyrus) *ἀφὲς δέ, φησί, πάντα ἴδῃς, καὶ δηλωθήσεταί σοι ὅτι ἐστίν.* Latin versions 'exspecta et [+'cum uniuersa uideris' Pal.] tunc demonstrabitur tibi quid significet'. Our other Greek authority, the late and bad Athos MS, has *τὸ τί* for *ὅτι*.

Sim. VIII 6. 2, according to the new papyrus, *Ὅτι οὖν, φημί, κύριε, πάντες οὐ μετενόησαν;* Latins 'Quare ergo, domine, [+'inquam' Pal.] non omnes egerunt paenitentiam?' The Athos MS has corrupted *ὅτι* into *οὗτοι*, doubtless because the scribe of the MS or its exemplar was puzzled by *ὅτι interrogativum.*

Hermas then in a corrected text comes to the support of St Mark, and the Latin translator understood him rightly. It might be a profitable topic to compare the Greek of Hermas with the Greek of Mark in some detail: on the present occasion it must suffice to call attention to the parallel between the *συμπόσια συμπόσια* of Mark vi 39 and the *τάγματα τάγματα* (supported by both the Athos MS and the new

[1] In the printed texts of the Vulgate version of Hermas the sentence is hopelessly confused and corrupt: I give the reading of the best MS, Bodl. Laud. misc. 488.

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papyrus) of *Sim.* VIII 2. 8 *ἦλθον τάγματα τάγματα, καὶ ἐπεδίδουν τὰς ῥάβδους τῷ ποιμένι.* Shall we be told that 'the construction' in Hermas 'is Hebraistic'?

2. *Barnabas* Epistle.

To Tischendorf's note on Mark ii 16 I owe three references to Barnabas for the construction of *ὅτι* interrogative.

vii 9 *προσέχετε· Τὸν μὲν ἕνα ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, τὸν δὲ ἕνα ἐπικατάρατον. καὶ ὅτι τὸν ἐπικατάρατον ἐστεφανωμένον; ἐπειδὴ ὄψονται αὐτὸν . . .* The editors do not mark a question: but the old Latin version has 'et quare is qui maledictus coronatus?'

viii 5 *ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἔριον ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον; ὅτι ἡ βασιλεία Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ ξύλου.* Latin 'quare ergo et lana in ligno est?'

x 1 *ὅτι δὲ Μωϋσῆς εἶπεν· Οὐ φάγεσθε χοῖρον . . .; τρία ἔλαβεν ἐν τῇ συνέσει δόγματα.* Latin 'quare autem Moyses dicit . . .?'

Of these three passages only the second is quite certainly interrogative: but it establishes Barnabas' use of the construction, and the translator's witness is clear.

But Barnabas and Hermas are not the only early Christian authors whose translators were familiar with the construction of *ὅτι* interrogative, and indeed it has been introduced into contexts where it is probably or certainly alien to the intention of the original writer. The evidence to be cited is, however, valid as shewing that in the circles in which early translators moved—possibly we ought to paraphrase this as 'in early Roman Christian circles'—the construction belonged to the Greek with which they were familiar.

3. *The earliest Latin version of the Gospels.*

The earliest version known to us is that represented by *k* and St Cyprian. It emerges, that is to say, in Africa about A.D. 250: but it was doubtless half a century older than that, and it may well have been brought to Africa from Rome.

Matt. vii 13, 14 ap. Cypr. *Testimonia* iii 6 (Hartel I 119): 'De hoc ipso cata Mattheum Quid lata et spatiosa uia est quae ducit ad interitum . . . quid arta et angusta uia est quae ducit ad uitam?' The reading *quid* is guaranteed by the best manuscripts, V L P B R T U (Bodl. Laud. misc. 105, s. x ineunt.) X* (Rylands-Crawford MS s. viii). It corresponds to the Greek *ὅτι πλατεῖα καὶ εὐρύχωρος ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν, . . . ὅτι στενὴ καὶ τεθλιμμένη ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ζωήν*, and the only possible explanation is that the translator, however mistakenly, took the sentence as interrogative, and *ὅτι* as a particle of interrogation.[1]

4. *St Irenaeus* adv. hereses.

In two passages the Latin translator has used *quid* where the Greek

[1] I have no doubt that the reading of *k* 'quia data' is a corruption of 'quid lata'

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had either certainly, as in the first of the two, or possibly, as in the second of the two, ὅτι. In the second passage, the Greek, whether τί or ὅτι, was intended to be interrogative; in the first the interrogation is a misrendering by the translator.

III xxxi [xxii] 2 'Nec dixisset *Quid tristis est anima mea?*' Matt. xxvi 38 (Ps. xli [xlii] 5). The Greek happens to be preserved in Theodoret's Dialogue Ἄτρεπτος: Οὐδ' ἂν εἰρήκει ὅτι περίλυπός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχή μου. There is no ὅτι in the text of St Matthew, but in the Psalm we have ἵνα τί περίλυπος . . . and so the translator was led to render εἰρήκει ὅτι by 'said why' rather than by 'said that'. For though the Latin MSS are divided between *quid*, *quia*, *quod*, the best MS (C) has *quid*, and *quid* best explains the genesis of the other two, *quia* and *quod*: it must therefore be presumed that the Latin translator took Ὅτι περίλυπός ἐστιν; as a question, and ὅτι as the interrogative particle.

IV x 1 [v 3] 'Quid enim *credidit Abraham Deo et deputatum est ei ad iustitiam*? Primum quidem quoniam ipse est factor caeli et terrae, solus Deus: deinde autem quoniam faciet semen eius quasi stellas caeli'. Here St Irenaeus' meaning is clearly 'What was it that Abraham believed and it was counted to him for righteousness?' And the answer he gives appears to shew that he is thinking not of Rom. iv 3 at all (as the editors of Irenaeus followed by the *N. T. S. Irenaei* have assumed) but directly of Gen. xv 6, and that therefore the *Quid enim* that introduces the quotation has nothing to do with the τί γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ λέγει; of Rom. iv 3. But the Armenian version of Irenaeus has, corresponding to *Quid enim*, 'And that'. Since we have found reason to think that the Latin translator was acquainted with the idiom ὅτι = 'why?', it is natural to reconcile the apparent discrepancy between the two versions by supposing that Irenaeus wrote ὅτι ἐπίστευσεν and that one translator rendered 'what?', and the other 'that'. If so, as the sentence is certainly interrogative, St Irenaeus himself must have employed the interrogative ὅτι. But while I have no sort of doubt that Mark and Barnabas and Hermas and Latin translators of early Greek Christian writings used (or rendered) that construction, I should hesitate to place Irenaeus in the same category, and I think it more likely that the ὅτι which lay before the Armenian translator was a corruption of τί.

Ὅτι interrogative belongs to a different stratum of society, not to the writers of literary Greek, but to less cultivated Christian circles such as those which in the first and second centuries after Christ still talked Greek in the capital. Is it an accident that of the writings cited in this note Mark and Hermas certainly, in all probability the first translations of the Gospels and of Hermas, and possibly the translations of Barnabas and Irenaeus, were produced in the Church of Rome?

C. H. TURNER.

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REVIEWS

L'Évangile selon Luc, by M. Loisy. (Paris, Émile Nouvry, 1924.)

Books on the N. T. come fast from M. Loisy's pen. In 1921 a revised Commentary on the Fourth Gospel, and Johannine Epistles: in 1922 'The Books of the N. T., translated into French with a general Introduction and Notes': in 1924 'The Gospel according to Luke'. The last volume follows his usual scheme, Introduction and Translation (a revision of that which appeared in 1922) with Notes.

The Introduction is also on the lines with which we are now familiar. The first section deals with 'The Third Gospel in Ecclesiastical Tradition'. Its main theme is to shew that early Christian writers knew nothing about the Gospel and its origin beyond what might be conjectured from the book itself, and its traditional attribution to Luke. This is followed by a short *résumé* of 'Critical Work on the Third Gospel', which begins with the statement that in the writer's opinion 'definite results have not been obtained on the most important questions, the personality of the author and the date of composition'. The summary ranges from Lessing (1778, published 1784) to Dibelius (*Vorgeschichte des Evangeliums*, 1919), and Bultmann (*Die Geschichte der Synoptischen Tradition*, 1921). It is perhaps significant that English names are rarely mentioned. Plummer is mentioned in a bracket which concludes a reference to Zahn, following a criticism of Harnack's work, in which two sentences are punctuated with notes of admiration! Streeter's article in *The Hibbert Journal*, Oct. 1921, and (*d'après lui*) Stephenson's in this Journal, 1922, are specimens of those who have 'speculated on the special source of Luke'. The section ends with a summary of M. Loisy's own recent work, which he seems to regard as an advance on the lines of Bultmann. The Synoptic tradition is 'a tradition in reality formed and developed, for the needs of apology and faith, in the first generations of believers, i. e. in the first Judaeo-Christian community'. Perhaps his *résumé* of his own work is the best criticism of M. Loisy's handling of the Gospel. He has tried to shew, he tells us, 'by the style of the Gospels, the structure of narrative and discourse, the adaptation to two different dates of the Passion and Resurrection, the indirect witness of other documents of early Christian literature, that not only the legend of Jesus, and the teaching attributed to him, are almost entirely a product of Christian tradition, but also that the Gospel literature is in substance and form a liturgical literature, conceived and redacted with a view to the Christian assemblies; and that in its most important part, the records of the

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Passion and Resurrection, it is closely co-ordinated with the Paschal observances of the primitive Church'. He also states his opinion that the original work of Luke may have been composed about A.D. 80, but the work as we have it cannot be earlier than 120–30.

The next section, which rapidly summarizes the content of the Gospel, is certainly dominated by this view, and so is the Commentary which follows. There was a document, written by Luke, which at least contained some history, but it is lost in the work of the Redactor, whose work is characterized by the phrases which readers of M. Loisy will recognize as old acquaintances: 'par un artifice assez maladroit', 'une addition rédactionnelle, qui tend à accentuer le symbolisme du récit', 'l'histoire . . . est mal adaptée à la parabole', 'une transition artificielle'; a section of Mark is omitted 'parce que certains morceaux auraient été choquants pour ses lecteurs ou auraient mal servi ses intentions apologétiques'. All these instances occur on two pages, pp. 30, 31. One can hardly escape the impression that M. Loisy is out, not to find history, but to discover apologetic everywhere. But M. Loisy is an acute critic, and the points which he raises always deserve consideration, whenever he is content to turn aside from his favourite phrases to describe the work of the Redactor, 'd'une enfantine gaucherie' and the like. His work is stimulating and may drive others to find better explanations, even if he is persuaded that no good thing can ever come out of the Gospel as we have it, thanks to the Redactor, whose 'apologetic' has completely destroyed the historical value, as a witness to the life of Jesus, of the Lucan document which he has transformed.

Handbuch zum Neuen Testament.

(1) *An die Galater*, HANS LIETZMANN.
(2) *An die Korinther, I, II*, HANS LIETZMANN.
(3) *An die Thessalonicher, I, II, An die Philipper*, MARTIN DIBELIUS.
(4) *Das Johannes-Evangelium*, WALTER BAUER. (J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1923–1925.)

THE output of new editions of old works, especially in Germany, raises problems for the student who has to buy his books, if he would keep abreast of the literature of his subject. The new editions are at least '*vermehrte und verbesserte*', generally '*neu bearbeitete Auflage*', and not infrequently '*völlig*' precedes the 'neu bearbeitete'. In particular, preparation and publication of a second edition of the invaluable 'Handbuch zum Neuen Testament' edited by Hans Lietzmann and others proceeds apace. The second edition of his Romans appeared in 1919, of Galatians, and 1, 2 Corinthians in 1923; and in the present

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year we have the new editions of Dibelius on 1, 2 Thessalonians and Philippians, and of Bauer on the Fourth Gospel.

A comparison of selected chapters in each shews that substantial additions are to be found in all, especially perhaps in the lists of the literature of the subject and in the additional notes, which, as is well known, take the place of introductions, at least to some extent, in this Commentary. Less additional matter is to be found in most of the exegetical notes, though in each volume it is obvious that the newer literature has been carefully consulted, and suggestions are included. Occasionally there is fuller recognition than need be of not very happy thoughts. Does Lake's resuscitation of Clement's suggestion that the Cephas of Galatians is not the Apostle St Peter really deserve nine lines of so short a commentary? Eusebius the apologist no doubt found it interesting and useful. But need it be seriously considered in the present age? In general the number of references to parallel passages, to illustrate St Paul's views, or the meaning and usage of individual words, seems out of proportion to the space left for the actual exposition of the text. But they are valuable and useful in themselves, and not always easy to lay hands on elsewhere; so perhaps criticism is captious if not impertinent. The new matter in each Commentary makes its presence necessary in any library that provides for the needs of serious students of the subject. Possibly the majority of individual students may be content with their old editions and a visit to a library to note the differences.

In Lietzmann's Galatians a short and cautiously balanced note inclines to the 'North-Galatian' theory, pointing out that the official title of the Roman Province in the first century A.D. contained the names of all the countries included; and while admitting the usage of 'Galatia' by Tacitus, Ptolemy, and Pliny, it emphasizes the absence of definite evidence as to popular usage. Dr Lietzmann has no use for the identification of the second visit to Jerusalem mentioned in Galatians with that of Acts xi, or for the historical trustworthiness of Acts xv. But it is impossible to discuss details. The student who works through the information he finds in any of these commentaries, or can easily gain by looking up references, will be well grounded in the evidence which he must consider. In the commentary on the Corinthians also the strength of the work lies in the concise compression of all that has been said on the subject, at least in certain quarters, and in the wealth of illustration of ideas and words from other literature. The student who assimilates what is provided is well prepared to carry on his studies, and fully instructed in the outlines of normal criticism of the subject. The notices of '*Litteratur*' are fuller for German than for French, English, or other work.

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Bauer's Commentary on St John is probably the most important of the series. Most students who can read German will want their own copy of it. The illustrations from other literature are full and relevant. Much use is made of the newer Mandaean literature. Bauer quotes largely from the works of Brandt, Lidgbarski, and Reitzenstein (*Mandäische Schriften*, 1893: *Mandäische Liturgien*, 1920: *Einleitung zur Ginza*: *Johannesbuch der Mandäer*: *Das Mandäische Buch des Herrn der Grosse*, 1919). Much of this evidence is of very recent date. Bauer has pressed rather far the view that as no interaction between Mandaean and Christian books is likely to have occurred in later times, all parallels are evidence for the prevalence of the corresponding ideas before the date of the Fourth Gospel. But his work is useful in helping all of us to realize the wide distribution of many ideas in early Christian and pre-Christian times, which Christians in general, and the author of the Fourth Gospel in particular, have used to give expression to Christian experience. The Commentary should be used in connexion with Bultmann's article on the importance of Mandaean and Manichean literature for the understanding of the Fourth Gospel (*Z.N.T.W.*, 1925, Heft 1/2). The whole book is an admirable example of what is possible in the way of thoroughness and condensation. Again it is worth noting that while the new edition of Loisy's Commentary on St John finds a place in the list of books, there is no mention of Stanton or Goguel—and that where Bacon, Latimer, Jackson, and Burney (with Torrey's review of his book) are all found worthy of mention.

The work of Dibelius is of similar character. There is (in a note) an admirable summary of the arguments for and against the Pauline authorship of 2 Thessalonians, on the whole favouring the view that it is the work of the Apostle. In Philippians the possibility of an Ephesian imprisonment is sympathetically discussed. The Christological passage is discussed with reference to the background of the myths of the descent of Saviour Gods, and the non-technical use of μορφή, ὁμοίωμα, σχῆμα is insisted upon.

It is now clear that the *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament* is finally to take the place of the *Hand-Kommentar*, in which it may be remembered that Bauer was chosen to revise Holtzmann's *Commentary on St John* in the last edition that appeared. It is a worthy successor to that German 'New Testament for Schools and Colleges' from which older English students have learned so much. Those of us who found the *Hand-Kommentar* and the first edition of the *Handbuch* indispensable will find the new edition even more serviceable. But we shall have to remember that it is not *quite* International.

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Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments, 2te Auflage, WALTER BAUER. (Giessen, 1925.)

PROF. BAUER is also responsible for the new edition of Preuschen's New Testament Dictionary. After a glance at the first two instalments no one will dispute its claim to be 'vollständig neu bearbeitet', and to meet the needs of the 'most diverse circles, from students to original researchers'. The first two numbers take us as far as γνώμη and γνῶσις (incomplete). The proof of a Dictionary is in the using. Casual testing of a few words reveals at once its thoroughness. It is much more than a second edition of Preuschen's somewhat slight work, which was published in 1910 and (we are now told) sold out by 1918 'in spite of the war'. It is practically a new work.

Another contribution to lexicography may be mentioned here, the fifth part of Moulton and Milligan's *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* illustrated from Papyri and other sources. It includes words from μαγεύω to ὀψώνιον. A prefatory note of apology for the delay in publishing this part contains the welcome assurance that Part VI will follow at a much shorter interval. Readers of this JOURNAL hardly need reminding of the importance of this work. The section does not include many words of primary importance, but at least μυστήριον, μορφή, and ὄνομα will repay further study.

Einführung in das Neue Testament, by RUDOLF KNOPF. (A. Töpelmann, Giessen, 1923).

THIS second edition of Knopf's *Introduction to the New Testament* is also 'carefully revised and much enlarged'. The book has all the characteristics which make the *Handbuch* so valuable a companion. The student who masters its contents should be able to face any reasonable examination, or begin his own independent study. He is told all that he ought to know about the language and text of the New Testament, early Christian literature from the Epistles of St Paul to the earlier Apologists, the Canon of the New Testament, Jewish history and the Religion of Judaism in New Testament times (with a section on Syncretism, Caesar worship, and Greek Philosophy); all leading up to the 'Beginnings of Christianity' from the 'Life and Teaching of Jesus' to the 'Gentile Church of 70–150 A.D.' It is an excellent grounding in all that the New Testament student should know in outline: and it is the work of a competent scholar of the first rank, though the book as a whole leaves the impression of a really able scholar summarizing the work of others in a sphere in which for the most part he has not done original work of his own. Competence, clearness, and thoroughness, rather than inspiration, are the notes of a *Grundriss*.

A. E. BROOKE.

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The Master-Idea of Saint Paul's Epistles or The Redemption, by Dr R. G. BANDAS. (Desclée, De Brouwer & Co., Bruges, 1925.)

THIS book is a remarkable and interesting phenomenon: a solid volume of 432 pages written in English but accepted by the University of Louvain as a thesis for a Theological degree. The English no doubt has its peculiarities; the spelling is not faultless, and there are several words and phrases, often influenced by the Vulgate, which an English writer would not have used, e.g. δικαιοσύνη is generally translated 'justice'; ἐλογίσθη εἰς δικαιοσύνην 'was reputed to justice'; ἐπιείκεια 'modesty'; ἀναστρέφεσθαι 'converse'; we have the 'praevarication' of Adam; the sub-liminal 'conscience'; 'salvific'; 'unicity': yet in spite of this the style is strong and clear, and no English theologian could ever mistake the writer's meaning.[1] The exegesis is careful and scholarly; the argumentation subtle and scholastic; the point of view Catholic, Patristic, Augustinian: the writer is at times a little scornful of Protestant views, but on the whole he states them fairly and meets them good-temperedly with argument, and he has a very wide knowledge of modern writers both theological and philosophical[2]: good specimens of his treatment will be found in the sections 'Moral Influence theory of Atonement' (pp. 268–285), and 'Analogies of the Church' (pp. 358–370).

The argument starts from the Pauline conception of sin, putting aside any attempts to minimize its seriousness as the mere survival of animal instincts and a method of upward progress, and laying great stress on Adam's sin as inherited by his descendants, and on the Divine wrath as the true expression of Holiness in the face of sin: it then draws out the Pauline treatment of the Law, emphasizing very well its work as a παιδαγωγός: it considers the problem of death in the light of modern science: then comes to the Redemption in Christ, arguing fully the reality of His Divine and Human Nature, combining the moral element of Love and Obedience in His offering of Himself with the sense of Penal element in the actual death, strongly insisting on the vicariousness of the sacrifice and protesting against explaining the Atonement as being merely an appeal to man to be reconciled to God: then stressing the Resurrection as the proof of the conquest of Death and as enabling the Risen Lord to communicate His Spirit to those who are one with

[1] From time to time there are very happy epigrams: e.g. 'the legal method of salvation tries to make God believe in man, the Pauline believes in God' (p. 100); 'Baptism is not only the sepulchre of the old man but also the womb of the new' (p. 351).

[2] Oxford readers, though they will be puzzled by the reference to 'an Oxford Professor, Shears', will be interested in the allusions to Sanday, Moberly, Rashdall: Cambridge readers in those to Westcott, Lightfoot, and J. K. Mozley.

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Him by Faith: the central essence of Faith is treated as intellectual adhesion to the Gospel message, though necessarily carrying with it as a subordinate element a moral adhesion, trust as well as belief. Finally, he dwells on Baptism as the moment of mystical union with Christ, admitting the baptized into the Church which is His Body and conveys His Spirit to all its members.

In the main the writer's contentions are sound and good, and a true presentation of St Paul's view, but the effect is rather rigid and external. It denies the influence of Rabbinic teaching or of Hellenic philosophy or religion upon him, though, while receiving his central doctrines direct from Christ and the Christian Church, he may well have tried to commend it to Jew or Greek by analogies from their own faith. It dwells almost exclusively on the Godward side of Atonement, minimizing the manward: on the intellectual element in faith, minimizing the moral: and it is contented to enforce the old method of presentation of doctrines, impatient of attempts to adapt them to modern methods of approach. And yet the book is a real sign of advance, a real ground of hope. Again and again, as in his treatment of faith, the writer treats the more Protestant method as a subordinate element in the Truth: if this could be lifted higher and treated as an integral element in the whole problem; if the relation to the animal instincts in man could be brought into relation with the action of the human will; if it were insisted that the Godward aside of the Atonement is only realized when the moral influence of it has come home to man; and if it could be agreed that Faith is always (in Dr Hort's definition) '*at once* a vision and an allegiance': then abstract doctrine would fall in with the realities of human life, and Christians would be nearer to a corporate unity. This book does not take this step, but it is moving towards it and so is a good omen. Without being quite a great or illuminating book, it is a strong book, as well as an interesting phenomenon.

It should be added that there is an excellent bibliography, a full list of contents of the chapters, and two very thorough indices.

W. Lock.

Paul of Tarsus, by T. R. Glover. (London, Student Christian Movement, 1925.)

In the first part of his book Mr Glover places St Paul in the stream of advancing Christianity. He describes and discusses all that the chapter-titles 'Tarsus', 'Jerusalem', 'Damascus' stand for. In 'Not having mine own righteousness' and 'The life of obedience' the doctrine of salvation through the Cross is wrestled with. Fuller explanation emerges later, not by formal completion of an argument but by flashes of sympathy. In this first part of the book Mr Glover writes

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for the plain man 'who dabbles in psychology as we all do now-a-days', and says little that will arrest attention among subscribers to the *Journal of Theological Studies*. In the latter chapters (carrying certainly his plain readers with him) he addresses all who can in any degree enter into the intellectual sanctuary which is described as follows: 'Then let us picture a man as intensely absorbed as the modern man of science, but absorbed in the wonder and variety of Christ—not in the detail of the laws of growth and reproduction and structure of things physical, but in the infinite intricacies of God's relation through Christ with all varieties of racial and individual experience; he contemplates not only experience but possibility; explores the complexity of man's nature and gifts, and the unfathomed purposes and kindnesses of God, the whole creation in birth-pangs; and he conceives that every thing God has so far done of wonder and goodness is to be eclipsed in fresh revelations.'

That is a fair example of the style of this book. It is persuasive rather than ratiocinative: sympathy and common sense are expected in its readers more than learning. Mr Glover's own conscientious study of course lies behind his condescension. He treats of all the Pauline problems; conversion, revelation, mystery-religions, apocalyptic. But he comes to the same conclusion for them all: Paul a hellenistic Jew, moved to the heart by personal touch with the Lord Jesus Christ, reacting to every impulse of environment but carried away from the new centre of life by none. Thus he writes about eschatology: 'The discussion so far shews us what we have seen in other regions of our study—a Paul who inherits ideas, who responds to the pre-conceptions of his environment, but who more and more bases himself on experience. . . . "He must reign". The words sum up the real eschatology of Paul, and they are the fruit of his experience.' Perhaps the simplifying is a little too masterful. Mr Glover writes scarce scholarly of 'Paul's recent interpreters, admirable men, widely read in archaeology and comparative religion'. The taunts are good-natured but occur too often. Scrupulous and hesitating enquirers have their place too about questions which after all are complicated and do involve contemporary habits of thought. Is there no stroke of Nemesis in Mr Glover's own unsympathetic estimate of the epistle of St James? 'For nobody could have wished to persecute an author so drab of mind as James; his mild rhetoric and humdrum good sense could have meant no danger to any established institution.'

But this is a solitary protest. Let us end by noticing the good chapters on 'The Church' and 'The human Paul' with its friendship and its study of words, quite charming.

A. NAIRNE.

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Christian Beginnings, by F. C. BURKITT, F.B.A., D.D. (University of London Press, 1924.)

THIS little volume of 152 pages contains three lectures given under a scheme for advanced lectures by outside experts, recently inaugurated by the University of London. Its purpose clearly is not so much to present a carefully proportioned survey of the Apostolic period as to contribute to the discussion of a number of difficult points which are still an open question among experts. Its interest, therefore, consists in the large number of original suggestions put forward on points of detail. The number of these is very considerable; and perhaps the best thing a reviewer can do is to mention a few, so as to give the reader an indication of the kind of subject which he will find treated in the book.

I may begin by noting three points in which Prof. Burkitt challenges views more or less dominant in critical circles. (1) He argues that the phrase παῖς (τοῦ θεοῦ)—and therefore the early speeches in Acts in which it occurs—represents, not primitive Apostolic, but primitive Gentile, Christianity. (2) On the other hand, he suggests that κύριος is not (as Bousset and his followers maintain) an early Gentile, but an early Jerusalem, title. (3) He urges that the characteristic and notable element of the preaching of John the Baptist was its ethical, not its apocalyptic, element. For each of these contentions he makes out a strong case. Hypotheses quite new and of a more speculative character are put forward as to certain Epistles. The Epistles to the Thessalonians are assigned to Silas, whose name occurs, along with that of St Paul, in the opening salutation—the apostle himself having merely read the draft and added a few words. The Epistle of James, it is suggested, is a free translation, emanating from the Greek community of Aelia Capitolina, of an original Aramaic document by the brother of the Lord. To this latter hypothesis a difficulty is presented in my mind by the apparent echoes of the Epistle in Hermas.

The discussion of the relation of the 'food-law' in the Apostolic decree in Acts xv with St Paul's remarks on the same subject in Corinthians is specially notable. It seems to me to be much the best thing so far written on the subject. I would also call special attention to two observations of very considerable interest. First, evidence is given (pp. 74-75) from Rabbinical sources that *Jewish* Christians about the year A.D. 100 possessed a book which bore the *Greek* name εὐαγγέλιον—a point of extraordinary importance to the student of the history of the Gospels. Secondly, there is the observation that the idea of the New Birth, a leading idea in the Mystery Religions, is absent from the writings of St Paul, though it occurs in 1 Peter and in the Fourth Gospel—obviously a point of great importance when we are considering

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the possible influence of the Mystery Religions on the theology of St Paul.

The question of the lost end of Mark and the locality of the post-Resurrection Appearances also comes up for discussion. Prof. Burkitt argues that these took place in Jerusalem as recorded by Luke, and denies that there were any appearances at all in Galilee—in spite of the evidence of Matthew and John. His arguments must be read to be appreciated; but personally I am not convinced. It does not, however, follow that the view taken by Foakes-Jackson and Lake, that 'Luke has omitted or transformed the story of the disciples in Galilee', must therefore be accepted. Burkitt is certainly right in saying that, if so, the Acts would 'lose at the start the right to be taken as a guide to the course of events'. But, if we suppose either that Mark never finished his Gospel, or that the end was lost before Luke used it, then Luke may never have heard of the journey of the Apostles to Galilee. Being uninformed on a point is quite another matter from intentional suppression.

The above collection by no means exhausts the interesting points raised in this short book, but it may suffice to whet the appetite of the reader.

B. H. STREETER.

The Sermon on the Mount, by HORACE MARRIOTT, D.D. (S.P.C.K., London, 1925.)

IN preparing a monograph on the Sermon on the Mount Dr Marriott has undertaken an attractive and important task. And he has brought to bear upon it no little learning and an infinity of pains. He has closely followed his purpose as he describes it, namely, to enquire, first, What did Q's sermon actually contain, and what did our Lord actually say? Then, what did these words of His convey to the first hearers? And, finally, How do they stand in relation to His teaching as a whole, and what is the substance of their import and message for us to-day?

After an introduction in which the questions of sources and of the contents and order of Q are discussed (where we cannot help regretting with him that his work appears to have been finished just before the publication of Dr Streeter's important book) he proceeds to sift the two reports of the Sermon with a view to finding what may safely be traced to Q. He then subjects the resultant material in Matthew and Luke to a very minute comparison, deciding in connexion with each variation which was probably the original form. He thus re-constructs the Sermon as it was found in Q, containing some fifty-four verses as against 107 in the version of Matthew. In chapter ix he proceeds to discuss the extent to which Q may be supposed to have accurately reproduced

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the original discourse, and concludes that on the whole, as thus re-constructed, it does faithfully reproduce the discourse with little addition or subtraction.

It will be at once recognized that this is minute, almost microscopic work, which would need to be examined line by line. It is also work where each decision involves something beyond what can be described as evidence. Agreement or disagreement is very much a question of agreement or disagreement with the writer as well as with his arguments. Detailed criticism is therefore excluded. But, again paying tribute to the patience and thoroughness with which the author has applied his method, there are one or two general criticisms which present themselves.

Dr Marriott evidently attaches great importance to statistics. He has spent endless pains in counting words, those which are common to, or different in, various combinations; and having done so, he is in danger of attaching far too much importance to mere numerical results. He is anxious to find out how much more (or less) of Q matter is likely to be found in Luke than in Matthew: and in order to arrive at that probability he gives some pages of parallel columns with an elaborate analysis of the way in which Luke and Matthew respectively treat the discourse matter of Mark. On that basis he proceeds to lay down eight propositions as to the way in which they have respectively handled Q. E.g. 'Matthew's reports of Q matter will be about 3 per cent. longer than the original, and Luke's about 14.1 per cent. shorter'. Is not this wasted labour? Is there any ground whatever for the assumption that the proportions would be the same or even similar when the Evangelists came to deal with another source? On the contrary, is there any assignable reason why the proportions might not have been exactly reversed? The same worship of arithmetic meets us on p. 52, where we are invited to observe 'the considerable extent to which the wording of Lk. vi 17–20 is paralleled in Mt. iv 23–v 2—viz. thirty-one words out of a total in Luke of seventy-three words'. But what is it we are to learn in view of the fact that among the thirty-one words are six instances of καί, four of αὐτοῦ or αὐτῶν, and four of the article; while the rest, with two or three possible exceptions, are among the commonest words in the Gospel narrative? On the other hand, we are not asked to observe the contrasts in the phrasing, which happen to be striking enough, and still more the contrast in the construction of the whole passage, which is still more striking.

The same somewhat mechanical method shews itself in the opening chapters of the second Part, which is described as Exegetical and Expository. Much of it is devoted to 'parallels' and 'affinities', which the writer has discovered in other literature, leading to the conclusion

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that there is in the Sermon little or nothing beyond the Golden Rule in its positive form 'for which definite originality can be claimed'. It must be said frankly that many of these parallels are not worth collecting: such, for example, as references in the Psalms, Isaiah, the Twelve Testaments to the fact that God has merciful consideration for the poor. It is a parallel to the whole Beatitude that we should like to see. It is an extreme case, yet it shews how far afield the writer has gone that he quotes a saying of Rabbi Tarphon, at the same time reminding us in a note that this Rabbi probably died in A.D. 117, adding the rather naïve remark, 'this saying is thus of slightly post-Christian date'!

It is hardly to be wondered at if, when we come to the exegesis proper, we feel it to be somewhat superficial, and the application to life rather half-hearted. If the Sermon on the Mount is really but a *cento* of echoes from older sources, if there be not an overwhelming originality in the combinations, and in the thing as a whole, and a still more overwhelming originality in the Speaker, and in His welding of morality with religion, would it not be better to fall back upon P or Rabbi Tarphon or whatever else was the original source of each phrase?

The Life, Letters, and Religion of St Paul, by C. T. WOOD, B.D. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1925.)

THE author of this volume is well known as an experienced and successful teacher, and his work bears all the marks of his quality as well as the limitations of his purpose. For those who are approaching the study of St Paul for the first time he has provided an excellent introduction. Framed somewhat on the lines of Conybeare and Howson's famous work, yet written with competent knowledge of the results of modern research, it does equal justice to the external circumstances of the Apostle's life and to the contents of his message. The standpoint is that of moderate conservatism. The South Galatian theory is accepted, and with it the early pre-Council date for the Epistle. The Pastoral Epistles are mainly post-Pauline, though they represent the elaboration of short notes sent by the Apostle to Titus and to Timothy. An illuminating paraphrase of each Epistle inserted at its appropriate place in the narrative, with notes on phrases of special difficulty or interest, invites to a closer study of the letters. It is not to be expected that the book should go deeply into the problems of St Paul's life or teaching; but as a clear, competent, and religious account of what is generally accepted it is heartily to be commended.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

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Grundriss der Einleitung in das Neue Testament, by H. J. VOGELS. (Münster i. W., Aschendorff, 1925.)

DR VOGELS has now added to his *Novum Testamentum Graece* and his *Handbuch der neutestamentlichen Textkritik*[1] a general introduction to the New Testament in the same series and of the same size and price as the latter. The earlier part of the work deals summarily with the Canon and the Text, and the remainder is devoted to introduction in the usual sense. The books are taken one by one, and the treatment is at once interesting and scientific. Each chapter is preceded by a very brief bibliography. Two English works at least should be mentioned and used in a new edition, namely *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles* by Dr P. N. Harrison (Oxford, 1921), and Dr B. H. Streeter's *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* (London, 1924). The seventh volume (1924) of Horner's edition of the Sahidic New Testament is unknown to Dr Vogels (p. 42): for 'Dalmann' (p. 45) read 'Dalman': the second edition of Riggenbach's commentary on Hebrews (1922) should have been given on p. 194 in place of the first: on p. 251 for 'Phillips' read 'Phillipps'. Of various documents printed at the end the '*Third*' *Epistle to the Corinthians* is especially welcome.

A hand-list of half-uncial manuscripts (Miscellanea Ehrle, IV pp. 32–61), by E. A. LOWE. (Roma, 1924.)

LATIN palaeographers suffered a great disappointment when the war made it impossible to issue Ludwig Traube's promised monograph on the half- or semi-uncial script, perhaps the most fascinating of all Latin scripts. They will now be much consoled by the issue of Dr Lowe's list. He has collected in all 160 items, and as the script is exclusively, or almost exclusively, Christian, this fact is of considerable interest to readers of the JOURNAL. The dates added by Dr Lowe are of very great importance, and the references to palaeographical literature are invaluable. Under 34 he might have added *T. Livi Periochae Omnium Librorum, Fragmenta Oxyrhynchi Reperta, etc.*, ed. O. Rossbach (Lipsiae: Teubner, 1910). No. 30 Göttweih (read Göttweig) has been included by mistake, as these fragments are uncial, not half-uncial, being part of the old Freising MS (= Traube 128–129), last edited by Dom de Bruyne in *Collectanea Biblica Latina*, v (Rome, 1921). Under 18 (*bis*) and 18 (*ter*) references might have been given to A. Holder *Die Reichenauer Handschriften beschrieben und erläutert* Bd. ii (Leipzig and Berlin, 1914) pp. 365 f and 526 ff. Under 33 León is twice misprinted. Under 108,

[1] See the JOURNAL, vol. xxii pp. 174 f, xxiv p. 470, xxv pp. 219 ff.

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fragmentum should be *fragmenta*, and 'pp. 48 ff' should be added to 'pp. 226 ff'. Under Paris N.A. lat. 2199 'Contra Pelagianos' should be more exactly 'Contra Duas Epistulas Pelagianorum': I hope to publish these fragments later. This important list is equipped with an interesting facsimile.

A. SOUTER.

A Greek-English Lexicon, compiled by HENRY GEORGE LIDDELL, D.D., and ROBERT SCOTT, D.D. A New Edition, Revised and Augmented throughout by HENRY STUART JONES, D.Litt., F.B.A., Camden Professor of Ancient History, with the assistance of RODERICK MCKENZIE, M.A., Fereday Fellow of St John's College, Oxford, and with the co-operation of many scholars. Part i, A–Ἀποβαίνω. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1925.)

ALL scholars will greet with unfeigned pleasure the appearance of the first part of the ninth edition of Liddell and Scott. Dr Stuart Jones has devoted many years to the task, and has shewn that thoroughness and accuracy which were to be expected from so brilliant a scholar. His preface is most interesting reading, giving as it does the history of Greek lexicography in the nineteenth century. This is not the proper place to review the work from the point of view of the classical scholar, its relation to theological studies is the only point to be considered.

Patristic and Byzantine literature have been excluded from the purview of the present edition, yet in the list of 'Authors and Works' Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, and Origen figure, as well as LXX and Novum Testamentum, but Patres Apostolici, Justin Martyr, and Irenaeus do not. The time-limit has been fixed roughly at A.D. 600. Moulton and Milligan's *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* is used for the illustration of biblical usage. It is not for me to quarrel with the editor for any self-imposed limitation, in view of the fact that a lexicon of Patristic Greek is in preparation, but may I plead for more references and notices of biblical words within the limits he has himself laid down? In the first place we cannot discern whether he is simply reproducing the arbitrary attitude of Liddell and Scott to Proper Names. It looks like it: for Ἄβυδος occurs, but we have only ἀμφίπολις, and Ἀβειληνή is in neither the old nor the new edition. Secondly, words from Hebrew and constructions derived from Hebrew (ἀλληλούια and περὶ ἁμαρτίας) seem to be excluded. Thirdly there might be more elucidation of Christian theological terms, e.g. ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἄγγελος, ἄζυμος in the moral sense; and there might well be references added from N.T. for ἁμαρτάνειν abs. and ἁμαρτάνειν εἴς τινα. Where a Christian meaning

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is given, it is sometimes misleading, e.g. '*οἱ ἅγιοι the Saints*, 1 Ep. Cor. 6, 1 al': from which no one would understand that *οἱ ἅγιοι* here means the members of the Christian Church. I have found no inaccuracies in the meanings assigned to theological words, but would only plead for a few more references, and occasionally an extra meaning, so that one important class of readers may be able to use the work and get more of what they need. May the great work be successfully finished and properly equip future scholars for dealing with the mass of new material that papyri and inscriptions have added to our knowledge since 1897, the date of the eighth edition.

G. C. RICHARDS.

Hermetica: the ancient Greek and Latin writings which contain religious or philosophic teachings ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus, edited, with English translation and notes, by WALTER SCOTT. Vol. i, Introduction, Texts, and Translations; vol. ii, Notes on the *Corpus Hermeticum*. (Oxford, 1924, 1925.)

WHEN Richard Hooker, at the beginning of *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, claims the support of the wise and learned among the heathen for the belief that all things depend upon an intelligent Agent, he first quotes Homer's words Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή, and then cites first among the philosophers Mercurius Trismegistus, proceeding next to Anaxagoras and Plato, and finally to the Stoics. The order is no doubt meant to be chronological. The scholars of the Renaissance followed without demur the Latin Fathers Tertullian, Lactantius, and Augustine in regarding Mercurius Trismegistus as a primeval Egyptian sage from whom Pythagoras and Plato derived the principles of their philosophy. Naturally enough the 'thrice-greatest' was in high repute, and Ficino's Latin translation of the *Corpus Hermeticum* passed through twenty-two editions between 1471 and 1641. It was Casaubon (*Exercitationes XVI Ad Cardinalis Baronii Prolegomena in Annales*, London, 1614) who first demonstrated the late date and the true character of the Hermetic Writings.[1] Style and vocabulary proved them to have been originally written in Greek, and in the Greek of later antiquity. Moreover the doctrine is clearly borrowed, partly from Plato and the Platonists, and partly from the Christian scriptures.[2]

[1] Mark Pattison could not have read more than the first paragraph of *Exercit. in Baron.* i 10 when he wrote: 'If Casaubon expresses a doubt of Hydaspes, Hermes, and the Sibylline Oracles, *it is not on critical grounds*, but on the *a priori* improbability that God would have allowed the Gentiles to have had fuller prevision of the gospel revelation than was granted to the Jews' (*Isaac Casaubon* p. 335).

[2] Professor Scott points out that Casaubon overestimated the influence of Christianity and that most of the passages which he adduced are to be otherwise explained.

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Casaubon's criticism damaged the prestige of the Hermetic literature, and it fell into comparative neglect. The Greek text was not reprinted until 1854, when Parthey produced an uncritical text of *Corpus* i–xiv. The labours of Reitzenstein in *Poimandres* 1904 and subsequent studies have once more brought the Hermetic literature into the circle of interest, but until last year there had appeared no collected edition of the writings.

The late Professor Scott's edition is planned on a generous scale. Volume i contains an introduction, texts, and translation of the whole extant philosophical literature passing under the name of Hermes. Volume ii is a commentary on the *Corpus Hermeticum*. Volume iii is advertised to contain a commentary on the rest of the literature, and volume iv is to consist of testimonia, appendices, and indices.

The 111 pages of introduction in volume i give the fullest and most up-to-date account of the literature which exists in English. The literature, which is the work of many hands, is to be assigned to the third century A. D. The atmosphere of its Egyptian home may be discerned in the religious intensity of its authors, but the ideas are derived from Greek philosophy. Professor Scott recognizes the Jewish colouring in *Corp. Herm.* i and iii, but he 'has failed to find anything in the doctrine taught, that is of Christian origin—with the possible exception of the doctrine of re-birth in *Corp.* xiii'. Personally I am still inclined to find Christian influence in *Corp. Herm.* iv on Baptism in a Crater, and, as *Poimandres* was certainly known to some third-century Christian who compiled Berlin Papyrus 9794, there is nothing difficult in supposing that the author on his side knew something of Christianity as well as of Judaism, and on the whole I think he did. But it is not a matter of much consequence, for Professor Scott is certainly right in saying that the leading Hermetic ideas are not of Christian origin and that the leading Christian ideas do not appear.

Not only does the Editor give a good summary of the work that has been done, but he breaks new ground as well and apparently succeeds in fixing the date of one of the sections of the pseudo-Apuleian *Asclepius*. Like Mr Neill and Mr Nock (*J. T. S.*, January 1925) he follows Bernays in regarding the references in ch. xxiv p. 61. 10, and ch. xxv p. 63. 1 to the penal laws against paganism as later insertions, for the writing as a whole must be earlier than the anti-pagan legislation since it was known to Lactantius. Professor Scott argues cogently that the prophecy of foreign invasion in ch. xxiv points to the Palmyrene occupation of Egypt, and that the writing may therefore be assigned to the years 268–273.

Professor Scott makes further an attractive suggestion as to the origin of the collection of Hermetica known as the *Corpus Hermeticum*. The

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history of the *Corpus* is obscure.[1] Acquaintance with different *libelli* in the *Corpus* can be proved in the case of Lactantius, and of Zosimus and of Stobaeus, but we have reason to believe that none of these writers depended upon the existing collection. This first becomes known to us from MSS which themselves date back to the fourteenth century, but depend upon an earlier archetype. It is probable that Michael Psellus, who appears to have commented upon *Poimandres* (= *Corp. Herm.* i), knew the collection in the eleventh century. Now Hermetic writings have had a history outside Europe. In the first half of the ninth century writings of Hermes were adopted as Scripture by the pagans of Harran, commonly known as Sabians, who in this way won toleration from the Caliphs as being a 'people of a book'; and, just as the Zoroastrians identified their prophet with Abraham, so the Sabians identified Agathodaimon with Seth, and Hermes with Idris, who again is identified by Moslems with Enoch. Later Mohammedan orthodoxy dealt more hardly with dissenting sects, and, after the middle of the eleventh century, the Sabians disappear from history. It is about the same period that we find Psellus commenting upon *Poimandres* at Constantinople, and Professor Scott suggests that the *Corpus* is a collection of fragments of Hermetic literature which were brought to Constantinople by Sabian refugees from Bagdad.

The text and the translation of the philosophical *Hermetica* take up more than 400 pages in volume i. Unfortunately Professor Scott's method of constructing a text seems to be open to grave criticism. In his classification of the MSS he follows Reitzenstein, who holds that an editor need concern himself only with the readings of A C and M. Scott has used collations of A (which contains only nos. i–xiv) for nos. i–xi and xiii. In nos. i and xiii he has given the readings of all the MSS used by Reitzenstein for his text of these nos. in *Poimandres*, viz. A B C D M, as well as the readings of the printed text of Turnebus, and the readings of a Bodleian MS Q which he has collated. Both Q and the MS used by Turnebus are, according to Scott, closely related to D, which again is a sister MS to C, but with a somewhat inferior text. In nos. xvi–xviii Scott has again been able to use the full *apparatus criticus* published by Reitzenstein in his volume *Poimandres*. But for the text of nos. ii–xi, i. e. the great bulk of the *Corpus*, the only

[1] The statement in my article on the Hermetic Writings (*J. T. S.*, July 1914, p. 518) that 'our *Corpus* was almost certainly in existence ... at the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century' needs correction, as the date of Hermippus περὶ ἀστρολογίας, in which several numbers of the *Corpus* are quoted, is quite uncertain. The author may have been contemporary with Psellus in the eleventh century or he may have lived even later. See Scott, vol. i p. 28 n. 3; Kroll in Pauly-Wissowa *art.* Hermippus 9 and *art.* Hermes Trismegistus, para. 795.

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first-class MS used by Scott is A. This is eked out by Turnebus and Q, i. e. apparently inferior relations of an inferior member of the family B C D. For Scott's text of nos. xii and xiv the readings of A as well are missing. For no. xii he gives us the readings of R, another Bodleian MS of the sixteenth century which he has found elsewhere to resemble A, together with Q and Turnebus. In no. xiv where Q is defective we fall back solely upon the printed text of Turnebus and the sixteenth-century Bodleian MS R. It is true that Scott 'thinks it unlikely that if he had had before him a complete conspectus of the readings of all existing MSS he would have arrived at a different conclusion as to the meaning of a single clause in the whole *Corpus*'. But the fact remains that we still lack a critical text. The *Corpus* has suffered much from defective editing in the past, and it is much to be regretted that such an elaborate work as this is based on such admittedly defective study of the MSS.

The editor's use of conjectural emendation is an even more serious count against the text here provided. There can be no doubt that the MS text of the *Corpus* is frequently corrupt, and an editor must at times inevitably try to go behind the readings of the archetype of all existing MSS. But Scott's method of emendation can only be described as reckless. On p. 86 of the Introduction, in speaking of the text of the *Hermetica* in Stobaeus, he states his principles with great frankness: 'Starting from the text of the archetype of the Stobaeus MSS, as reconstructed by Wachsmuth and Hense, I have tried to discover or guess, firstly, what words the author of each Hermetic passage wrote, and, secondly, what he meant by the words he wrote. When one has concluded that a phrase is corrupt, the best way to deal with it is usually to attack the second of these problems first; i. e. to infer from the context, and from parallels in other writings, what the author must have meant, and thence, if possible, to infer what words he used to express his meaning.' It must be added that Scott concludes a phrase to be corrupt on the slightest provocation. Thus on the first page of text, *Corp. Herm.* i 4 *init.* the MSS read τοῦτο (τούτω C) εἰπὼν ἠλλάγη τῇ ἰδέᾳ καὶ εὐθέως πάντα μοι ἤνοικτο ῥοπῇ. The words succeed the account of the appearance of Poimandres in the opening paragraph, and lead on to the writer's vision. They seem to be intelligible and not inappropriate. In Scott's text the words appear as follows: οὕτως εἰπόν⟨τος⟩, ἠλλάγη ⟨⟨εὐθέως πάντα μοι⟩⟩ τῇ ἰδέᾳ καὶ ⟦εὐθέως πάντα μοι⟦ ἤνοικτο ῥοπῇ. The double pointed brackets indicate that Scott wishes to transpose the bracketed words to this position from the position (indicated by the double square brackets) which they occupy in the MSS. The emendation is justified in the commentary on the ground that 'as no "form" has hitherto been ascribed to Poimandres, it could

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hardly be said that he "changed in form". Besides, if he "changed in form", we ought to be told what new form he assumed' (vol. ii. p. 19). This case is not exceptional. Moreover, the editor never considers probabilities or possibilities as to how the text became corrupted. He seems to think that scribes deliberately and habitually transposed phrases from one place in a text to another without any discoverable motive, so that it is reasonable for an editor to suppose that he can recover the original reading by drastic rearrangement of sentences and clauses. Further, it must be pointed out that the translation is a translation of the emended text, and the Greekless reader will read without warning the following translation of the words quoted above: 'When he had thus spoken, forthwith all things changed in aspect before me, and were opened out in a minute.'

In the published volume of commentary the editor gives his reasons for his textual changes. These are frequently unconvincing, but the introductions and the analysis of the *libelli* are well done. The notes, too, are full of learning, and are often of the highest value to students of the religious and philosophical thought of later antiquity.

J. M. CREED.

Julien d'Halicarnasse, by RENÉ DRAGUET, D.Th. (Imprimerie P. Smeesters, Louvain, 1924.) Published by the Catholic University of Louvain as a 'dissertatio ad gradum magistri in Facultate Theologica consequendum conscripta', being no. 12 in the Second Series of such publications.

SYRIAC texts dealing with theological controversy have suffered long neglect, but have, in the last twenty years, begun to receive more adequate notice. In this work the University of Louvain has had an honourable share, to which the book now under review is a worthy addition.

Julian of Halicarnassus was a Monophysite bishop expelled from his see in 518 by the Emperor Justin I. He spent about a decade of enforced leisure at Alexandria in putting forward a Christological system, with which he hoped to gain the adhesion of 'orthodox' Monophysites, and foil Chalcedonian attack. But the acknowledged leader of Monophysism, Severus of Antioch, refused his support. And the system proved so open to misrepresentation from the Chalcedonian side as to be an embarrassment to the cause it was designed to help. Julianism became a heresy within Monophysism, and Julian's writings perished, but for such fragments as were preserved in the works of his adversaries.

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Dr Draguet has collected, edited, and translated 154 such fragments, and deduced from them a very coherent and interesting picture of Julian's doctrinal system.

It would give a very wrong impression of the subject of this study to describe it as a heresy within a heresy. It is now generally recognized that the so-called 'Monophysite' orthodoxy of the East differed from the faith of the Catholic West rather in its terminology, and manner of explaining its doctrine, than in real belief. And Dr Draguet makes it appear that Julian, had his lot been cast in Latin Christendom, would have been not only orthodox as touching his Christology, but a whole-hearted Augustinian. That 'Augustinianism' should, in Julian, find its expression within the theological scheme of Oriental Monophysism, with its dominant Christological interest, in nowise detracts from the interest of his work. The first part of the volume under review is occupied by a sketch of the controversy between Julian and Severus of Antioch, and a discussion of Julian's theological system, based upon the 154 Syriac fragments which, with their translation, form the second part of the volume.

Dr Draguet has chosen Greek as the language into which to translate, for the sake of the reader who has no Syriac. It is a wise choice. Neither Latin, nor modern French, provides adequate equivalents for the technical words of the controversy. But the equivalence of Greek and Syriac, in this respect, is well established, through the work of the School of Edessa. Moreover, though the fragments survive only in Syriac, Julian wrote in Greek. And so Dr Draguet's translation has the value of an essay at reconstituting the original.

The second part of the volume consists of the collection and edition of the Syriac fragments, followed by the Greek translation *in extenso*. All citations in the first part of the volume are from this Greek. And though there is frequent parenthetic reference to the Syriac, it nowhere interrupts the thread of discussion for the non-Syriac reader.

It was in controversy with Dyophysites at Alexandria that Julian conceived his idea of excluding all duality from the concept of the Person of Christ, by teaching that His body was ἄφθαρτος from conception.

It is not surprising that he was understood to be making Christ's manhood illusory, and was stigmatized as Manichee, Marcionite, docetist, and phantasiast, and that these names clung to him in later tradition.

But what he meant by ἄφθαρτος was not the possession of superhuman, in place of human, physical attributes. He was striving to express a much subtler and more spiritual thought than his opponents gave him credit for. He was in fact trying to strengthen Monophysite Christology, by welding it to what is familiar to us as an Augustinian view of man.

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Julian outlined his system in a *Tome*, and sent it for the approval of Severus. To his chagrin, Severus civilly but unmistakeably disapproved, and a breach ensued between them. Julian began to propagate his doctrine, and published his Tome with *Additions*. Severus already had a *Criticism of the Tome* deposited with his agent at Alexandria, a priest named Thomas, who proceeded with its publication as a counter-blast. Severus followed on with a shorter and more popular *Refutation of the propositions of Julian*. Julian retorted with *Contra blasphemias Severi*. But Severus outlived Julian, apparently, and finished the campaign at leisure. He addressed to two Syrian bishops a criticism of Julian's *Additions*, and, later on, revived an old *nom de guerre*, that had served him earlier in life, in controversy with Dyophysites, and attacked Julianism in an *Apology of Philalethes*.

Chalcedonians would not have hesitated to say that the body of Christ was φθαρτόν until the Resurrection, and was endowed then with ἀφθαρσία, giving φθορά a denotation primarily physical and non-moral. But in Julian's mind φθορά was inseparably connected with the taint of sin in men, and it seemed to him blasphemous to use the word in connexion with Christ. There was never any question, with him, that Christ really felt hunger, thirst, and weariness, or that He really suffered and died. The tradition of the Church was clear in the affirmative. It was impossible to refuse the application to Christ of the adjectives παθητός and θνητός. But because of their connexion with φθορά, and its moral stigma, Julian thought it dangerous to use them without safeguards. By φθορά Julian understood, in general, the deformation of a thing from its type, and in particular, the divergence of man since the Fall from the pattern of Adam's innocence and bliss. Applied to manhood, φθορά implied ἁμαρτία as its efficient cause. Neither φθορά nor ἁμαρτία is in itself an οὐσία, and so neither touches the actual 'substance' of manhood. Consequently, the Fall did not make it impossible for the Word to take flesh and blood, with a rational soul. In the case of every ordinary human individual, the taking of these things has involved (and inevitably so) the taking with them of 'corruption', φθορά. φθορά is a reality of many aspects. Its moral aspect is that of a defilement, personal to the recipient, and having the nature of guilt (distinct, however, from the guilt of actual sins, which take place, as it were by *imitation* of Adam's transgression). From this moral aspect of φθορά, the physical aspect cannot be separated, and is the liability to suffering and death without option. In close connexion with both is a psychological aspect of φθορά, namely concupiscence. It is under the influence of concupiscence, in some degree, that human generation takes place, universally, so that it may be said to be 'in the blood' of every human individual, coming out in the sum of evil propensities, so faithfully reproduced in each.

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Concupiscence is thus the psychological manifestation of a sinful attitude, which shews itself likewise in the impatient and rebellious reaction of men to the sufferings to which they are heir. In fact the moral attitude of the children of Adam is such that justice hands them over to the relentless and iron tyranny of φθορά, in all its aspects. Julian almost personifies φθορά. It is an avenger that inflicts upon men, first the appetites and necessities under which all flesh labours, then suffering, disease and death. Not even resting in death, it pursues its helpless victim down into the grave, in dissolution of the body.

Before the Fall, Adam was ἄφθαρτος. Julian, so far as we can tell, never discussed whether this was a state of nature or of privilege; whether, that is, his sin brought physical φθορά into being, or whether it acted merely as the 'removens prohibens' that let it take its course. His interests were religious rather than philosophical. His mind was absorbed in the fact that Adam's transgression actually makes a great and woeful difference to us.

But among those who have received flesh and blood in the lineage of Adam, Christ stands in a unique position on two accounts. Since there is μία φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη, and the Logos cannot be subjected *of necessity* to anything, it follows that though His sacred body may contain the *possibility* of limitation, suffering, and death, *it* also cannot be subjected to these things as of necessity, but only of freewill. Suffering can be conceived of (and is indeed described in the Gospels) in which the characteristic sinful human reaction, mentioned above, is replaced by a morally perfect attitude of glad submission. And this difference of attitude exalts suffering to the level of something divine, for which the name of φθορά is impossible. To this consideration succeeds a second. Christ's virgin birth clearly breaks the entail of concupiscence. And with that go the other aspects of φθορά, which, as the just retribution of sin, has no place in Christ's body. He could never, therefore, from the moment of His conception, be called φθαρτός.

Julian held that his point was also proved by the traditional faith as touching the death and resurrection of Christ. We believe that the death of Christ accomplished redemption ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. Now in the act of death, the whole power of a φθαρτός is absorbed and swallowed up in paying Nature's debt. Therefore, if Christ in dying had power in superabundance by which others are helped, He could not have been φθαρτός.

Again, in the case of Christ, dissolution failed to follow death. The power of φθορά was mysteriously arrested in its working, even before the resurrection. Christ submitted to the separation of body and soul in death. But that He submitted no further to the action of φθορά proves that φθορά had no ascendancy. On the contrary, His harrowing

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of Hell shews Him as possessing the entire power of initiative, and that before the resurrection. It follows that we have not to wait for the moment of resurrection to find Christ's body in essentially different condition from ours. And the only word that, to Julian's mind, would express this fact adequately was ἀφθαρσία, as describing the state of Christ's body from the moment of His conception. Julian saw in the Burning Bush a type of Christ's ἀφθαρσία, and of His voluntary and guiltless suffering. For the Bush really burned, yet was never consumed. It has been said that Julian made all Christ's sufferings miraculous. This is not quite fair. He did make them ὑπὲρ φύσιν; but then there are several modes of being ὑπὲρ φύσιν. Applied to miracles, the phrase commonly means that the effects are disproportionate to their causes, and so carries a sense of violation of nature. But such an interpretation of ὑπὲρ φύσιν is not applicable to Julian's idea of Christ's passibility. In that connexion it means the being *differently conditioned* from common human suffering. Christ did not, like the martyrs, accept suffering from afar, and bear it patiently when it became near and inevitable. *Every moment* His will was actively engaged in endowing suffering with power over His Person.

It is undeniable that this takes from Christ's sufferings one element of bitterness that belongs to ours. 'The sting of death is sin', as Julian was eager to repeat. But by that token, the Sinless One could not feel that sting. So far as can be known, Julian did not explore the possibility of Christ's voluntary appropriation of the griefs of sinners, so as to restore the balance here. He was, perhaps, too much absorbed in the task of rebutting what he held to be the Nestorian implications of applying φθαρτός to the body of Christ, to be able to see any farther than the freedom and innocence of Christ in suffering.

Julian required this moral condition of Christ's suffering to explain the efficacity of His death as a redemptive sacrifice.

Dr Draguet will not admit Harnack's view that Julian brought to its logical conclusion what he calls 'typical Greek soteriology', meaning the doctrine that we are redeemed by the divinizing of our mortal nature through the Incarnation of the Word. Julian held the traditional belief in the power of the Cross as an atoning sacrifice. That sacrifice called for the predominantly moral ἀφθαρσία that has been described on the part of the Crucified if it was to be efficacious. There is no question of any physical ἀφθαρσία to be communicated to believers.

Julian's actual system is thus seen to be much more reasonable and attractive than the parody of it known to tradition. It was not Eutychian. Severus must have been in a position to know this. But it was so open to attack and misrepresentation that ecclesiastical expediency may well have determined Severus to accord it scant sympathy.

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It was a minor objection that Julian's terminology was original and difficult, and little supported by the language of the Fathers. The fact that his Augustinianism was unpalatable to the Antiochene in Severus probably counted for as much, if not more. For it was traditional in Antioch to be jealous for the reality of human free-will. Antiochenes could admit that we are born mortal, without reference to our wills, in consequence of the sin of Adam. But they would not willingly confess that we are born sinners, under the same conditions. The chief and determining consideration in the mind of Severus probably was that theMonophysites, at that juncture, could not afford to give an opening to the Chalcedonians, who were in the ascendant. And whatever could be said for Julianism, it was easy to misrepresent it as the blatant emergence of that Eutychianism which the Chalcedonians always accused the Monophysites of dissembling. Severus only acted like the practical party leader that he was in trying first to dissuade Julian from publishing his doctrine, and, on failing in this, in throwing his whole energy into defeating Julian's teaching in controversy. In this he succeeded, largely by getting a travesty of Julianism accepted as the real thing.

Julian was not quite what Dr Draguet calls him, 'un isolé'. His contemporary Philoxenus of Mabbôgh moved on very similar lines with regard to the doctrine of Man, and of the Person of Christ, but without stirring up controversy. It seems, in fact, that the East was not without wavelets answering to the tide of Augustinianism in the West. But in Julian's case the movement was inopportune.

Dr Draguet has produced a very interesting as well as valuable volume. It cannot be called his fault, if, in the course of the discussion, the reader sometimes recalls sympathetically Cardinal Mai's comment on Severus: 'Prolixior hic auctor est quam meae occupationes ferant'. Such prolixity is an unhappy characteristic of the type of theological controversy in question.

Novatien, by A. D'ALÈS. (Beauchesne, Paris, 1924.) A publication in the series *Études de théologie historique*, under the auspices of the Institut Catholique of Paris, in which M. D'Alès is a professor.

ONE does not expect a work with this title from the pen of Professor D'Alès to be anything but valuable. And this is a valuable study. But, as a book, it suffers from scrappiness. It had its beginning, as the preface records, in a paper read before a congress in 1923 on the text of the Latin Bible cited by Novatian. This provides the second chapter, covering forty-four pages. The third chapter is also bulky, covering about fifty pages and containing an analysis of the *De Trinitate*, followed by a discussion of the doctrine it represents. These two

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chapters form the bulk of the book. There is a short first chapter on the Corpus of Novatian, and a short fourth chapter on Novatian as a moralist. The book thus possesses something of the form of a general study on Novatian. But it is very uneven, and considered as a general study there are great omissions. The historical side of the picture is particularly slight.

But it is not a book that can be neglected. The ordinary student of Church history and doctrine may skip a great many pages, but he will find it worth his while to read, say, the first and last chapters, and about the first dozen pages on the *De Trinitate*. The last named section contains a good analysis of the book, and a useful discussion of its theology follows. The last chapter contains a translation of the two Epistles of Novatian (extant in the correspondence of St Cyprian) together with analyses of three minor works, *De Cibis Iudaicis*, *De Spectaculis*, and *De Bono Pudicitiae*. Of these the first named is vouched for by St Jerome, while the other two have come down to us under the name of St Cyprian. Professor D'Alès, however, devotes part of his first chapter to vindicating the attribution of them to Novatian, on a comparison of style and matter with those of the works of uncontested authenticity. From the three minor works together we get a picture of Novatian after the schism. He is in enforced absence from his flock (presumably the puritan congregation at Rome) and is discharging his pastoral responsibilities, as far as he can, by writing. The situation fits the year 252–253, when the Roman Church was feeling the weight of the persecution under Gallus, and, as we know, Cornelius was similarly parted from his people by his exile to Centumcellae. It is only natural that the Novatianists should have been involved in the trouble, and that Novatian, like another Hippolytus, should have been sharing the fate of his rival. The three writings named are aimed at encouraging his adherents to a severe and uncompromising holiness, and fit the hypothetical situation very well.

To turn to chapter ii, Professor D'Alès does not believe in the existance of any 'Italic Version' of the Bible, such as has been inferred from the existing text of St Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana* II xvi 22. But his study of the scriptural citations of Novatian leads him to postulate the use of one established Latin version of the Bible, which he calls by the safer title of 'Vetus Romanum'. It is a version in which the Old Testament is translated from the LXX. But it is not the same as that cited by the African writers.

Professor D'Alès will not deny that the Vetus Romanum may have owed its initiation to the need of combatting the Bible of Marcion. But he finds no sign of it being in any literary dependence upon that work. The Roman Church was doubtless quite competent to produce

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her own Latin Bible when she wanted to, without needing the help of Marcion as a translator.

Perhaps the outstanding impression left by reading this volume is that Professor D'Alès *could* write just the book that is wanted, on 'Novatien et la théologie romaine au milieu du IIIe siècle'. It will be very gratifying if this volume proves to be just a preliminary study for such a work.

The Theology of Tertullian, by R. E. ROBERTS, D.D. (London). (Epworth Press, 1924.)

THIS volume, like that of Dr Draguet above, is an academic exercise. But it is of an entirely different kind. Dr Roberts has not set out to break new ground, in the sense of adding to the sum of theological knowledge. His aim is to fill a gap in English theological literature by giving a compact general account of Tertullian as a theologian. He has brought to his task a very sound knowledge of Tertullian's writings. And he has made his subject as accessible as possible to the non-technical reader.

There is a general discussion of the place of Tertullian in the history of theology, of his relation to earlier writers, and of the personal factor in his writings. Dr Roberts has paid special attention to the chronological order of these writings, so as to bring out the lines of developement in Tertullian's thought. For the rest, he has reviewed the teaching of Tertullian, collecting and arranging it under appropriate subject headings, and adding a short appendix on Tertullian's literary activity.

Whenever possible Dr Roberts cites Tertullian and other patristic writers from an already established English translation, with a reference. The book is chiefly adapted to serve the class of reader who wants to gain a fairly first-hand acquaintance with Tertullian but cannot give specialized study.

The more technical student referring to it will find a disadvantage in it, in Dr Roberts's very sparing reference to his modern authorities. If, for example, a reader coming on p. 62, upon the statement that 'Tertullian was acquainted with the writings of Clement' (of Alexandria), wants to know more about this, he must hunt for himself. Dr Roberts merely gives some not very conclusive parallelisms in minor matters between Clement and Tertullian. But whether these form the basis of the assertion, or whether there is other support for it, he does not say.

It is true that Dr Roberts gives a list of modern authorities consulted, at the end of his book. But it is neither very exhaustive nor very

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detailed. And he seems to have turned a blind eye on the French, who are represented only by Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne.*

But to such criticisms Dr Roberts can reasonably reply that his task has been to put a sound general acquaintance with Tertullian at the service of a wide class of English readers, and in that task he has succeeded very well.

W. TELFER.

Den Allmänneliga Kristna Tron (*The universal Christian Faith*), by GUSTAF AULÉN. (Stockholm, Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, Andra reviderede upplegan 1924.)

THIS masterly treatise on what is deepest and most central in theology deserves to attract attention outside Sweden. While the author acknowledges his indebtedness to English as well as to German colleagues, his point of view is original and independent in the best sense. And his treatment of difficult problems is extraordinarily careful, lucid, and suggestive. His aim is to set forth the nature and content of the Christian Faith as it actually exists and in its purest form. This is in his view the object of Dogmatic as contrasted with other theological disciplines. He is not concerned with the history of doctrine or the articles of belief of particular Christian bodies, except in relation to that aim. Dogmatic has to keep in view the Christian faith as a living whole.

Including indices and table of contents the book contains 395 pages. The first 114 pages form the preface and an introductory section on the nature of faith and the method of investigating it. The rest of the book is made up of three sections entitled *The Holy One*, *Sanctification* and *The Society of the holy*.

For the benefit of foreign readers the author has written an account of recent Swedish theological work and a short statement of his own position in *Zeitschrift f. Theologie u. Kirche* 1924 Heft 4. He there relates a conversation which he had with Herrmann on the occasion when the latter visited Sweden to deliver the Olaus Petri lectures. When Herrmann asked him what he was working at, he replied that he was writing on the idea of the Church. Herrmann remarked that Swedish theologians were to be congratulated on having time to devote to such problems. This anecdote is a good illustration of the divergent trends of Swedish and German theology.

Professor Aulén emphasises the dynamic character of revelation. Revelation and faith belong together, not in virtue of the communica-

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tion of static truths by God to men, but in virtue of the establishment of a living fellowship between God and man. For over a hundred years the outlook of theology has been dominated by historical critical investigations. Hence the *historicism* of such a book as Harnack's 'What is Christianity?' The fallacy of this historicism is to limit the revelation, which produces faith to an '*isolated point* in the *past*': historicism puts between us and 'the revelation' '*a vacuum which does not exist*' (p. 35). Faith finds a revelation of the superhistorical in history. Revelation can neither be divorced from history nor identified with a particular phase of past history. This point of view saves us from two other fallacies besides historicism, namely mysticism and rationalism. 'When Christian faith speaks of a revelation in history, it stands in opposition to mysticism and rationalism no less than to historicism. It is distinguished from mysticism, in that for faith it is a question not only of the hidden but also of the revealed God; from rationalism, in that it is a question of a *living* revelation of God and not only of certain supposedly rational religious ideas; from historicism, lastly, in that everything in faith is concerned with *God's* revelation' (p. 37). It follows from this principle of dynamic revelation, that Christianity can never be mere reproduction of the past. 'A genuine insight into the relation between the essence of Christianity and Christianity in history can only be attained by conceiving of revelation dynamically and dramatically as a creative spiritual power, which realizes itself in all living Christianity. The criterion by which historical Christianity is judged becomes accordingly not certain given fixed points of doctrine, which might be applied mechanically like a ruler to the life of Christendom. The decisive point comes to be instead the inner connexion with the spiritual life, that is marked by the impress of the works of Christ, of which our New Testament gives the first and principal testimony' (pp. 54, 55). Accordingly, to ask whether Christianity be the doctrine of Jesus or a doctrine about Christ is to pose an artificial problem.

While alive to the fallacies of intellectualism Prof. Aulén stresses the need of dogma. '"Undogmatic" Christianity is a pure product of the imagination; it has never existed and never will exist, inasmuch as in fact faith cannot help expressing itself in thoughts' (p. 80). Legalism whether in the form of Biblicism or of an appeal to the ages of faith cannot provide an ultimate criterion of doctrine.

Assuming thus the dynamic character of relevation, the task of Dogmatic is to interpret each element of Christian doctrine in conformity with what is fundamentul and central in that revelation. The nature of God is revealed to the Christian as Love standing out against a background of Holiness. Christian faith must be treated as an

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organic whole in conformity with that relevation. What we say about the Atonement for instance must not contradict what we say under the heading of Christology.

It would take too long to summarize Professor Aulén's exposition of Dogmatic, but a few quotations on important points may suffice. In the matter of Christology he thus characterizes the opposite errors of Arianism and Modalism. 'In the Arian type Christendom has found a misleading distinction and in the Modalistic a misleading identity between God and Christ. The same thing might also be expressed by saying, that Arianism's christological interpretation of revelation emphasizes the historical at the expense of the superhistorical, and Modalism the superhistorical at the expense of the historical' (p. 222). With regard to the doctrine of the Trinity he calls attention to the bearing of the modern concept of personality on its interpretation. 'Should we make the experiment of supposing, that we could explain for the benefit of the men of the ancient Church, what we now in our day understand by person and personality, it admits of no doubt, but that those Church fathers would be led to dispute our right—with *our* concept of personality—to apply their own trinitarian formula; were we to do so, they would condemn us as tritheistic heretics' (p. 232). Instead of literal reproduction of the ancient formula we need to realize the actual value of the doctrine for ourselves. 'A faith in God, which is at the same time a faith in Christ, can never become pantheistic; and a faith in God, which is at the same time a faith in the Spirit, can never become deistic: on the other hand all so-called unitarian efforts at interpretation lead to deism or pantheism and to an impoverishment of the content and vitality of faith in God' (p. 234).

True to the tradition of Swedish theology and more particularly to that of Lund, Prof. Aulén lays great emphasis on the importance of the Church. (Cf. the conversation with Herrman quoted previously.) 'It is as much meaningless to wish to take Christ without the Church as to wish to take the Church without Christ. The first would be to wish to seek the living among the dead—the second to kill what is alive' (p. 293). With regard to Church organization he classifies the existing forms under three main types, the hierarchical institutional type, the association type, and the universal evangelical type. Such a classification, though unfamiliar and not quite easy to grasp, is suggestive and valuable. After discussing the strength and weakness of the first two types, he gives his preference to the third, on the ground that it admits the widest scope for the creative activity of the Holy Spirit.

Altogether as a specimen of the finest recent work in Swedish theology this book may be ranked with Bishop Einar Billing's *Herdebrev* (Pastoral Letter). It is an attempt to revitalize the conception of faith

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by studying it more directly than is possible in the philosophy of religion, and more widely and scientifically than is possible by expounding the doctrines of particular Christian bodies. If its main point of view be once admitted, such adverse criticism as it may possibly evoke would be mainly with regard to details.

C. T. HARLEY WALKER.

ST THOMAS AQUINAS

The Philosophy of St Thomas Aquinas, by ÉTIENNE GILSON, being an English Translation, by EDWARD BULLOUGH, M.A., of *Le Thomisme*. (W. Heffer & Sons, Cambridge, 1924.)

Saint Thomas d'Aquin, by ÉTIENNE GILSON. (J. Gabalda, Paris, 1925.)

La Scolastique et 'Le Thomisme', by LOUIS ROUGIER. (Gauthier-Villars, Paris, 1925.)

La Littérature Quodlibétique, by the ABBÉ P. GLORIEUX. (Le Saulchoir, Kain, 1925.)

St Thomas Aquinas: Papers from the Summer School of Catholic Studies, held in Cambridge August 4–9, 1924. (W. Heffer & Sons, Cambridge).

'THE present revival of interest in the name and work of St Thomas Aquinas is a fact which is bound to impress even the most superficial observer.' So writes Professor Gilson in the preface to Mr Edward Bullough's adequate (rather than perfect) translation of *Le Thomisme*, a book which, along with others by the same author, has attained to deserved celebrity within a very short space of time. This revival of interest, however indubitable, is not altogether easy to explain. Were it only parallel to the flimsy mediaevalism of *Ivanhoe* or the pseudo-Gothic of provincial hotels, its significance would be small. Or if, again, the new cult of Thomism were confined to circles where the authority of Rome is paramount, it would excite no more comment than any other part of a system which is nothing if not complete. But there is much more than this to be considered. Professor Gilson himself is neither an amateur of the archaic nor a mouthpiece of authority. He writes as a genuine and highly qualified student, and with every appearance of sincerity he says of St Thomas that 'the value of his philosophy lies not in the fact that it is Christian, but in the fact that it is true'. To which Professor Rougier would doubtless reply, that the danger of this same philosophy lies not in the fact that

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it is Christian, but in the fact that it is false. That any philosopher born no less than seven hundred years ago should escape from the frigid deference of historians and once more challenge the world to accept or reject his doctrine is remarkable enough. Yet before we can allow that St Thomas has indeed accomplished this feat it will be necessary to admit the general validity of certain principles which the majority of modern thinkers are still likely to reject or ignore. In a certain sense St Thomas was the champion of free thinking. His plea for human reason, within the limits proper to its exercise, was wholly sincere, and it is a pure misunderstanding of his position to suppose that he stands or falls by the obsolete physics and astronomy which were all that he happened to know. On the other hand, his distinction of faith and reason, of theology and philosophy, is meaningless unless the existence of both the distinguished provinces be allowed. This is clearly understood and explained by Professor Gilson in his admirable exposition of the system. He never makes the mistake of trying to commend St Thomas to his readers by suggesting that the faith and the theology are historical accidents, from which the purely philosophical thinking can now be disengaged. As a commentator on Aristotle and many other authors, St Thomas has indeed left a mass of work which may be appreciated without much reference to his larger intention; but as a claimant to equality with the greatest thinkers he can only be judged in the light of his own maxim, *impossibile est quod de eodem sit fides et scientia*, a maxim which loses all meaning as soon as the reality of *fides* is denied. This is not the place to examine the worth of so large a proposition, but it may be permissible to note that *scientia* is a term limited by its derivation from the Aristotelian ἐπιστήμη, as distinguished (unfortunately, perhaps) from νοῦς, which the Latins afterwards called *intellectus*. As St Thomas says, *obiectum fidei est veritas prima*, but, if truth be the object, the apprehension, or attempted apprehension, thereof cannot be other than a mode of knowledge. In other words, *scientia* and 'knowledge' are not co-extensive terms, and a similar ambiguity has always affected the meaning of 'reason' (*ratio*) in the common antithesis of reason and faith. Upon this and some other questions of wide philosophical import Professor Gilson may not wholly satisfy his more critical readers. His business is exposition rather than criticism, and for exposition he possesses in a high degree the peculiar talent of the French. In lucidity and precision his books leave nothing to be desired. In *Le Thomisme* we have a survey of the system as a whole, in *Saint Thomas d'Aquin* a special study of the moral doctrines, but with full recognition of the fact that in St Thomas the whole is always prior to the part.

Professor Rougier's voluminous work is a tribute to St Thomas all

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the more remarkable because it is the tribute of a vigorous and candid foe. The book ranges over almost the whole course of European philosophy, and displays a wealth of genuine learning such as can only be amassed by years of honourable toil. At the same time I feel obliged to say that the author is sadly deficient in literary method. He says the same thing over and over again in almost identical words. Beginning with the Preface, he proceeds, in section after section of his book, to state the same general thesis, expanding and elaborating it a little with each repetition. With great advantage to himself and to his readers, he might have compressed the whole argument into half the space, or less. According to Professor Rougier, all scholasticism, whether Jewish, Mohammedan, or Christian, was a philosophy engaged in the solution of a gigantic pseudo-problem, to wit, the reconciliation of two incompatible things, Greek rationalism and revealed religion. In the supreme era of Latin scholasticism (for which there was much preparation in the writings of the Fathers and the Neo-Platonists) the special problem was the harmonizing of Aristotle with the Bible, upon which attempt Professor Rougier's verdict is that, even if St Thomas had succeeded, he would still have failed to reconcile faith with reason, since Peripateticism is repudiated by philosophy and science. We should venture to reply, however, that, if the scholastics were occupied with a pseudo-problem, Professor Rougier has spent enormous pains in constructing a pseudo-refutation. With all his diligent erudition, he does not appear to have formed a just historical estimate of the situation with which St Thomas was confronted. He cites the names of Tycho Brahe and Galileo, or quotes ecclesiastical pronouncements of 1578 and 1616 concerning the necessity of conforming to Aristotle's opinions, as though St Thomas would have assented to that preposterous demand. But St Thomas was far removed from this mental and moral degeneracy. He disputed the Moslem interpretation of certain passages in Aristotle, because he believed it (and often with good reason) to be wrong; he defended the study of Aristotle, because he was not afraid of any truth that either the Aristotelian or any other system of philosophy might contain; but that he regarded Aristotle as infallible and appealed to his doctrines as one might appeal to 'authority' is simply a vulgar error, into which no careful student should allow himself to fall. In the same style, Professor Rougier exhausts himself in exposing the fallacy of what he takes to be the fundamental postulates of scholastic philosophy, and in proving that *la mentalité réaliste* has no serious claim to be 'the natural philosophy of the human spirit'. In the end, however, he seems to prove no more than the obvious fact, that many mediaeval ways of thinking are no longer suited to modern use. Thus far St Thomas himself, could he

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return to life, would doubtless agree with his critic, but it scarcely follows that the whole attempt to establish the unity of truth must be dismissed as a pseudo-problem. With all his inevitable and patent limitations of knowledge, St Thomas did his heroic best to vindicate the principle of philosophical liberty, on the one hand, against the doctrine that faith was irrational, and, on the other, against the dogmatic pretensions of the 'reason' which was only a name for certain intellectual activities of limited extent.

The Abbé Glorieux's study of the disputes *de quolibet* is a valuable and interesting piece of work. In two introductory chapters he discusses the history and developement of the *genre*, analyses the customary procedure, and estimates the value of a method of instruction highly characteristic of the Middle Ages. A clause in the Statutes of the University of Paris (1335–1366) has seemed to authorize the belief that these disputes (usually held at Easter, and at Christmas, or occasionally in Advent) were the business of bachelors; but the Abbé shews conclusively that this was a later and perhaps degenerate phase, when the serious discussion of urgent topics had given place to a merely scholastic exercise. We have to distinguish, however, between the *disputatio* and the *determinatio*. In the former bachelors could, and did, take part, but to 'determine' the disputed question was a magistral act. The Abbé quotes also a Dominican regulation of 1280 at Oxford, *ne lectores disputent de quolibet nisi sint magistri in theologia*. The characters engaged in the tournament were the *opponens*, the *respondens*, and finally the *magister*, who might criticize the form of the questions and intervene in the discussion, but whose chief function was to pronounce judgement on the merits of the case, usually, it seems, after the interval of a day or several hours. As to the value of these miscellaneous disputations, this would depend partly on the motive and ability of the disputants, partly on the degree of real importance in the subjects debated. In the main there is no difference of principle between the method of the *quodlibet* and the general method of mediaeval dialectic, as we see it, for example, in the *Summa* of St Thomas, where the living disputants known as *opponens*, *respondens*, and *magister* make an impersonal appearance as the *obiecta*, the *sed contra*, and the *respondeo dicendum quod*. In the second part of his book the Abbé Glorieux prints a list of 'quodlibets' by various authors, some famous, some obscure, with an analysis of their contents. Finally he gives the full text of one example (an anonymous work tentatively assigned to the year 1278) selected on account of its value as illustrating the characteristic facts. Both for this practical illustration and for his general elucidation of a difficult subject the Abbé will earn the gratitude of scholars.

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The collected papers of the Summer School of Catholic Studies held at Cambridge in 1924 form a volume which displays both the merits and the defects of organized appreciation. The choice of subjects and exponents has been careful, and a general survey of the wide range of problems comprised in the philosophy of Aquinas is effected with no more overlapping and repetition than it is reasonable to expect. The main features of the system are clearly exhibited in the respective contributions of Dr Downey ('St Thomas and Aristotle'), Dr Aveling ('St Thomas and Modern Thought'), and Dr Cronin ('The Moral, Social, and Political Philosophy of St Thomas'). Mr Bullough gives an interesting account of 'Dante, the poet of St Thomas', and none of the papers fall short of the 'competence' ascribed to them by Cardinal Gasparri in a letter conveying the approval of the Pope. At the same time one cannot but feel that the range of criticism is limited, and that the incidental arguments of the lecturers are supported by the comfortable assurance that no one in the audience is likely to dispute them. St Thomas ceases to be interesting only when his work is invested with finality, and it is still worth while to remember that the critical study of Aristotle was delayed for many centuries by his appointment as the official philosopher of the Church. Perhaps because it lies outside the rather oppressive atmosphere of *nihil obstat* and *imprimatur*, Father Mackey's study of 'The Autograph of St Thomas' will give pleasure to readers not greatly concerned with scholastic philosophy as a whole. *Procuretur si posset inveniri aliquis qui sciret legere istam litteram* is a fourteenth-century annotation to the manuscript of the *Summa contra Gentiles* which proves that St Thomas had at least one human weakness to endear him to his fellow men. From the repeated corrections and verbal alterations we gather, too, that to be an artist in style (as St Thomas assuredly was) is as difficult for a saint as for other authors; and when a new pen is tested by a scrawl of *Ave* or *Ave Maria* in the margin, we should like to regard the longer ejaculation as a pious intimation that the pen was bad. Another sign of a humanity wider than the genius of logic is found in the liturgical poetry, upon which the Bishop of Clifton discourses. The Bishop would have done well, however, to give his quotations in the original tongue. The quality of mediaeval hymns belongs so entirely to the Latin language that to render them in English without lapsing into doggerel has usually proved to be beyond the translator's power.

W. H. V. READE.

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Aristoteles: Grundlegung einer Geschichte seiner Entwicklung, von WERNER JAEGER. (Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, Berlin, 1923.)

PROFESSOR WERNER JAEGER has in this very learned and convincing book produced an aid to the understanding of the development of Aristotle's thought which will long be indispensable to all serious students of the Philosopher. Readers of this JOURNAL will be especially interested in the light which is thrown by it on the theology of one who, if the impression made by him on the whole system of Christian doctrine is less than that made by his master Plato, has yet profoundly affected Christian thought, most obviously through the dependence upon him of the great schoolmen of Latin Christendom, but perhaps not less really through his decisive influence on the general development of religious speculation in that Hellenistic world wherein the early Church made itself at home.

Professor Jaeger recognizes three periods in Aristotle's independent developement. During the first of these he was a member of the Academy, critical of Plato's theories, but still his disciple, and fundamentally at one with him in his general view of the world. To this period belong the Dialogues, none of which has survived in its entirety, but upon which his reputation in the time of Cicero largely rested. About two of them, the *Eudemos*, which dealt with the nature of the Soul, and the *Protreptikos*, which contained his first work on ethics, we know enough to be able to a considerable extent to reconstruct them. In the second stage of Aristotle's career, which Prof. Jaeger calls his *Wanderjahre*, his great master was dead, and he himself was already a teacher on his own account; first at Assos, under the patronage of its prince Hermias, whose niece Pythias he married; and afterwards in Macedonia, as tutor to the heir-apparent to the crown, Alexander the Great. To this second period belong the *Programmschrift*, as Prof. Jaeger calls it, *On Philosophy*, which served as the first sketch of his *Metaphysics*, the so-called *Eudemian Ethics*, and much which we have preserved as incorporated into his later works on Physics and Politics.

The traditional contrast of Aristotle and Plato, expressed in Raphael's cartoon at the Vatican (the thought suggested by which is perhaps traceable to a remark of St Bonaventura), in which Plato looks up to heaven, Aristotle down to the earth, reflects the impression made by the works of his maturity, his *Meisterzeit*, in Prof. Jaeger's phrase, which comprise most of those by which he has been chiefly known to the mediaeval and modern world. But Prof. Jaeger shows very clearly how much survived even in these from earlier periods; how large parts of the *Protreptikos* and of the treatise *On Philosophy* were worked into the fabric of the *Metaphysics* and *Nicomachean Ethics*

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respectively. In particular was this the case with the religious element in Platonism, which continued to influence him, even when he had moved far away from his master in other respects.

The 'cosmic religion of Hellenistic philosophy, which', as Prof. Jaeger says, 'has detached itself from the popular faith, and come to seek in the starry heavens alone the objects of its veneration',—the religion which was destined in its latest phase to be the chief competitor with Christianity for supremacy in the world of Mediterranean civilization—rests indeed on Platonic foundations, but owed much of its structure to Aristotle. The subordination in his system of the star-gods to an 'unmoved first Mover' is not in principle opposed to his master's doctrine, though it is differently expressed; but in his insistance on the eternity of the world he was deliberately opposing Plato, whom he supposed to have in the *Timaeus* asserted its creation. Of more lasting importance, however, because passing over into the theology of Christianity itself, was his attempt (which also finds its point of departure in Plato) to bring together by a teleological interpretation of natural laws the scientific study of phenomena, which came more and more to engross his attention with the fundamental conviction of the necessity to knowledge of a transcendent supersensible Reality, a conviction which, originally derived from Plato, he never abandoned, and which, as Prof. Jaeger observes, prevented him from ever becoming a Positivist.

Prof. Jaeger sees in Aristotle the founder of what we call nowadays the Philosophy of Religion. We may at first be surprised, in view of the general tendency of his theology, with its ultimate denial of any possibility of communion on the part of man with the self-contained life of God, to find that he was the author of a dialogue on Prayer. But attentive readers of the *De Caelo* know that this denial was far from implying that he was a stranger to the sentiment of solemn reverence, which in him, as afterwards in Kant, was especially aroused by the contemplation of the heavenly bodies; indeed it is in one aspect an expression of this sentiment. It was in this dialogue that he declared that 'God is νοῦς, or something higher than νοῦς (ἐπέκεινά τι τοῦ νοῦ)'. The last words verbally anticipate the doctrine of Plotinus. Prof. Jaeger—like Dr Inge—would render νοῦς by 'Spirit' (*Geist*); thus finding in the saying a remarkable anticipation of John iv 24, notwithstanding the substitution in the Gospel text of πνεῦμα for the Aristotelian νοῦς.

But Aristotle's chief importance in the history of the Philosophy of Religion belongs to him as the inaugurator of the 'Proofs of the existence of God'. His own special starting-point in this respect is the fact of *motion*: the traditional 'Cosmological Proof' is of course

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a generalized form of his argument from the motion of the universe to an unmoved first Mover. He found Plato's doctrine of Ideas especially deficient as an explanation of motion, but he was no less disinclined than Plato himself to fall back on the mechanical causes alleged by the physical philosophers of the time before Socrates; and the search for a better account led him to his theory of a God, spiritual and individual, who constitutes into a unity a world which depends upon him as its final cause, but of which he is not himself a part.

With his 'rational theology' Aristotle echoes in more than one passage the condemnation already passed in the Platonic *Epinomis* (in which Prof. Jaeger sees a work not of Plato himself, but rather of Philip the Opuntian) upon the ancient Greek view that it is improper and dangerous for mortal men to intrude upon the zealously guarded secrets of the Immortals. Accordingly his metaphysic is essentially *theology*, and is so called by himself. His discontent with the dualism involved in what appeared to him to be Plato's 'separation' of the supersensible world from the sensible led him, not to deny reality to the former, but to integrate it, as it were, with the latter; to the order and movement observed wherein it stood in strict causal relation.

Prof. Jaeger shows that the recognition of each star-spirit as, in his own sphere, an 'unmoved first mover', no less than is the supreme God in the universe as a whole, was a later addition to Aristotle's theory, to which he was led by the desire to accommodate his system to the results of contemporary astronomical investigations. The doctrine of these planetary deities is certainly not worked out; they are nowhere expressly affirmed to be what he was, no doubt rightly, taken to regard them as being, 'Intelligences'; and there are several pertinent questions about them which we can only guess how he would have answered. But the presence of diversity in an eternal universe governed by a single Principle—of the diversity most conspicuously apparent in the movements of the planets—raises a problem independently of the astronomical theories which moulded Aristotle's final solution of it; and of course the star-gods themselves are part of his inheritance from Plato.

We have already seen that Prof. Jaeger recognizes in the *Eudemian Ethics*, with their interpretation of the 'speculative life' as the 'contemplation and service of God', not a later but an earlier version, and one from Aristotle's own hand, of the doctrine which in the *Nicomachean Ethics* we find stated in a less theological phraseology. The later ethical teaching of Plato had been more theistic in form than the earlier; and Aristotle's earlier ethical teaching was its natural sequel. Not only, however, does his maturer work abandon something of the religious colouring of the less mature; but the sphere of ordinary

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social morality came to be definitely marked off from that of the *βίος θεωρητικός*, in which is to be sought the chief happiness of which human nature is capable; this higher kind of life being now itself represented rather as an image of the divine life than as a relation of our own souls to the divine Being.

On the subject of the Soul also Prof. Jaeger shews us Aristotle moving away from an earlier Platonic position towards one more, yet not wholly, naturalistic. His later doctrine, according to which the Soul is the 'entelechy' or organizing principle of its body, is, Prof. Jaeger observes, midway between the opinion, which he still held when he wrote the Dialogue *Eudemos*, that it was a 'substance', not the 'form' of something else but itself a form in its own right, and that reported by Socrates in Plato's *Phaedo*, that it is a mere harmony of the bodily elements. Inseparable from the body, it is now indeed no longer regarded as immortal; but the *νοῦς* or Intellect, which is so regarded, still retains some of the mystical glamour belonging to a point of view which, as regards the Soul as a whole, he had abandoned. The difficulties which beset Aristotle's notion of the *νοῦς* are notorious, and are witnessed to by the mediaeval controversies to which they gave occasion. But I think one may venture to say that Prof. Jaeger does not do full justice to the *logical* difficulty of dispensing with the recognition of an absolute standard of truth immanent in the mind, if we are to give any genuine meaning to *knowledge*; a difficulty which may have had at least as much to do with Aristotle's exemption of *νοῦς* from the naturalistic account which he eventually came to give of the soul's developement as a mere survival in his mind of youthful prejudices in favour of a wholly different view.

In leaving the consideration of this most learned and interesting—indeed sometimes fascinating—book, I should like to add an expression of regret that its author is apparently unaware of the remarkable article in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, in which Mr Case, the late President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, gave an outline of the development of Aristotle's philosophy as exhibited in his works, which, while at variance in several respects with the views generally entertained at the time of its appearance by English scholars, the elaborate investigations of Prof. Jaeger have on the whole tended to confirm. To instance only in one particular already mentioned, Prof. Case (as he then was) defended the authenticity of the *Eudemian Ethics* as a treatment of its subject by Aristotle himself, earlier and more Platonic than that embodied in the *Nicomachean Ethics*. Prof. Jaeger does not, however, agree with Prof. Case in defending also the authenticity and early date of the *Magna Moralia*.

CLEMENT C. J. WEBB.

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CHURCH HISTORY.

AMONG works on Church History, Dr B. J. Kidd's *History of the Church to A. D. 461* (three vols: Clarendon Press, Oxford: 1922) has waited too long for notice. The delay, has, however, had an advantage, for it has enabled me to test its value not only in my own work but to younger students: a view formed on such material is sometimes different from that given on a critic's first and therefore hasty impressions. I have found for myself not only the facts but the references one needs, and my pupils, who are in these rather hasty days not over-fond of large works, have confirmed my experience. It is not always easy to read: it lacks the impressionist skill of Gwatkin and the political sweep of Duchesne, but it is very full: schools of thought, writers, clashes of doctrine and of views, have ample treatment, and the extensive and numerous notes, with references to authorities (here Dr Kidd's two most useful little books of documents are most handy) and to modern writers, give the students a chance of further study: instances of this are found in the pages (i 309 seq.) on the Mysteries: the chapter (vol. i, x) on 'Creed, Canon and Episcopate'; the Baptismal controversy and Cyprian, i, p. 465 seq.: the whole treatment of Arianism, up to, at and after the Council of Nicaea (vol. ii, chaps. i, ii, and iii); Julian (ii chaps. vii): Pelagianism (vol. iii, chaps. iv, v, vi, vii, and viii—a very full treatment): and the useful chapter (vol. iii, xxi) on 'the Churches beyond the Empire'. Incidentally it should be noted that the student gets much help in geography from the first chapter ('The Roman Empire') throughout. It is also pleasant to have a separate index to each volume. In the short 'Prefatory Note' Dr Kidd says with truth that none of the books of first-rate merit 'give references in any fullness' and that it has been his object to supply them, so doing for others what Bright did for him by putting students 'into direct contact with the sources and enabling them to use the originals for themselves'. He has certainly kept this always in view, and so should help younger workers to the solid and extensive knowledge he himself possesses. The notes even more than the text are thus in a way the backbone of the work. No English student will, I think, be able to neglect the work: he will probably supplement it by, say, Duchesne (the third volume of whose work has now come out in English, with a very competent translator in Prof. Claude Jenkins, *The Early History of the Christian Church*: vol. iii: *the Fifth Century*, Murray, 1924). But Dr Kidd's work will, for a long time, have to be used, and will be used with great gain, by

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all English students: it has the solidity and thoroughness which once marked English work, and its author has the advantage of not being a scholar of only one period: his knowledge of Reformation theology and documents has helped him, as such outside knowledge always does, to understand this early and most fundamental of all Christian periods: one age illustrates another, and so there is a continuity in Church History beyond that of the institutions and traditions upon which Dr Kidd has rightly laid stress.

Dom L. Gougaud's *Gaelic Pioneers of Christianity* (Gill and Son, Dublin, 1913) deals (as its sub-title says) with the work and influence of Irish Monks and Saints in Continental Europe from the sixth to the twelfth century. It is a fascinating study, the second part of the book deals with the place of those Irish Saints in Continental religious folk-lore, and is full of curious information, Brittany and Southern Germany being particularly rich in Saints of medicinal powers. Chapter v in the first part—'Some reasons for the Irish Missionary Exodus'—is specially interesting: many saintly leaders disapproved of the emigration and monastic discipline condemned it, but the opportunity for higher asceticism, which awaited pilgrims in a strange land, was an attraction: when they got there the missionary call was irresistible. The book is more important than its size indicates, and its significance lies in the present stage of such study, passing now from the rejection of everything as unhistorical to the garnering of a historical residuum, much as Dom Butler has done in his special work. The details of travel, by horse or car, a luxury which involved the perils of excommunication, are full of interest: so too are the wandering careers, such as that of Virgil the Geometer, abbot of Aghaboe, an exile at Salzburg 'for the love of Christ: St Samson had a car (an Irish car?) 'quem de Hibernia apud se apportaverat'. Those who know Dom Gougaud's useful book on *Les Chrétientés celtiques* will know beforehand that the notes here too give us most useful hints and references.

Dr Leighton Pullan in his Bampton Lectures for 1922, *Religion since the Reformation* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1923) has attempted a terrific task. The mere titles of the chapters (I. The Counter-Reformation and the Doctrine of Grace: II. Religion in Great Britain, 1550–1889: III. Continental Protestantism, 1520–1700: IV. The Roman Catholic Church, 1700–1854: V. Religion in Great Britain and America, 1689–1815: VI. Aspects of Lutheranism and Calvinism since 1700: VII. The Eastern Orthodox Church: VIII. Aspects of Christian thought since 1815) indicate the ground covered. In each chapter Dr Pullan shews special knowledge, but the treatment inevitably is that of guidance and hints. Continental Protestantism and later Lutheranism are far too little studied in England, and the chapters on them are therefore of

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special value; it would have been well could they have been enlarged. The appended notes, ranging from 'the Council of Trent on Indulgences' through 'British Calvinism', 'the Position of the Church of Sweden', 'the Protestation of the English Roman Catholics in 1789' to 'Early American Church Architecture', give further guidance, and enable Dr Pullan to enlarge on the text: a preacher can naturally claim a right to more emphatic statements and select his own lines at pleasure: this adds to the interest, especially as Dr Pullan always knows his own mind as well as the facts of his field (or rather of his many fields). It is difficult to imagine any future Bampton Lecturer giving the public more information or suggesting with rapid touch more fresh lines of study. And at any rate no further rivalry from a Hulsean half at the sister University is to arise. It is curious that one University is able to justify its eight sermons just as the other surrenders its four.

Many works of interest can only be mentioned. H. D. Sedgwick's *Ignatius Loyola* (Macmillans, 1924) is far better than other lives of the Jesuit Founder. It deals less with the institution and the detailed constitution of the Society than does Gothein in the German, but it gives us a well-written study of the man himself. The documents are used with skill and sympathy and no reader can fail to be interested.

Dr Augustin Fliche in his *La Réforme Grégorienne* (Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense: Fasc. vii 1924) enlarges a former smaller work of his on the eleventh century, and the book should be most useful. It is pleasing to see that Louvain has again all its old activity (sad as was the loss of Cauchie), and the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, with its invaluable Bibliography, goes its old way.

Batiffol's *Le Siège Apostolique*, 359, 451 (Gabalda, Paris, 1925) continues his former works. It deals with a more difficult period, and problems which have a special interest for the learned writer are handled, with all his knowledge and skill, and sometimes with the conclusions we should expect.

L'État chrétien Calviniste à Genève au temps de Théodore de Bèze, by Eugène Choisy (Eggermann, Geneva; Fischbacher, Paris), is a full account of Geneva under Beza, who has not been studied or described as adequately as he deserves.

The Rev. A. F. Scott Pearson's *Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism, 1535–1603* (University Press, Cambridge, 1925), is the product of much study and research into a life specially interesting to Cambridge men.

Among studies of later Church History Mr Henry Broxap's *Later Non-Jurors* (University Press, Cambridge, 1924), also founded upon careful study and documents not used before, deserves mention. It brings forward many facts and connexions for the first time, and

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the account of the liturgic controversies will be of peculiar interest to many.

The Rev. W. P. M. Kennedy's *Elizabethan Episcopal Administration* (3 vols., Alcuin Club, 1924) is important not only for its documents but for the Editor's Essays, and perhaps most of all for his study of Elizabethan political thought.

Among books which it is only possible to mention or notice shortly are three or four on French Church history. Mgr Baunard's *Un Siècle de l'Église de France, 1800–1900* (J. de Gigord, Paris, 1922) tells from a strongly ultramontane point of view the triumph of Roman uniformity over Gallican independence. The writer significantly welcomes the disappearance of Fleury with his 'Gallican poison' as a text-book. There is an interesting sketch of the disappearance of local liturgies before the Roman (chap. x), and the liturgic crusade of Dom Guéranger, rather coldly supported by a politic Curia, is described at length. There is much of detail and information not readily found elsewhere. The *Histoire générale du mouvement Janséniste depuis ses origines jusqu'à nos jours*, by Augustin Gazier (2 vols., Champion, Paris, 1924), and the *Histoire politique des Protestants français* (1714–1794), by the Abbé Joseph Dedieu (2 vols., Gabalda, Paris, 1925), have each a special interest. So too has *La France et Rome pendant les guerres de religion* by Félix Rocquain (Champion, Paris 1924), a very clear if not an exhaustive narrative. The description of the various Edicts of Toleration (or of Persecution) which mark stages in the Wars is one of the best features of the book.

Die Rechtfertigungslehre auf dem Tridentinischen Konzil, by Hans Rückert, in 'Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte', edited by K. Holl and H. Lietzmann (Marcus und Weber, Bonn, 1925), is another of the special Tridentine studies in a literature which is rapidly growing. An importance of another kind belongs to *La Légation du Cardinal Morone près l'Empereur et le Concile de Trente, Avril–Décembre 1563*, by G. Constant (Champion, Paris, 1922), a well documented sketch of decisive diplomacy by a great ecclesiastic at a critical period.

Calvin's Staatsanschauung und das konfessionelle Zeitalter, by Hans Baron (Oldenbourg, Munich and Berlin, 1924), is a discussion of Calvin's political thought, especially in comparison with Luther's.

And last of all mention must be made of P. S. Allen's *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1924), the fifth volume, covering the critical years 1522 to 1524. Like its predecessor this volume is something of which English scholarship may well be proud.

J. P. WHITNEY.

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Augustinus: eine Psychographie, von Dr Med. BERNARD LEGEWIE. (A. Marcus & E. Webers Verlag, Bonn, 1925, vi + 132 pp.)

THIS book will probably prove a pleasant disappointment to many readers. The title, *Eine Psychographie*, and the description of the author as 'Dr Med.' might seem to suggest one of those psycho-analytical forays into the domain of history which are apt to leave behind them merely a devastated region and the odour of the charnel-house. But, very much to the contrary, here is a sane, unprejudiced and penetrating character-study of St Augustine, unmarred by any excessive specialism and free from any gratuitous assumption of morbidity in its subject. The author can use the most modern psychological terminology when he sees any profit in doing so, but he refuses to be hag-ridden by it. He aims at giving an objective analysis of St Augustine's temperament and character, and in spite of the brevity of the work—it comprises only some 130 pages—it will, I believe, be admitted by most students that he has done so with a fair measure of success.

A brief outline of Augustine's life-history is followed by what will probably be judged the most interesting section of the book, a study of the psychological starting-points of his principal works. As the author notes, Augustine has been a father of systems, but he was not a deliberate system-builder; his principal writings were almost all 'occasional', arising in response to some specific demand. The third section discusses Augustine's personality in relation to his activities and teaching, while the fourth contains a summary analysis of his 'psychic structure'.

In regard to the psychological starting-point of the *Confessions* the author makes a novel suggestion which certainly deserves to be considered. Most readers are inclined, he thinks, to pay too little attention to the Tenth Book, in which Augustine, after tracing his history up to his conversion, proceeds to an analysis of his present spiritual state. Among other points he dwells with profound emotion on the shame and pain caused him by sensuous dreams. The author suggests that the impulse to the writing of the *Confessions* arose out of a condition of spiritual stress—a last desperate assault of the devil upon the saint, to put it in traditional forms, through that sensuous nature which had been his weak point. Confronted with this assault Augustine strengthens himself by recalling 'the high hand and the outstretched arm' with which God has brought him out of the House of Bondage, and at the same time, by opening his heart to a multitude of Christian readers, throws himself upon their prayers and sympathy as a reinforcement in his struggle. The author undoubtedly makes a psychological point of some impressiveness when he insists that the intensity, the emotional

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stress, of the *Confessions* is better accounted for if this emotion is supposed to have its source in an existing spiritual struggle than if it is supposed to arise only from the revived impressions of the past.

In the author's analysis of St Augustine's temperament he finds it marked by over-intensity—a description with which one need not quarrel, provided too much stress be not laid upon the 'over'; and he is careful to explain that he does not intend to imply morbidity. Augustine was certainly of the 'intense' type. One point in his evidence, however, may be questioned. Like so many previous writers, he is impressed with the exaggerated importance which Augustine appears to give to his youthful orchard-robbing exploit. But a careful study of the passage surely shews that the length at which he dilates upon it is not due primarily to his sense of its enormity, but to the fact that in its apparent wantonness (he did not eat the pears) it is a test case for his theory that sin has always a rational motive—a motive which he finds, in the end, in the pleasure of comradeship in adventure. It is, in fact, the theoretic interest of the case, not the heinousness of the act, which causes him to dwell so long upon it. What the author has in view in his attribution of intensity is well brought out by an analogy. Using an antithesis which comes readily to the pen of a German student of character, he says that, of the two great intellectual types, the Goethe and the Schiller type, Augustine belongs distinctly to the latter. Never a calm Olympian, such as Goethe became, he was, like Schiller, all his life a 'Stürmer und Dränger'. Probably to some readers this will suggest a further, and in some respects closer antithesis. Augustinianism is the parent of Calvinism, but of the two contrasted religious types, Calvin and Luther, it is with Luther, in his breadth and exuberance, his stormy emotions, his human warmth and attractiveness, that he shews the closer affinity.

La Morale de Saint Augustin, par BERNARD ROLAND-GOSSELIN, Professeur à l'Institut catholique. (Paris, Marcel Rivière, 31 Rue Jacob, 1925.)

THIS book, which appears in a series of 'Études Philosophiques' published under the general editorship of E. Peillaube, Dean of the Faculty of Theology of the Institut Catholique of Paris, consists of a comprehensive collection of passages from St Augustine—given mainly in translation or paraphrase—illustrating his views on Ethics and Morality.

These are arranged under the main divisions of the Moral Order, the Moral Life, and Problems of Social Morality. The first contains

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the sub-divisions, The Eternal Law, Natural Law, Temporal Law, and the Law of Grace; the second deals with the Will and Virtue; the third with the special problems of the Lie, War, Suicide, Marriage, Virginity and Property. To the last named, with a view to combating certain misunderstandings and misrepresentations, the author gives exceptionally full treatment, endeavouring to place Augustine's views in their historical perspective. In general, the scope of the book does not include criticism or construction, but the systematic collection of passages, with full references (to the Benedictine Edition), should prove useful to students of the subject.

W. MONTGOMERY.

The Anglican Revival: Studies in the Oxford Movement, by the Rev. YNGVE BRILIOTH, D.Phil. With a Preface by the Lord Bishop of Gloucester. (Longmans, Green.)

IF Dr Brilioth were an Englishman his book would be a remarkable one. He is lecturer in Church History in the University of Upsala, and the ease with which he moves not merely through the orthodox histories of Tractarianism, but also through the fugitive literature of the thirties and forties, is astonishing. He investigates the influences creating the movement, the differences to which these influences gave birth, and the religious types they bequeathed to the Church. His task is thus threefold, and it is carried out with a detachment impossible to an Englishman, and with a degree of interest with which it has but rarely—with the signal exception of Dean Church's treatment of it—been invested. I hesitate to indicate weaknesses, yet weaknesses there are. These chiefly appear in the origins of the Oxford Movement, though, singularly enough, in an acute appendix the author disposes of the claim of either Bishop Jebb of Limerick or of Alexander Knox to be among the fathers of it. It has always seemed to me that the whole movement was impossible till the attitude of men towards the Middle Ages had completely and fundamentally altered. To Gibbon as to Voltaire these Ages formed the shufflings of kites and crows, and the former is almost as contemptuous of them as he is of Byzantium. The man who changed everything was Sir Walter Scott. By the magic of his genius, he threw a halo around the mediaeval period, and after the publication of the Waverley novels the way for Keble and Newman—whom the author quite grasps—as well as for Pusey, was made quite plain. Nor does Dr Brilioth ignore the debt of the Tractarians to the Lake school with its sacramental attitude to nature. He describes Keble's *Christian Year* as 'the nuptials of Romanticism with genuine Anglican piety', and there is much to be said for this position, even if

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we prefer to think that the marriage had been already consummated in the poetry of Wordsworth.

Curiously enough, strongly as the continuity of the Church appealed to Newman, the continuity of history scarcely appealed to him at all. Dr Brilioth is right in pointing out that Newman cannot see in the past the process of uninterrupted growth. We all know how Newman insisted on the existence of 'two and two only supreme and luminously self-evident beings, myself and my Creator'. Nor is it the least evidence of Dr Brilioth's skill to find him noting how all roads in the experiences of the great Tractarian ran in the direction of individualism. Dr Brilioth acutely points out that the 'individualism, which was itself a child of the eighteenth century, and a grandchild of the Renaissance, remains secure in the seat of honour. The Ego becomes more and more the centre of being. By being reflected through its lens everything gets its value, not to say its reality. Nature itself is interesting only as the mirror in which the Ego discerns its face magnified to fantastic proportions. In wonderful refractions and combinations the reaction against Rousseau's influence is combined with his own spirit'.

Studien zur Geschichte des Konzils von Trient, by K. D. SCHMIDT. (J. C. B. Mohr (P. Siebeck), Tübingen, 1925.)

AVAILING himself of the results of recent research, Herr Schmidt provides us with an able survey of some of the questions propounded in the discussions at the Council of Trent. Naturally he sets out with the background established by the Reformation. Once he has settled this background to his satisfaction, he approaches the matters in which he is warmly interested. Roughly speaking, both parts of his book concern themselves with the question of authority. The authority in the first part is that of the Council or the Pope, and that in the second part is that of the Bible or the Apocrypha or the Bible and the Apocrypha. Before the Council of Trent met in 1545 it was pretty clear to any intelligent observer that papal rule had beaten conciliar, and the interest of Herr Schmidt's study lies in the way in which he describes the conciliar party fighting a losing battle. There is nothing novel in what he has to tell us, though he contrives, by his ability, to re-invest the matter with the liveliness of an issue that is not foregone. Hand in hand with conciliar power goes episcopal, and the author sheds some curious light on the way in which the episcopal body felt that the central authority was inevitably strengthening its sway at their expense. This comes out in a hundred different ways, and Herr Schmidt specially notes them in the regulations prescribed as to the residence of bishops and as to the preaching of the Word. The section

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on the Bible and tradition is much shorter, and for that reason less satisfactory than the first section. Still, there are acute remarks on the place of tradition that do credit to the author's insight.

ROBERT H. MURRAY.

Der Stadtrömische christliche Fest-Kalender im Alterthum . . ., von IOH PETER KIRSCH. (Aschendorff, Münster, 1924: pp. vii–x, 1–256.)

THIS is one of those monuments of learning and ingenuity which we are accustomed to as the output of the German Press. The author, Dr I. P. Kirsch, is a Professor in the University of Freiburg in Switzerland, but the book was printed at Münster in Westphalia and published by the House of Aschendorff under the auspices of the Benedictine Abbey of S. Maria Laach, and Dr Kirsch quotes a previous work of his on the *Ancient Title Churches of Rome* published at Paderborn in 1918.

In this book he sets himself, by a critical examination of the texts to hand, to prove that the foundation of the Hieronymian Martyrology (so called) is substantially 'Roman': his main point being that it is much more essentially that as opposed to 'Gallican' than many scholars have thought. He postulates (as indeed others have done) an Index drawn up early in the fourth century (? about 312), which he calls *der Stadtrömische Fest-Kalender*. This he takes first of all to be the source of the short but very valuable list of Depositions of Martyrs and of Bishops, known as the 'Liberian' or 'Philocalian' (354); and then to have been much more largely drawn upon by the writer who, about the middle of the fifth century, somewhere in North Italy, drew up the first edition of the *Martyrologium Hieronomianum*. One copy (or more) of this edition fairly soon (i. e. before 500) found its way down to Rome itself and was there subjected to a further recension, when it received a number of supplementary entries, mostly of local commemorations. Thereupon a second edition was drawn up,[1] a copy (or copies) of which went back again to the North and ultimately reached Gaul (before 600), and there helped to form (in the seventh century) that third edition from which, with its many Gallican commemorations not till then added, derive such of the most ancient texts of *Mart. Hier.* as we now possess.

The author's method is, under four different heads, to analyse and compare (often very elaborately) the entries for different days of the Kalendar in the oldest extant MSS, and to try to arrive at conclusions about the various strata (as above indicated) that underlie them and to

[1] He agrees with others in identifying with the *unus codex* mentioned by Gregory I as containing *nomina paene omnium martyrum distinctis per dies singulos passionibus collecta* (*Registrum* viii 28).

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detect and correct the mistakes of many kinds made by those to whom the copies are due. It is of course especially here that he displays his learning and ingenuity, and his information about the latest discoveries and theories is well up to date. It would not be fair to find fault with the somewhat positive way in which he usually states his conclusions: after the care and pains he has taken to convince himself, it is but natural that he should write as if there were no longer any doubt. But it is obvious that they must be largely guess-work after all, and the most that can be said is that it is not at all unlikely, that it is even probable, that many of them are correct or nearly so. It should, however, be added that though the essentially 'Roman' origin of *Mart. Hier.* is very nearly a certainty and likewise of course the view that it was subjected to recensions and later additions, 'Gallican' and other, yet (*a*) the north of Italy as the place of its first compilation, and (*b*) its subsequent wanderings to Rome itself and then to Gaul are rather taken for granted than proved in these pages. On the other hand there are a great many interesting questions raised and discussed throughout, and every now and then fresh light is thrown on them from other sources such as inscriptions and recent explorations in Rome and the neighbourhood. For all that we must be grateful, and as a book of reference on this difficult branch of Liturgiology Dr Kirsch's researches here embodied will be of considerable value.

C. L. FELTOE.

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RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, July 1925 (Vol. c, No. 200: S.P.C.K.). A. W. REED Wessex and Literature—H. F. B. COMPSTON Dr Moffatt's translation of the Old Testament—J. S. MACARTHUR A plea for the Chalcedonian Christology—A. L. WILLIAMS The Jews: Christian Apologists in Spain—G. H. BOX Some recent contributions to Old Testament studies—H. D. OAKELEY The idea of the Kingdom of Heaven in human experience—Z. Dr Burn on the Council of Nicaea—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, July 1925 (Vol. xxiii, No. 4: Williams & Norgate). THE EDITOR 'A Creed in harmony with modern thought'—W. B. SMITH The Newer Testament—C. J. CADOUX The gospel-story and the higher criticism of to-day—H. THOROGOOD Concerning God: a literary digest—W. SETON The stigmatisation of St Francis of Assisi—M. B. WHITING A mystic in the family of Benjamin Jowett—F. S. MARVIN The promise of the age we live in—J. W. SCOTT Towards a philosophy of Labour—J. P. BRUCE Education in China—W. MONTGOMERY Schweitzer's Ethic—C. K. ALLEN Self-interest in Law—M. E. J. TAYLOR The sophist in modern education—J. E. CARPENTER Astrology in the Book of Revelation—Survey and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, July, August, September 1925 (Ninth Series, Nos. 7, 8, 9: Hodder & Stoughton). THE EDITOR Current issues—J. B. HARFORD Since Wellhausen—C. A. SCOTT The ten best books on Prayer—J. P. NAISH The ten best books on Proverbs—E. W. JOHNSON Symbols and Sacraments—J. GAMBLE The philosophy of the Fourth Gospel—W. W. CANNON Some notes on Nahum i–ii 3—H. E. PROBYN The end of the Gospel of St Mark—THE EDITOR Literary illustrations of the First Epistle to the Corinthians—A. K. DALLAS A great book on Prayer—H. RANSTON The Orphic Mysteries—H. J. FLOWERS The Fourth Commandment—F. J. MOORE The cry of dereliction—R. MACKINTOSH An open letter on the Atonement—Notes and Notices—Reviews.

(2) AMERICAN.

The Princeton Theological Review, July 1925 (Vol. xxiii, No. 3: Princeton University Press). B. M. GEMMILL The judicial decisions of the General Assembly of 1925—C. E. MACARTNEY The authority of

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the Holy Scriptures—F. D. JENKINS The incarnate life of our Lord from the point of view of His moral character—H. M. McQUILKIN The evangelical faith and the Holy Spirit—O. T. ALLIS Old Testament emphases and modern thought—Notes and Notices—Reviews.

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(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

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The Journal
of
Theological Studies

JANUARY, 1926

Ο ΥΙΟC ΜΟΥ Ο ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟC.[1]

THE effective clause of the Statute governing the lectureship founded by Mr Grinfield, of which I have the honour to be the present holder, runs as follows:

'The lecture to be on the LXX version of the Hebrew Scriptures, its history, its philological character, its bearing on the criticism of the New Testament, and its value as an evidence of the authenticity of the Old and New Testaments.'

And if further testimony were needed as to Mr Grinfield's interest in the bearing of the LXX on the New Testament, it will be found in his own book—a book not, I think, as well known as it deserves to be—the *Novum Testamentum Graecum: Editio Hellenistica*, published in two volumes in 1843, and followed by two more volumes of *Scholia Hellenistica in Novum Testamentum* in 1848. The first book consists entirely of LXX parallels or illustrations to each verse of the New Testament. I believe it was Dr Sanday who gave me the four volumes just thirty years ago.

Therefore I am confident that I am proposing to-day what would be very close to the mind of the founder if I ask your attention to an important phrase in the New Testament, and to the LXX authority for the interpretation that I suggest for it, *ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός*, as used in the evangelic accounts of the Baptism and Transfiguration.

In Mark i 11 we read, at the Baptism,

Σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός· ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα

and in Mark ix 7

Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός· ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ

[1] A lecture delivered at Oxford, on the foundation of Mr Grinfield, on October 17, 1925.

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to which we must add a third use of the phrase, in the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen, Mark xii 6

ἔτι ἕνα εἶχεν υἱὸν ἀγαπητόν.

In all these cases we are familiar with one, and only one, rendering, 'beloved son'. And it is undeniable that ἀγαπητός is of frequent occurrence in Christian literature, from St Paul's epistles onwards, in this sense. So the *onus probandi* rests on the scholar who has the temerity to champion a quite different rendering, and to translate υἱὸς ἀγαπητός 'only son'.

A different rendering, but not entirely a new one. There is at least one scholar—though I do not know that there are any more, and so far as I know his argument remained without effect—who has anticipated me; but he was one who has a very honourable place in the history of scholarship, Daniel Heinsius of Leyden, whose *Exercitationes ad Novum Testamentum* were published at Leyden in 1639.[1] Heinsius belonged to the great succession of scholars who made Holland and Leyden illustrious from the end of the sixteenth to the end of the seventeenth century, Scaliger, Grotius, Meursius, Heinsius, Graevius, Gronovius, the Elzevirs, not to speak of other lesser men who are now only names to us.

In pleading for a reconsideration of the meaning of ἀγαπητός, I must needs begin a long way back, and take my start from the well-known fact that ἀγάπη is to all intents and purposes a word of Christian creation. Ἀγάπησις indeed is occasionally found in classical writers in the sense of 'affection': but ἀγάπη first emerges in Jewish circles in the generations that immediately precede the Christian era. As first employed, it means normally 'sexual love'. It is found about twenty times in the LXX, if we include cases where the reading is doubtful, but of these more than half come from the Song of Songs: in the historical books twice only, and not before II Kingdoms, and in one of these two places B has ἀγάπησις: in the Prophets once only, Jer. ii 2, figuratively 'the love of thine espousals': in Ecclesiastes twice, as contrasted with hatred: in the higher sense, first definitely in the book of Wisdom (iii 9, vi 18), and in the Jewish writer

[1] Second edition, Cambridge, 1640. The Bodleian copy of the original edition contains an autograph inscription from Heinsius: 'Eximio ac summae eruditionis viro Ioanni Selden Ic. singulari observantiae testandae d. m. autor.'

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Aristeas. That is to say, it was coming into use among Alexandrine Jews during the first century B.C.: but still only occasionally, and not yet as restricted to a spiritual meaning. It has its roots in the Jewish inheritance of Christianity: but it was the Church that took hold from the first of the word, and at once made it current coin as the expression of God's love to man and man's love to God and man. In the First Epistle of St John it reaches its zenith as the most adequate definition of the moral nature of God, iv 8 *ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἀγάπη ἐστίν.* *Ἀγάπη*, it is not too much to say, was the first and greatest achievement of Christianity in the sphere of terminology.

As addressed to Christians, or used of individual Christians, *ἀγαπητοί*, *ἀγαπητός* follow on, and are soon used concurrently with, the new sense of *ἀγάπη*. But the significant fact for our purpose is that, though *ἀγάπη* had not, *ἀγαπητός* had, a much older history. So also, of course, had *ἀγαπάω*. But the developement of *ἀγαπάω* and of its derivative *ἀγαπητός* were not quite uniform with one another. *Ἀγαπάω* comes down through the whole tradition of the Greek language as 'to love', and so developes in the LXX into all senses of love, and especially, though not exclusively, the higher senses; and in this way it was doubtless the direct ancestor of *ἀγάπη*. But in classical Greek it tended to mean particularly to love in the sense of 'to cherish', 'to prize', so that Plato can speak, for instance, of *λιθίδια τὰ ἀγαπώμενα* 'precious stones'. And in Attic Greek generally it was much used in the restricted meaning 'to be content with': and this meaning can be traced back as far as Homer.

Now about the derivative word *ἀγαπητός* the crucial point is that, while *ἀγαπάω* has a double history, as used both in a general and in a restricted or technical sense, *ἀγαπητός* appears to be derived from one meaning only of *ἀγαπάω* and that the restricted one. It is most instructive here to compare the new edition of Liddell and Scott—the first part is happily available for the subject of this lecture—with the previous one, and to note the change in the treatment of the word. As now given, the primary meaning is 'that wherewith one must be content,[1] hence of only children': and the classical writers cited as authorities under this

[1] One would like to suggest as an alternative account of the developement 'that which one has special reason to prize' 'precious'.

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head are Homer (both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*), Sappho, Aristophanes, Demosthenes, Aristotle (*Politics* and *Eudemian Ethics*), as well as the lexicographer Hesychius. In the later classical age the meaning 'only' was extended from only children to unique things, and for this Aristotle (*Rhetoric*) and the comedians Hipparchus and Menander are adduced.

In proof of this general statement two or three of the citations must be given in full. After Homer, the authors selected will be the later ones, whose usage brings us nearest to the LXX and New Testament.

1. Homer *Iliad* vi 401 (of Andromache and Astyanax, wife and only son of Hector: cited by Heinsius)

> *παῖδ' ἐπὶ κόλπῳ ἔχουσ' ἀταλάφρονα, νήπιον αὔτως,*
> *Ἕκτορίδην ἀγαπητόν.*

Odyssey ii 365 (of Telemachus, only son of Odysseus, where he tells his nurse Eurycleia that he is going to seek for his father)

> *Τίπτε δέ τοι, φίλε τέκνον, ἐνὶ φρεσὶ τοῦτο νόημα*
> *ἔπλετο; πῇ δ' ἐθέλεις ἰέναι πολλὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν*
> *μοῦνος ἐὼν ἀγαπητός; ὁ δ' ὤλετο τηλόθι πάτρης*
> *διογενὴς Ὀδυσεὺς ἀλλογνώτῳ ἐνὶ δήμῳ.*

2. Xenophon *Cyropedia* iv 62

ἔθαψα . . . ἄρτι γενειάσκοντα τὸν ἄριστον παῖδα τὸν ἀγαπητόν.[1]

3. Demosthenes 21. 165 (*Midias*, p. 567)

οὐ μὴν Νικήρατός γ' οὕτως ὁ τοῦ Νικίου ὁ ἀγαπητὸς παῖς . . .

4. Aristotle *Eudemian Ethics* 1233[b] 2 (iii 6. 3)

οἷον εἰ εἰς γάμον δαπανῶν τις ἀγαπητοῦ, πλούσιος ὤν, δοκεῖ πρέπειν ἑαυτῷ τοιαύτην κατασκευὴν οἷον ἀγαθοδαιμονιστὰς ἑστιῶντι (i.e. if a rich man orders the wedding feast of an only son as though he were entertaining members of a temperance society).

Rhetoric 1365[b] 16 (i 7. 41), of unique things

καὶ τὸ ἀγαπητὸν καὶ τοῖς μὲν μόνον τοῖς δὲ μετ' ἄλλων· διὸ καὶ οὐκ ἴση ζημία, ἄν τις τὸν ἑτερόφθαλμον τυφλώσῃ καὶ τὸν δύ' ἔχοντα· ἀγαπητὸν γὰρ ἀφῄρηται. Here the meaning appears to

[1] I owe this reference to Dr Armitage Robinson's *Ephesians* p. 229 n. 2.

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be 'Take the case of unique things, and where the thing is unique to one man, but other men have more than one of it: e.g. if you blind a man of an eye, the penalty will be different according as the man has one eye left or not: for if you cause the loss of an eye to a one-eyed man, you deprive him of his only remaining eye', his *ἀγαπητόν*.

5. Julius Pollux the lexicographer (saec. ii A.D.) *Onomasticon* iii 2

καλοῖτο ἂν υἱὸς ἀγαπητὸς ὁ μόνος ὢν πατρὶ ἢ μητρί· ὥσπερ καὶ ἀγαπητὴ θυγατὴρ καὶ μονογενὴς καθ' Ἡσίοδον.[1] *τηλύγετος δὲ παρὰ ποιηταῖς εἴτε ὁ ἀγαπητὸς εἴτε καὶ ὁ ὀψίγονος.*

6. Hesychius the lexicographer (saec. v? A.D.) *s.v.*

ἀγαπητόν· μονογενῆ, κεχαρισμένον.

The word is occasionally found of things in the sense of 'desirable': L.S. quote two examples, with *ἤθη* and *βίος* respectively. It is presumably of such cases that Hesychius was thinking when he gave *κεχαρισμένον* as an alternative, in the second place, to *μονογενῆ*.

But the assertion may safely be hazarded that when *ἀγαπητός* is used in connexion with *υἱός*, *θυγατήρ*, *παῖς*, or similar words, no Greek of pre-Christian times would have hesitated in understanding it of an 'only child', or would for a moment have thought of any other meaning as possible.

The usage of the LXX.

What then of the usage of Greek-speaking Jews? We turn to what is central for our purpose, the usage of the LXX.

Now both meanings 'only' and 'beloved' are quite certainly found there, representing different Hebrew words. That is to say, both the old classical sense 'only', and the new sense 'beloved' which became current among Jews and Christians as *ἀγαπάω* and *ἀγάπη* came to be part of their religious terminology, exist there side by side. In the neuter and in the plural we should not really expect to find the sense 'an only child'. It is enough for my purpose to point out that in the Octateuch, in the Prophets, and in the deutero-canonical books there are absolutely clear instances where the singular, with or without *υἱός*, means 'an only child'.

[1] The quotation is not from the now extant works of Hesiod. Like other ancient writers, Pollux doubtless had access to poems of Hesiod that have not come down to us.

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1. Gen. xxii 2, 12, 16 *Λάβε τὸν υἱόν σου τὸν ἀγαπητὸν ὃν ἠγάπησας, τὸν Ἰσαάκ . . . οὐκ ἐφείσω τοῦ υἱοῦ σου τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ δι' ἐμέ* (this phrase of verse 12 is repeated in verse 16). The Hebrew shews that in all three cases *ὁ υἱός σου ὁ ἀγαπητός* is the rendering into Greek of 'thy only son'.

2. Jud. xi 34 *καὶ εἰσῆλθεν Ἰεφθάε εἰς Μασσηφὰ εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἡ θυγατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐξεπορεύετο εἰς ἀπάντησιν αὐτοῦ ἐν τυμπάνοις καὶ χοροῖς· καὶ αὕτη μονογενὴς αὐτῷ ἀγαπητή, οὐκ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ πλὴν αὐτῆς υἱὸς ἢ θυγατήρ.* That is the reading of A, and in all essential points it is supported by our other chief authorities (including Lucian), apart from B. B omits *ἀγαπητή*: but its testimony is suspect, for it gets rid of the word in the same way in Tobit iii 10. B or its ancestor in fact incorporates the work of a scholar who made from time to time slight grammatical or literary changes: but it happens that in the two books of Judges and Tobit the peculiarities of B are such as to amount to a different recension, in Judges as contrasted with cod. Alexandrinus (A), and in Tobit with cod. Sinaiticus (ℵ). And if other ancient testimony is taken into account, it would seem that there is good reason to prefer the witness of A in Judges, and of ℵ in Tobit.

3. Tobit iii 10 *μία σοι ὑπῆρχεν θυγατὴρ ἀγαπητή.* So ℵ: B gets rid of *ἀγαπητή* and has simply *μία μέν εἰμι τῷ πατρί μου.* Conversely in x 12, where the meaning is 'dear brother', B has *ἀδελφὲ ἀγαπητέ*, ℵ *ἀδελφὲ ἀγαπώμενε.*

4–6. Lastly, in the Prophets there are three cases where *ἀγαπητός* stands alone, without *υἱός*, in the sense of the mourning for an only son.

Jer. vi 26 *θυγατὴρ λαοῦ μου . . . πένθος ἀγαπητοῦ ποιήσαι σεαυτῇ, κοπετὸν οἰκτρόν.*

Amos viii 10 *ἀναβιβῶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ὀσφὺν σάκκον καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν κεφαλὴν φαλάκρωμα, καὶ θήσομαι αὐτὸν ὡς πένθος ἀγαπητοῦ.*

Zech. xii 10 *ἐπιβλέψονται πρός με . . . καὶ κόψονται ἐπ' αὐτὸν κοπετὸν ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαπητῷ.*

To this list I suspect that Baruch iv 16 should be added, *καὶ ἀπήγαγον τοὺς ἀγαπητοὺς τῆς χήρας καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων τὴν μονογενῆν* (so A: *μόνην* BQ) *ἠρήμωσαν.*

And finally, though the word used is *ἀγαπώμενος*, not *ἀγαπητός*, mention should be made of Prov. iv 3 (cited by Heinsius) *ἀγαπώ-*

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μενος ἐν προσώπῳ μητρός, 'an only one in the sight of my mother'.

There was then no such clear tradition as in classical Greek of a dominant and almost exclusive sense 'only son': on half of the occasions or rather more where it occurs the newer meaning 'beloved' is in evidence. Nevertheless, wherever the masculine or feminine singular is found, the normal meaning is still 'an only child': and two of the passages where that is so are well known to Christian usage as applied to Messiah, Gen. xxii and Zech. xii 10. It is worth while therefore, before passing on to the New Testament, to ask whether Christian antiquity retains any trace of the proper sense of *ἀγαπητός* in these passages.

Naturally so distinctive an idiom is more likely to have survived in Greek than in Latin or Syriac circles. I do not think there is any trace of *ἀγαπητός* = 'only child' in Syriac renderings: and among Latins Jerome, who, if any Western of his day, might have been supposed to have a thoroughgoing acquaintance with Greek, assumes the LXX translators of Jer. vi 26 (see his Commentary *ad loc.*) to have rendered the wrong Hebrew word: 'ubi nos diximus *luctum unigeniti fac tibi*, pro *unigenito* in Hebraico scribitur I A I D, quod magis *solitarium* quam *unigenitum* sonat; si enim esset *dilectus* siue *amabilis*, ut LXX transtulerunt, I D I D poneretur'.[1] Nevertheless there is one, if only one, exception in our extant Latin authorities, and it prevents us from saying that the tradition of the true sense of *ἀγαπητός* had entirely died out in the Latin translations. For in Gen. xxii 2 the Bible of St Cyprian (*Testimonia* iii 15: Hartel 127. 20) gave 'accipe filium tuum illum unicum quem dilexisti illum Isac': and though the MSS differ among themselves in smaller points, their testimony to the word *unicum* is unanimous.[2]

And may not St Paul be quoted on the same side? When he wrote in Rom. viii 32 *ὅς γε τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ οὐκ ἐφείσατο*, he was certainly thinking of Gen. xxii 12, 16, and of the LXX version, for he uses the same verb and the same part of the verb as we find in the LXX. When therefore he gives *ἰδίου* instead of the

[1] Vallarsi IV 889. Cited in Robinson *Ephesians* p. 229 n. 2.

[2] It is fair to add that in Gen. xxii 12 (*Test.* ii 5 [67. 11] and iii 20 [134. 12]) Cyprian read 'non pepercisti filio tuo dilectissimo propter me'. But all that is contended is that the tradition of the true meaning of *ἀγαπητὸς υἱός* had not entirely vanished: and one passage is enough to prove that.

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LXX ἀγαπητοῦ, it is natural to think that he did so because he knew the meaning of ἀγαπητός and intentionally substituted an unambiguous word for one which many of his readers might misunderstand.[1]

The usage of St Mark.

We are approaching the culmination of our argument. But its process will be placed in clearer light if we consider the three Marcan passages in the reverse order of their occurrence in the Gospel, and make our beginning with the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen.

1. Mark xii 6 ἔτι ἕνα εἶχεν, υἱὸν ἀγαπητόν.

Of the derivative accounts, Matthew has only ὕστερον δὲ ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ: Luke retains the critical word πέμψω τὸν υἱόν μου τὸν ἀγαπητόν, though I should not definitely assert that he understood it in the sense 'only son', for which he uses the alternative μονογενής,[2] a word not found in the Gospels of Mark and Matthew, or in St Paul.

But what of ἀγαπητόν in Mark? The son of the Parable is not only the heir, but he is according to Mark ἕνα, the one available person left: and so to translate υἱὸν ἀγαπητόν as 'only son' is (as I think) natural and obvious in itself; it has also support in both ancient and modern exegesis. Let me cite Dalman *Die Worte Jesu* (1898), p. 230 *ad loc.*: after referring to the Greek and Hebrew texts of Gen. xxii 2, he goes on 'sodass also ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἀγαπητός sich von ὁ υἱὸς ὁ μονογενής Joh. iii 16 nicht unterscheidet'. That is to say, μονογενής and ἀγαπητός are in this connexion identical. So Swete *ad loc.* 'the one and only Son is contrasted sharply with the many servants'. And Robinson

[1] No doubt it is possible that St Paul made the substitution ἴδιος for ἀγαπητός, not because he knew what ἀγαπητός meant, but because he knew what the Hebrew original meant. But conversely it may also be that in Eph. i 18 ἐν τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ is used to express 'in the Beloved', because he knew that ἐν τῷ ἀγαπητῷ, which would be a more obvious form for his purpose than the perfect passive participle, meant something different. I owe both these suggestions to a member of my Seminar, the Rev. C. H. Dodd of Mansfield College. One might employ the same reasoning about the phrase παῖς ἠγαπημένος in Clem. Rem. lix 3 and Hippolytus *in Dan.* iv 60.

[2] Luke vii 12, the widow's son at Nain: viii 42, the daughter of Jaeirus: ix 38, the boy from whom the disciples could not cast out the evil spirit. In the last two cases Luke has added the detail on his own account: Mark does not say that either the girl or the boy was an only child.

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Ephesians p. 230 'If [this example] stood alone, it would be natural to interpret it in accordance with the Greek idiom . . . and a close parallel might be found in Tobit iii 10 (ℵ text)'.

Of ancient testimony I think that Hermas *Sim.* v 2. 6 *προσκαλεσάμενος οὖν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀγαπητὸν ὃν εἶχε κληρονόμον* is an undoubted echo of the Gospels, probably of St Mark, who alone has *εἶχεν*: and I think that, here as well as in St Mark, the meaning is 'his only son and heir'; but the case is not susceptible of proof, and it is fair to say that the Latin version has 'filio quem carum et heredem habebat'. But another piece of evidence is incontestable: codex *e* of the Old Latin Gospels renders the parallel verse in Luke (xx 13) 'mittam filium meum unicum, fortasse hunc cum uiderint reuerebuntur'. Unfortunately *e* is not extant for Mark xii 6, where its sister MS *k* gives (immediately after 'alios multos') only 'nouissimum misit filium dicens' &c., omitting with Matthew the whole phrase *οὓς μὲν δέροντες οὓς δὲ ἀποκτέννοντες· ἔτι ἕνα εἶχεν υἱὸν ἀγαπητόν*, except the single word *υἱόν*.[1]

The net result then is that, just as with Gen. xxii in the Old Testament, so here in Mark xii 6 and parallels one solitary Latin witness preserves the tradition of the older meaning of *ἀγαπητός*. In both cases the witness in question belongs to the very earliest accessible stratum of the Latin Bible.

2. Mark ix 7 *Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός· ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ.*

There is not much to be said about the Voice at the Transfiguration apart from the Voice at the Baptism: it conveys to the disciples the same assurance that had at the outset of the Ministry been conveyed to our Lord Himself. Nevertheless it is worth while just to look at the immediate context: for that emphasizes the appropriateness of the sense that I should give to *ἀγαπητός*. St Peter proposes to make three tabernacles, one for Christ, one for Moses, and one for Elias. That is to say, although he puts Christ first, he still puts Him in the same category with Moses and Elias: in strong contrast with the plural 'three', the Voice marks the uniqueness of the Son. Law and Prophets have done their work and have had their day: the Son

[1] *k* is so erratically transcribed that in a case like this we cannot get back behind the actual text. The O.L. MSS *a* and *c* have respectively *unicum dilectum* and *unicum dilectissimum*: but in both *unicum* presumably represents *ἕνα*.

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has come, and He alone is to be heard. St Cyprian has caught the intention truly when he writes 'quod Christus debeat solus audiri, pater etiam de caelis contestatur dicens . . .' (*ep.* lxiii 14 [712. 19]). If it is the Only Son who is set over against the representatives of Law and Prophecy, the sentence comes with specially appropriate weight of emphasis.

3. Mc. i 11 *Σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα.*

Here is the ultimate point of our enquiry: and it will be found convenient I think to classify the different strands of the argument under four heads: (*a*) Is it probable that Mark would have used such a word as *ἀγαπητός* in any but the sense ordinarily current among Christians? (*b*) What light does the use of the word in the Greek Old Testament, when taken into connexion with the general appeal of the early Church to prophecy and type, throw on the use of the word here? (*c*) What light, if any, does consideration of the structure and purpose of the Gospel throw on the meaning of the word? (*d*) What is the evidence of Greek Christian exegesis as to the meaning of the word as used in the accounts of the Baptism and the Transfiguration?

(*a*) It may be urged that Mark, whose Greek admittedly falls so far below the standard of classical accuracy, would hardly have been acquainted with so unusual and idiomatic a phrase. No doubt it was found in the LXX: but Mark's knowledge of the LXX does not seem to have been at all profound—almost all his quotations from it belong to the record of our Lord's words, and he hardly ever cites it on his own account.

That is all true. But in the first place the shaping of the phrase may well go back behind Mark. It is just the sort of formula which would have acquired definiteness at an early stage of the Hellenization of the Church. And though that answer is enough, it may be added in the second place that a clear distinction has to be drawn between Mark's Greek grammar and Mark's Greek vocabulary. His grammar, if (as I conjecture with other scholars) he was son of the *οἰκοδεσπότης* of Mark xiv 14, may reflect the rough but effective Greek of the inn and the stableyard: but his vocabulary cannot be entirely accounted for on such a supposition. It is, compared with his grammar, rather surprisingly correct. There is, I think, only one *vox nihili* in his Gospel, *ἐκεφαλίωσαν* in xii 4, and it is rather obvious to suspect

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textual corruption there. Not rarely he has the 'mot juste': and I have sometimes fancied that he must have had a good *Vocabularium* at his disposal. So I should not feel any difficulty in his employment of a correct Greek idiom—even if the idiom in this connexion did not go back, as I surmise it did, behind Mark himself.

(*b*) But I believe that the phrase is derived direct from the Old Testament. The reading in Luke iii 22 (whether we ascribe it to the evangelist or to scribes) 'Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten thee', is obviously adopted from Ps. ii 7. I should hesitate to ascribe the Marcan phrase to the Psalm as its source, if only because while *ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός* is common to Mark i 11 and ix 7, the *Σὺ εἶ* of the Baptism becomes *Οὗτός ἐστιν* at the Transfiguration. But in Gen. xxii we have, thrice repeated, the exact counterpart of the Marcan phrase so far as it is common to both occasions. No story in the Old Testament is more susceptible of a Christian application: we might have been sure that it would have formed part of any Christian collection of *Testimonia*, even if we had not the evidence of Rom. viii 32 to shew that the Messianic application of it goes back to St Paul himself. Knowledge of the fact that *ἀγαπητός* here did not mean 'beloved' must have been shared by any Jewish Christians who were acquainted with the Hebrew original, and must have formed part of the common equipment of all who tried to meet their fellow Jews on the debating ground of prophecy. 'Only Son' added one more point to the analogy between Isaac and Christ; and if *ἀγαπητός* is retained in the phrase, why should we hesitate to believe that the evangelist, or his authority, used it in that sense? Remember that the other meaning was not so universally assumed in those days as it is to-day, when even many classical scholars have hitherto been unfamiliar with the idiom.[1] Now, *ἀγαπητός* = 'beloved' has been in long and exclusive possession.

[1] I must be venturesome enough to rank even Dr Hort, *clarum et venerabile nomen*, among the number. He could not otherwise have written (*Two Dissertations* p. 49) 'where an only son or daughter is meant ... Singularly enough the LXX has *ἀγαπητός* ... But at least some form of the LXX must once have had *μονογενής* for Isaac ... for we have clear Old Latin authority accidentally preserved for *unicus* in Gen. xxii 2, 12 ... though most Old Latin quotations follow *ἀγαπητός*.' If Hort and Jerome fail to know, the rest of us may take comfort when our knowledge is found wanting.

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It was not so in Mark's day, and we are free to be guided by the probabilities of the case.

(*c*) What then, we go on to enquire, is the relation of the words ascribed to the Voice from heaven at the Baptism and Transfiguration to the general purpose and structure of St Mark's Gospel?

We must beware of course of attributing to the apostles and evangelists of the first Christian generation too much of a cut-and-dried plan in their sermons and writings. But if I divine at all correctly the sort of need on the part of Christian converts which St Peter's recollections, as embodied in St Mark's Gospel, were intended to meet, I should put it in some such way as this: 'We have been instructed in the teaching of Jesus Christ: we learnt as catechumens what is the ideal of the Christian life to which we then pledged ourselves at our baptism to conform: but we know that Christianity means not only acceptance of a code of ethics but, even more, loyalty to the person of a Master. We want to know, from you who lived with Him, what He was like in His life on earth, and how it was that you who knew Him first as a man better than other men, came to understand that He was not only more than other men but more than man, not only God's anointed one but the very Son of God Himself.' And the autobiography of a disciple, as we have it recorded in St Mark's Gospel, is, I believe, the answer to that question.

If that way of putting things is anywhere near the truth, then the witness to our Lord's person, set down step by step and stage by stage in the process of the narrative, is fundamental to the meaning of the Gospel, and its opening words, 'The good news about Jesus as Messiah and Son of God', are correctly descriptive of its purpose. The confession, 'Thou art the Christ', in the middle of the Gospel is only the first and preliminary stage. Beyond and behind that lies another and greater venture of faith: Jesus Messiah, the Son of Man, is also the Son of God. In that the Gospel story finds its culmination: when the disciples have been led to the realization of that Sonship, the Christian religion has come into being.

Now of that developement, as our earliest Gospel portrays it, the witness of the disciples is the end, the witness of the Father is the beginning. First to our Lord alone, as He is brought on

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to the stage of the history at His Baptism, then to the chosen disciples at the Transfiguration, immediately after St Peter's confession of the Messiahship, God bears witness to His Son in the words *ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός*. It needs no saying that, if we can properly translate this phrase 'My Only Son', it gains immensely in its relation to the Gospel as a whole. The point of the witness, it can hardly be doubted, is to a unique Sonship. And when Greek idiom, and LXX precedent, and the theology of the Gospel, all point in the same direction, is it overbold to press their convergent testimony, and to translate 'Thou art My Only Son, in Thee I am well pleased', 'This is My Only Son: hear Him'?

(*d*) There is one, and as I think only one, argument which might, if made good, invalidate this conclusion. If the tradition of the Church, and especially of the Greek-speaking Church, nowhere confirms that interpretation of *ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός* for which I have pleaded, have we the right (it may be asked) to read back into St Mark an exegesis which was not that of those who knew and used the Gospel in its original language? Now occasion has already been taken to note that at two points the earliest Latin translators of the Bible recognize the equation *ἀγαπητός* = 'unicus': and the examination of the testimony of Greek Christian writings of the first four centuries will shew that these writings do in fact contribute a strong body of support to the interpretation.[1]

ἀγαπητός and *μονογενής* are already combined in the LXX version of Jud. xi 34 according to the text of codex A: Jephthah's daughter was *μονογενὴς αὐτῷ ἀγαπητή*, where the Hebrew has simply 'his only child'. We find the same combination in Irenaeus, Eusebius, Athanasius, and in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, apparently in Gregory of Nyssa, and perhaps in Serapion. The most decisive witness is that of Athanasius, and he will therefore be cited first.

[1] Most of the patristic passages have already been collected in an article on the word *ἀγαπητός* which appeared in *J. T. S.* xx 339–344 (1919) as a preliminary draft for the Lexicon of Patristic Greek. I should like to acknowledge here the help given me on the classical side on that occasion by my colleague Prof. J. A. Smith and by the late Charles Cannan, whose eminence as an Aristotelian scholar was obscured for the world at large by his devoted and successful administration of the Clarendon Press.

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a. Athanasius *Oratio* IV *contra Arianos* (probably composed about A.D. 355: directed against Marcellus, see Zahn's *Marcellus von Ancyra* and Robertson's *Athanasius* in Wace and Schaff's Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, pp. 304, 431).

c. 24 *καὶ ἐν τῇ Παλαιᾷ περὶ υἱοῦ πολλὰ λέγεται· οἷον ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ψαλμῷ* [Ps. ii 7] . . . *καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐννάτῳ ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ . . . καὶ ἐν τῷ τεσσαρακοστῷ τετάρτῳ* [Ps. xliv (xlv) *tit*] . . . ὡΔΗ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΥ· *καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἡσαίᾳ* ΛΕΓΩ ΔΗ ΤΩ ΗΓΑΠΗΜΕΝΩ ΑΣΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΥ ΤΩ ΑΜΠΕΛΩΝΙ ΜΟΥ . . . *τὸ δὲ* ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΣ *τίς ἂν εἴη ἢ υἱὸς μονογενής; . . . ταὐτὸν γάρ ἐστι τό τε μονογενὲς καὶ τὸ ἀγαπητόν, ὡς τὸ* ΟΥΤΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ Ο ΥΙΟΣ ΜΟΥ Ο ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΣ. *οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀγάπην σημᾶναι θέλων εἶπε τὸ* ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΣ, *ἵνα μὴ τοὺς ἄλλους μισεῖν δόξῃ· ἀλλὰ τὸ μονογενὲς ἐδήλου, ἵνα τὸ μόνον ἐξ αὐτοῦ εἶναι αὐτὸν δείξῃ. καὶ τῷ Ἀβραὰμ γοῦν σημᾶναι θέλων ὁ λόγος τὸ μονογενές, φησί* ΠΡΟΣΕΝΕΓΚΕ ΤΟΝ ΥΙΟΝ ΣΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΝ· *παντὶ δὲ δῆλον ἐκ τῆς Σάρρας μόνον εἶναι τὸν Ἰσαάκ.*

c. 29 *ad fin.* *τὸ δὲ ἀγαπητὸν καὶ Ἕλληνες*[1] *ἴσασιν οἱ δεινοὶ περὶ τὰς λέξεις ὅτι ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ εἰπεῖν μονογενές. φησὶ γὰρ Ὅμηρος ἐπὶ Τηλεμάχου τοῦ υἱοῦ Ὀδυσσέως, μονογενοῦς ὄντος, ταῦτα ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῆς Ὀδυσσείας*

Τίπτε δέ τοι [quoted above, p. 116: *Odyss.* ii 365] . . .

μοῦνος ἐὼν ἀγαπητός;

. . . *ὁ ἄρα μόνος ὢν τῷ πατρὶ ἀγαπητὸς λέγεται.*

The witness of St Athanasius is thus abundantly clear: and it must not be forgotten that the Orations against the Arians were presumably very familiar to the orthodox writers of the next generation. There is at least a possibility that the two writers now to be cited may have learnt from Athanasius the equation *ἀγαπητός = μονογενής.*

b. Serapion of Thmuis is not a certain witness. But he once uses the phrase *διὰ τῆς ἐπιδημίας τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου υἱοῦ* (*J.T.S.* i 105. 10), while his regular phrase is *τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ μονογενοῦς*: and he may owe his exceptional use of *ἀγαπητός* to Athanasius.

c. Gregory of Nyssa *de deitate Filii et Spiritus sancti* (ii 905) *Λάβε μοί* (*φησὶ*) *τὸν υἱόν σου τὸν ἀγαπητὸν τὸν μονογενῆ* [Gen.

[1] I suppose that Ἕλληνες here means 'pagans'. If so, the implication would seem to be that, though the idiom was passing or had passed out of current use, it was known *even* to non-Christians if skilled in the classical tradition—but still better (he must mean) to Christians.

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xxii 2]. *ὅρα τὰ κέντρα τοῦ λόγου, πῶς κεντεῖ τοῦ πατρὸς τὰ σπλάγχνα ... υἱὸν ἀγαπητὸν καὶ μονογενῆ καλῶν.* Here I think it is clear that Gregory was familiar with the combination *ἀγαπητὸς μονογενής*, though I am not sure that he recognized that the words were equivalent and interchangeable. We cannot rate the probability of direct debt to Athanasius so highly as in Serapion's case. But the possibility that Gregory had learnt either from tradition or from Athanasius (or both) that *ἀγαπητός* meant *μονογενής* is not to be excluded.

We pass back from Athanasius and the orthodox school of the fourth century to a writer who is rather earlier than Athanasius and represents a different channel of theological tradition, Eusebius of Caesarea: and we find in him too a regular use of the combination *ἀγαπητὸς μονογενής*, quite commonly in reference to the relation of the Son and the Father, but also in reference to human relationships. Eusebius nowhere indeed says, as Athanasius does, that the two words are in fact synonymous: but it would be very difficult, I think, after consideration of the half-dozen passages now to be cited, not to admit that he uses them as synonyms.

d. Eus. *laud. Const.* xiii 6, 7 (Heikel 238. 12, 17) the heathen *εἰς τοσοῦτον ἤλαυνον ἀνοίας ὡς . . . ἤδη καὶ τὰ μονογενῆ καὶ ἀγαπητὰ τῶν τέκνων μανίᾳ καὶ διανοίας ἐκστάσει κατασφάττειν ... Κρόνῳ μὲν γὰρ Φοίνικες καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἔθυον τὰ ἀγαπητὰ καὶ μονογενῆ τῶν τέκνων.*[1]

eccl. theol. i 10 (Klostermann 68. 15) *ὁ δὲ ἀληθῶς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἅτε δὴ ἐκ πατρὸς ἀποτεχθείς, εἰκότως καὶ μονογενὴς καὶ ἀγαπητὸς χρηματίσειεν ἂν τοῦ πατρός· οὕτω δὲ καὶ θεὸς ἂν εἴη.*

ib. i 20 (86. 8) *οὐκ ὡς λόγος ἀνούσιος καὶ ἀνυπόστατος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀληθῶς υἱὸς ὢν μονογενὴς καὶ ἀγαπητὸς τοῦ πατρός.*

ib. ii 7 (104. 23) *υἱὸς μονογενὴς καὶ ἀγαπητὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, καὶ ἀπαύγασμα τῆς πατρικῆς δόξης.*

ib. ii 14 (118. 6) St John wrote *λόγον μὲν ὄντα καθ' ὃ . . .*, *θεὸν δὲ καὶ μονογενῆ καθ' ὃ μόνος ἀληθῶς ἦν υἱὸς τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῦ, υἱὸς γνήσιος ὄντως καὶ ἀγαπητός, τῷ αὐτοῦ πατρὶ κατὰ πάντα ἀφωμοιωμένος.*

[1] Note that on each occasion he uses only a single article: though two adjectives are used, they convey one idea.

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ib. ii 20 (129. 27) *πατέρα εἶναι . . . τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀγαπητοῦ υἱοῦ.*

In all these last five passages it is the nature of the Son in His relation to the Father that is emphasized: not the love of the Father, but the uniqueness of the Sonship. *Ἀγαπητός* is equated four times with *μονογενής*, once with *γνήσιος*.

e. The *Apostolic Constitutions* are profoundly influenced in their theological language by the writings of Eusebius[1]: and though the equation *ἀγαπητός = μονογενής* is not so sharply expressed as in Eusebius, it appears to be in the mind of the compiler. His interest is as predominantly theological as that of Eusebius: but he keeps more strictly to Scriptural language.

iii 17. 4 (Funk 213. 2) *Χριστὸς ὁ μονογενὴς θεός, ὁ ἀγαπητὸς υἱός, ὁ τῆς δόξης κύριος.*

viii 12. 31 (506. 23) *ὁ θεὸς λόγος, ὁ ἀγαπητὸς υἱός, ὁ πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως.* With which compare also

ii 24. 3 (91. 23) *τὸν τῇ φύσει ἀπαθῆ, τὸν υἱὸν τὸν ἀγαπητόν, τὸν θεὸν λόγον.* While in

v 20. 2 (295. 6) *τότε ὄψονται τὸν ἀγαπητὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν, καὶ ἐπιγνόντες αὐτὸν κόψονται . . .* the reference is obvious to Zech. xii 10, with its *κοπετὸν ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαπητῷ.*

In the fourth century, then, there was, alike in Egypt and in Syria, habitual combination of the terms *ἀγαπητός* and *μονογενής*. For Athanasius there is certainty, for Eusebius there is an overwhelmingly strong presumption, that the terms are combined because their meaning is in effect identical. But the combination can be traced more than a century further back. The gap between the New Testament and Eusebius is filled by Irenaeus.[2]

[1] This would be exactly what we should expect if Zahn's conjectural attribution of Ps.-Ignatius to the authorship of Acacius of Caesarea (*Ignatius von Antiochien* p. 141) were accepted: for, unlike Zahn, I am confident that Ussher was right in attributing both forgeries, Ps.-Ignatius and the Apostolic Constitutions, to a single hand. So far as date and place goes, an Acacian origin seems to me to have almost everything in its favour. I do not think that the equation Christmas = Dec. 25 is fatal to this view. Chrysostom no doubt tells us that the observance of the Nativity on that day was only introduced at Antioch ten years before a sermon which Montfaucon dated to A.D. 386: but I see no reason why it should not have come into use fifteen or twenty years earlier at Caesarea than at Antioch.

[2] When Hippolytus wrote (*Ref. Omn. Haer.* vi 16. 2: Wendland, 142. 3) *πιστὸς δὲ ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀγαπώμενος . . . εὑρίσκεται,* would not the natural word have been *ἀγαπητός*, unless it was known to mean something else than 'beloved'?

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f. Iren. *Haer.* IV v 3 [x 1]—the Greek was discovered by Combefis in a *catena* on Genesis—Abraham *προθύμως τὸν ἴδιον μονογενῆ καὶ ἀγαπητὸν παραχωρήσας θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ, ἵνα καὶ ὁ θεὸς εὐδοκήσῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ παντὸς τὸν ἴδιον μονογενῆ καὶ ἀγαπητὸν υἱὸν θυσίαν παρασχεῖν εἰς λύτρωσιν ἡμετέραν.* The use of the verb *εὐδοκήσῃ* clinches the proof that Irenaeus is here bringing the *υἱὸς ἀγαπητός* of Gen. xxii into relation with the similar phrase of Mark i 11 and parallels. In both cases he expands *ἀγαπητός* by combining it with *μονογενής*: the ambiguity of the former word he clears up by reinforcing it with its unambiguous synonym.[1]

The evidence, then, of the two Latin translators who in individual cases rendered *ἀγαπητός* by 'unicus' is borne out by a small but highly significant *catena* of Greek Fathers. Their testimony must be considered as a whole: one or another may be indecisive if taken alone, but the clear witness of Athanasius and the scarcely less clear witness of Eusebius gives cohesion to the whole body of evidence.

From Homer to Athanasius the history of the Greek language bears out, I venture to think, the argument of this paper that *ἀγαπητός υἱός* is rightly rendered 'Only Son'.

C. H. TURNER.

[1] Since unfavourable criticism is sometimes made of Harvey's work as an editor of Irenaeus, let it be recorded to his credit that he recognizes the LXX use of *ἀγαπητός = μονογενής*.

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NOTES AND STUDIES

THE MESSIAH BEN JOSEPH.

THERE is found in Jewish writings of the third century A.D. a curious form of the Messianic Hope which led to the expectation of two Messiahs, a Messiah ben Joseph as well as the Messiah ben David. Nowhere are the full details of the expectation given, but from scattered references it would seem that the Messiah ben Joseph would gather a great army from the reunited tribes and set up his kingdom in Palestine with Jerusalem as its capital. Then the hosts of the heathen nations would come to make war against the Holy City, as Ezekiel and some of his successors had predicted, and slay the Messiah ben Joseph with many of his followers. Thereafter the Messiah ben David would appear, raise the Messiah ben Joseph and his faithful followers from the dead, and establish the final kingdom which should last for ever.[1]

This strange and fantastic Messianic expectation contains many elements, and Christian scholars are wont to dismiss it as a mere concession of Jewish rabbis to Christian teaching concerning the fulfilment of such prophecies as Isaiah liii and Zechariah ix 9 ff by Jesus of Nazareth. But the Jewish rabbis spoke of this expectation as *an ancient tradition*; and upon the strength of this evidence E. G. King made a study of the theme in his translation of the *Yalkut on Zechariah, Appendix A*. He gave reasons for supposing that the expectation of a suffering Messiah was current in Judaism at least as early as the first century A. D., though it has been remarked that his argument 'does not really prove more than that the doctrine of the Messiah ben Joseph found points of attachment in older thought'.

Not to traverse the ground explored by King, I propose to follow another line of study suggested by an examination of *Genesis xlix* and the *Testament of Benjamin* (Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs), whereby, it seems, there can be traced the tradition of a Messiah ben Joseph from a period much earlier than that to which its origin is usually ascribed. Moreover, the death of this Messiah in the late Jewish version of the tradition will appear to be an important factor in the Messianic Hope as a whole, since possibly it influenced the composition of the Songs of the Suffering Servant and the similar prediction of a suffering Messiah in Zechariah xii.

[1] See article 'Messiah' in *H.D.B.* and *Enc. Bib.*

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I.

Genesis xlix. In the so-called 'Blessing of Jacob' we have a poem which purports to give Jacob's last words to his twelve sons. He describes the character of each son, and then predicts the characteristics and future career of each tribe. The descriptions of the sons, however, make us think of the tribes personified rather than of the patriarchs whose stories are told in the earlier chapters of Genesis; for the qualities which they evince betoken a period later than the patriarchal age. Thus Benjamin is described as a ravening wolf—a character which he certainly does not bear in the earlier part of the book of Genesis; and similarly, Joseph is pictured as a warrior surrounded by foes whom he eventually conquers by his warlike might, though no hint of this is given in the Joseph-story. Accordingly Driver[1] suggests that the poem as a whole was composed during the period of the Judges or during the early monarchy, though he allows that it may incorporate earlier material, and may have been interpolated here and there by later hands.

Two passages in this poem call for, and have received from scholars, special attention because of the Messianic allusions which they contain. These passages occur in (*a*) the blessing given to Judah, and (*b*) the blessing given to Joseph. No general agreement has been reached in regard to the interpretation that ought to be placed upon them, but there is a consensus of opinion in favour of regarding them as in some sense of Messianic import. We need not here discuss the various explanations which have been offered, since they can be found in any modern commentary.

(*a*) In the blessing upon Judah, verse 10 is thus rendered in R.V.:—

> The sceptre shall not depart from Judah,
> Nor the ruler's staff[2] from between his feet,
> Until Shiloh come;
> And unto him shall the obedience of the peoples be.

[2] *marg.* lawgiver.

The allusion to the 'sceptre' as being in the tribe of Judah would appear to indicate the period of composition of the first two lines as that of the early Davidic monarchy. Difficulty comes with the third and fourth lines, which appear to postulate another than a member of

[1] *Genesis* pp. 380, 381.

[2] Driver discounts the marginal reading 'lawgiver'. If, however, the Servant Songs were suggested, as we suppose, by the Messiah ben Joseph tradition, this reading may have had much to do with the Servant's office of *Torah-lehrer* as unfolded in the first three Songs.

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the tribe of Judah in the kingship since Judah's sovereignty is to last until this one, whoever he may be, appears, when it will pass to him.

The Hebrew of the third line may be translated in two ways: (*a*) 'until Shiloh come'; or (*b*) 'until he (one) come to Shiloh'. The former rendering is not found in any version before 1534, but the English versions make use of it. It is unsatisfactory for several reasons. The Septuagint paraphrase, which we shall discuss later, makes no mention of Shiloh; the term Shiloh is not a personal name in any Hebrew or Jewish writing until a fanciful passage in the Talmud makes it a title of the Messiah; elsewhere it is always the name of a city in Ephraim. On these grounds the rendering 'until he (one) come to Shiloh' approves itself as grammatically unexceptionable, while it makes good sense, without altering the text in any way.

I take it then, that the Hebrew text means that the sovereignty will remain in the tribe of Judah until 'one' comes to the Ephraimite city of Shiloh: he shall there take over the rulership from Judah, and 'the obedience of the peoples', i. e. of the twelve tribes, and possibly of the Gentiles also, shall be given to him.

(*b*) The second passage is found in verses 23–25, and belongs to the blessing given by Jacob to Joseph. It is thus translated in R. V.:—

> The archers have sorely grieved him,
> And shot at him, and persecuted him:
> But his bow abode in strength,
> And the arms of his hands were made strong
> By the hands of the Mighty One of Jacob,
> (From thence is the Shepherd, the Stone of Israel)
> Even by the God of thy father, who shall help thee.

Joseph is here pictured as a warrior, a character which he does not bear in the story of his rise to power in Egypt. The tribe of Ephraim would seem to be indicated, and the Mighty One of Jacob strengthens this tribe for its warlike exploits. The verse in brackets might well be omitted: the passage would gain in clearness thereby. We regard it therefore as an interpolation into the original text, and note that it contains a Messianic allusion, as is agreed by the commentators. But what is the antecedent of the words 'from thence'? There is but little point in making this antecedent 'the Mighty One of Jacob', since the passage would then mean that God will send 'the Shepherd, the Stone of Israel', i. e. the Messiah. If the phrase be an interpolation as we suggest, it would be better to regard the whole of the preceding passage as the antecedent, and to make it mean that the Messiah will spring from the persecuted tribe of Ephraim, i. e. from

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Joseph, who is here the object of Jacob's blessing. *We regard the verse therefore as a prediction of the Messiah ben Joseph.*

This theory, moreover, agrees exactly with the explanation already given to verse 10; for naturally enough the Messiah ben Joseph would take up his rulership, not at Jerusalem in the Southern Kingdom, but at Shiloh in Ephraim. He is the 'one' who will 'come to Shiloh'.

II.

It is necessary here to think of the history of the city of Shiloh as recorded in the Old Testament. It was probably an ancient Canaanitish sanctuary before Israel's entrance into Palestine, since at the end of the conquest the united tribes met there in order that Joshua might make the final partition of the land.[1] It thus became the first central sanctuary of the whole nation, and so apparently it remained throughout the period of the Judges[2] and the early years of the monarchy, until David's capture of Jerusalem, and the subsequent building of the Temple there by Solomon.

Before Jeremiah's day, however, Shiloh had been destroyed,[3] but by whom is not ascertained, though probably by the Philistines; but it was never entirely abandoned by its inhabitants. There would seem to have been some difference of opinion between the North and South as to the precedence in sanctity between Shiloh and Jerusalem, if we may judge from Psalm lxxviii, 58–61, 67, 68. No doubt the Northern Israelite clung to the ancient tradition which made Shiloh the first sanctuary of the nation: and in days when the armies of Babylon had made Jerusalem a desolation, and laid its Temple in ruins, while Shiloh yet kept its people, there must have been some among them who hoped that it was Yahweh's purpose to restore the ancient glories of the shrine, and to set up once more His tabernacle there.

If then the writer of the prediction that 'one' should come to Shiloh inserted this prophecy into the blessing upon Judah, we should judge that he lived and wrote at the time of the Exile, and that he was a writer of northern blood who favoured the expectation of a Messiah ben Joseph. He had seen the downfall of the Davidic monarchy, and had witnessed the uprooting of Jewry from the Southern Kingdom. He recalled the unity of Israel, and the obedience of the tribes to Joshua while Shiloh was the centre of national life. Why then, he may well have thought, should not the apparent abrogation of the Davidic covenant and the downfall of the Judaean capital signify the rising again of Shiloh under the Messiah of expectation, and the renewal of tribal unity in the new obedience to him?

[1] Joshua xviii: xxi. [2] Judges xxi 19: 1 Sam. i.
[3] Jer. vii 12, 14: xxvi 6, 9.

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The date of the two interpolations into the blessings upon Judah and Joseph—interpolations which are mutually explanatory—can hardly be earlier than the Exile, since some time must have elapsed since Messianic prediction began to develope under the great prophets. These teachers had unquestionably associated the Messiah with the throne of David in Jerusalem; but here is one who departs from the Davidic expectation altogether, and chooses Shiloh instead of Jerusalem for his Messiah's holy city.

I have suggested that this man was a northern Israelite: the fullness and the high enthusiasm of the blessing upon Joseph appear to warrant this suggestion, for the terms in which he is addressed in the passage following the interpolation set him far above Judah. Moreover, the blessing given to the tribes by Moses in Deut. xxxiii is recognized as the work of a northern writer; so that both kingdoms had their representative poems. It may be added that he had some warrant in expressing his conviction that the Messiah should be of Josephite stock in the promises made by the prophet Ahijah to Jeroboam,[1] which strongly resemble those made to David.

III.

On the supposition that the Messiah indicated in the Blessing of Jacob is the Messiah ben Joseph, we ought to consider (i) the story of Joseph, and (ii) the blessing given to him by Jacob, as containing possible suggestions for the work of the patriarch's greatest descendant. In the story he is gentle, refined, peaceable, wise, and righteous, and wins his way to overlordship through imprisonment and endurance of undeserved suffering. In the blessing he is a warrior contending against many foes, and wins his way to victory through his warlike qualities which are bestowed upon him by Yahweh. It was inevitable therefore that those who held to the hope of a Messiah ben Joseph should attribute to him one or other of these characteristics. By some he would be regarded as a ruler attaining to sovereignty only after endurance of undeserved woe; by others as a great warrior victorious at last over his own and Israel's enemies. It was left to the late Jewish rabbis apparently to combine both ideas in their presentation of the theme, for in the post-Christian form of the hope the Messiah ben Joseph is both warrior and sufferer.

Let us assume that the thought of Joseph as the gentle sufferer of undeserved pain was likely to make the stronger appeal to most people at the Exile—a not unwarranted assumption since the problem of undeserved suffering was greatly in mind during and after this period,

[1] 1 Kings xi 38.

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as is shown by the large space it occupies in Jewish literature, exilic and post-exilic in date. We can then account for and explain a remarkable passage which is found in the *Testament of Benjamin*, a work of the latter part of the second, or the beginning of the first century B.C., the last of the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*.

It should be remarked that the *Testaments* were suggested by, and modelled upon, the Blessing of Jacob in Genesis xlix, for they purport to give, as the Blessing does, the last words spoken by each of the twelve patriarchs to his sons. We need not dwell longer upon the contents of the work than to notice that it teaches the hope of a Messiah from the house of Levi (and Judah—by a later interpolator), that it was originally a collection of Jewish sermons upon the vices and virtues of the patriarchs, and that manifold interpolations and additions prove it to have been a popular work among both Jews and Christians.

The *Testament of Benjamin* contains one passage which arrests attention :—

> 'In thee shall be fulfilled the prophecy of heaven which says that the blameless one shall be defiled for lawless men, the sinless one shall die for ungodly men.'

Benjamin is telling his sons the story of Joseph's sufferings, and praises him greatly for his righteousness, bidding them follow Joseph's example in forgiving wrongs done to them. Benjamin states that Joseph supplicated his father Jacob to grant forgiveness to the eleven brethren, that Jacob did so at Joseph's intercession, and then added the words quoted above.

Now there are but two predictions in the Old Testament which can be described as 'the prophecy of heaven which says that the blameless one shall be defiled for lawless men, the sinless one shall die for ungodly men'. The first of these is the four Songs of the Suffering Servant, and the second Zechariah xii 9 ff. Consequently this Jewish writing associates a descendant of Joseph with one, or both, of these passages, exactly as did the writings of the third-century Jewish rabbis. There is nothing in the quotation from *T. Benjamin*, however, to show that the writer looked upon this suffering and dying sinless Josephite as the Messiah : on the contrary, the *Testaments* as a whole teach the expectation of a Messiah ben Levi as we have seen. But that the quotation was eagerly seized upon by Christians as a Messianic prediction is unquestionable, since several MSS show Christian interpolations.[1]

But if the writer of *T. Benjamin* did not teach that his Josephite should

[1] See Charles *Apoc. ana Pseudepigr.* ii p. 356.

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be the Messiah, how did he come to make him 'sinless'? I would suggest that he did so because there was a tradition already existing in some circles that the Songs and the Zechariah prophecy indicated an individual, that this individual was to be the Messiah ben Joseph, and that the writer of the *Testament* modified this tradition slightly: because of his belief in a Messiah ben Levi, he could not accept the hope of a Messiah ben Joseph, but he accepted as much of it as he could, viz. that the Suffering Servant should be a 'sinless' Josephite who should die on Israel's behalf.

Upon this theory therefore the Servant Songs and the Zechariah prophecy were interpreted in some pre-Christian Jewish circles, of the Suffering Messiah ben Joseph, i. e. they were given an individual and personal Messianic significance. Does this mean that the author of the Servant Songs held the hope of a Messiah ben Joseph, and that his work was the expression of this hope? There exists the possibility that it was so, but no more than the possibility—the evidence is inconclusive: but if he held this hope, then the interpolations in Genesis xlix and the Servant Songs came from men of similar sympathies, probably too of like tribal descent. Possibly the Northern contribution to the Old Testament has not been valued at its proper worth.

I have suggested that the interpolations in Genesis xlix were exilic in date. In the welter of ideas which followed upon the exile, such a northern contribution to the Messianic expectation was not improbable. This would make the Servant Songs still later in date: I am inclined to place them soon after Malachi.[1] The writer of *T. Benjamin*, while conceding that these Songs foretold the coming of a sinless sufferer from Joseph, refused the Messiahship to him, but by this very refusal he appears to bear witness to the Messianic interpretation of the Songs in some circles.

IV.

It is interesting to recall in this connexion the saying of Caiaphas, as reported by the fourth Evangelist, when addressing the Sanhedrim preparatory to the trial of Jesus: 'Ye know nothing at all, nor do ye take account that it is expedient that one man die for the people that the whole nation perish not'. The high priest was evidently alluding to a piece of knowledge which the Council should have had in mind, but of which they were ignorant—some tradition or writing: his words would be an adequate summary of the passage in *T. Benjamin*, or of the tradition underlying it, or to which it gave rise.

[1] The arguments for this theory are too long to be set out in full here: they involve Malachi's belief concerning the need of a pure priesthood to offer pure offerings, and his hope of a missionary prophet, an Elijah, to stir the nation.

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It would appear, therefore, that Caiaphas knew something of that teaching which the Servant Songs and *T. Benjamin* gave, viz. that a Sufferer must come to die for 'the preserved of Israel'. We have seen that this doctrine probably centred in the expected Messiah ben Joseph on account of the undeserved sufferings of the patriarch Joseph, whose sufferings and glory his descendant would ideally repeat in his own experience: but seemingly there were very few who accepted this form of the Messianic Hope. If the writer of the Songs was one of the few, his acceptance gave us 'the prophecy of heaven'; but he nowhere indicates such acceptance. He may have been influenced by the idea of suffering in this form of the Hope, but he was content to follow the example of the greatest among his predecessors who refrained from speaking of the tribe in which the Messianic Angel of their expectation would be born: one of them indeed definitely expressed his ignorance when he said, 'The zeal of Yahweh of hosts shall perform this'.[1] We are reminded of a saying of the Jews of a later day, 'When the Messiah cometh no one knoweth whence he is.'[2]

Yet all the Messianic prophets believed that the Angel of Yahweh would be veritably, though mysteriously, born in a real incarnation, and possess a real humanity: but how this would be they knew not. Some—the lesser among them—sought to know his tribal descent, and spoke of his coming now from Judah, again from Joseph, and yet again from Levi: but to the greatest prophets the manner of his assumption of humanity was a mystery; the overwhelmingly important thing for people to realize was, in their estimation, that he would be Deity made manifest to save Israel.

The Septuagint paraphrase of Psalm xl 6–7 reads, 'Sacrifice and meat-offering Thou wouldest not, *but a body didst Thou prepare for me*', in evident allusion to the fact that, at the time when the Septuagint translators wrote, the human origin of the Messiah to come was looked upon as a matter unknown to the prophets, and therefore to their readers. Similarly Jesus made little of his Davidic descent when He questioned the Pharisees, 'What think ye of the Messiah: whose son is He'? On their replying, 'The son of David', He immediataly asked, 'Why then doth David in spirit call him Lord? If David calleth him Lord, how is he his son'?[3] The Pharisees looked for a Messiah of Davidic descent: this indeed was to them a necessary condition of Messiahship: but to Jesus the Messianic condition lay not in this at all, but in the fact that the Messiah was 'Lord'. It would seem as if He brushed aside the idea of the Davidic origin of the Messiah on the human side as being of very slight significance beside the fact that he was to be God in self-manifestation. The

[1] Isa. ix 7. [2] John vii 27. [3] Matt. xxii 41–45, and parallels.

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refusal to dwell upon the origin of the humanity of the Messiah *is* exactly the same as that which we find in the Songs of the Suffering Servant which stress his Deity under the title 'the Arm of Yahweh' *in* the fourth Song, though this Song speaks of his humanity as having 'no form, nor comeliness, nor beauty that we should desire him'. The author makes no mention of his descent from Joseph or any other tribe: he was concerned for the fact that his Messiah would be the Angel of Yahweh. Nevertheless it seems that the expectation of the Messiah ben Joseph, and particularly the idea of suffering already associated with this Messiah, strongly influenced the conception of the Servant in the first three Songs; for the Servant here is a copy, but a transcendental copy, of Joseph the righteous sufferer who saved both his brethren and the Egyptians from death when, through suffering, he had attained great glory.

The same is true of the companion picture of the Suffering Servant drawn in Zech. xii 9 ff. As the interpretation of this prophecy has been much disputed, we must consider it in greater detail, especially as it was quoted as a prediction of the passion of Jesus by the writer of the Fourth Gospel, and was claimed by the Jewish rabbis of the third century A.D. as a prediction of the Suffering Messiah ben Joseph.

'It shall come to pass in that day, that I will seek to destroy all the nations that come against Jerusalem. And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplication; and they shall look unto him whom they have pierced: and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him, as one in bitterness for his first-born. In that day shall there be a great mourning in Jerusalem, as the mourning of Hadad-Rimmon in the valley of Megiddon.'

The prophet then enumerates the mourners—the house of David, the house of Nathan, the house of Levi, the Shimeites, and every family in the city, men and women apart. These 'houses' are noteworthy, for they symbolize the royal family (David), the prophets (Nathan), the priesthood (Levi), and the Temple singers (Shimei),[1] i.e. all the officials of the nation's government and religion. The Text suggests that they, as well as the whole people, are responsible for the death of the one who has been pierced, that his murder has been a great outrage, and that the national penitence will come from the pouring out by Yahweh of the Spirit of grace and supplication which will bring them to ask pardon for their sin.

But even so, the lamentation which goes up from the guilty nation would be excessive if the pierced one were a mere man, even though he were a king evilly done to death, for it is as the lament for

[1] 1 Chron. vi 29–39.

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a dead god—'as the mourning of Hadad-Rimmon in the valley of Megiddon'.

That the editors of the Hebrew text recognized that the pierced one bore the characteristics of Deity is made clear by their reading, 'They shall look unto Me (Yahweh) Whom they have pierced', which the Septuagint rightly corrects to 'him'. But if the slain one be the Messianic Angel, i. e. Yahweh in self-manifestation, the two readings are mutually interpretative, though the Septuagint is to be preferred.

Again, that the Messianic Angel of Yahweh is indicated as the Sufferer here is evident from a detailed consideration of the phrase 'the mourning of Hadad-Rimmon'. This deity was a West-Semitic god known by the two names Adad (*Heb.* Hadad) and Ramman[1]: he was originally a solar god, but when introduced into the Babylonian pantheon he became the god of thunder and storm, though in a late Babylonian cylinder he is identified with Marduk.[2] In Palestine, where he was evidently well known, he appears to have assimilated some of the characteristics of Tammuz, just as Marduk had done in Babylon,[3] and was honoured with Tammuz-rites as described in the prophecy.

We infer therefore that the universal lament for the 'pierced' one was to be a lament for the Messianic Angel, i. e. for Yahweh in self-manifestation, as the Hebrew text bears witness.[4] His death brings new life to his people in the coming age whose glories the prophet next describes; for upon his death there follows penitence true and deep, and the penitent nation having turned to righteousness obtains the blessings which Yahweh had promised to Abraham and his seed. Further, though this is not stated in the Zechariah prophecy, I suggest that the slain Messiah—as in the Servant Songs—is to be thought of as rising from the dead to receive his kingdom; for Israel's foes are subdued by Yahweh, Who manifests Himself in a theophany upon

[1] A. J. Clay *The Empire of the Amorites* pp. 165 ff.

[2] A. W. Rogers *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament* p. 193.

[3] Langdon *Epic of Creation* pp. 34 ff.

[4] The Septuagint paraphrases the Hebrew text: 'as the mourning of a pomegranate grove in a field, when it is being plucked'. The pomegranate was evidently sacred to this deity whose rites were celebrated at the gathering of the fruit, just as the rites of Tammuz were kept at the corn-harvest. The pomegranate was also sacred to Attis whose death was likewise lamented with Tammuz-wailings. See J. G. Frazer *Adonis, Attis and Osiris* i 263, 269, 280. Frazer's work, *The Dying God* pp. 112 ff., on the tenure of the kingship in Babylon, should be consulted. The 'pierced one' in the Hebrew prophecy is evidently the incarnate Angel of Yahweh whose coming in the Messianic role had been predicted from the time of Isaiah; and that the Angel of Yahweh was not a created angel, but Yahweh Himself in manifestation, the Septuagint of Isaiah, lxiii 9, makes clear, where for the Hebrew, 'The Angel of His Presence saved them', the Greek reads: *οὐ πρέσβυς οὐδὲ ἄγγελος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἔσωσεν αὐτούς.*

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the Mount of Olives, and his people dwell in undisturbed possession of the kingdom of peace.

The Zechariah prophecy therefore gives us a figure identical with that of the Suffering Servant of the Songs—the figure of an incarnate Divine Person who is slain by the people of Israel, but whose death brings penitence, and so redemption from sin. He symbolizes the Messianic Angel of Yahweh; is indeed that Angel, as is shewn by the imagery in which he is set forth. He resembles Joseph in that his undeserved sufferings bring salvation; but he is a transcendental Joseph, made to be such by the influence of the Messiah ben Joseph theme, as the testimony of the later Jewish rabbis also bears witness, since they interpreted the prediction as referring to this suffering, dying Messiah of ancient tradition.

V.

We must now consider certain of the suggestions which have been put forward for the interpretation of the two difficult passages in Genesis xlix 10, 24. These suggestions are based upon (1) a highly Messianic passage in Ezekiel xxi 25–27, and (2) the Greek and Latin versions of the Pentateuch.

(i) *Ezekiel xxi 25–27.* Yahweh, speaking through His prophet, addresses the people concerning the deadly wounded wicked prince of Judah whose day is come, i. e. Zedekiah:—

> Remove the mitre and take off the crown:
> This shall be no more the same:
> Exalt that which is low, and abase that which is high.
> I will overturn, overturn, overturn it:
> This also shall be no more,
> *Until he come whose right it is;*
> *And I will give it him.*

The Hebrew text of line 6 in this passage appears to have a connexion, both as regards its grammar,[1] and as regards its meaning, with Genesis xlix 10. Let us assume first that the Genesis interpolation was earlier than Ezekiel's writing: it is extremely unlikely that the prophet read 'Shiloh' as a Messianic title, and far more probable that he rendered the passage 'until he (one) come to Shiloh', since nowhere is 'Shiloh' a personal name. But such a rendering would certainly fail to appeal to him, for Shiloh could never take the place of Jerusalem as the capital of the Messiah's kingdom. In his picture of the future ideal state, Ezekiel makes Jerusalem its centre, giving

[1] Driver *Genesis*, Excursus, pp. 411, 413: 'Shiloh' is made equivalent to a relative clause thus, שִׁלֹה = שֶׁלֹּה = אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ.

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it the new name 'The Lord is there'.[1] Consequently he would have rejected any implication that Shiloh could ever displace Jerusalem.

Moreover, Ezekiel says nothing as to the Messiah's origin; the genealogy is not referred to, nor is his descent from David, or from Joseph, spoken of. He is simply one whose 'right' the Messianic office is, and Yahweh will give it him. Otherwise he is unidentified.

I have assumed that the Genesis interpolation is earlier than Ezekiel, though this is by no means certain. It may be that Ezekiel's phrase is the older, and that the Genesis phrase identifies the one whose right the kingdom is as the Messiah ben Joseph. No doubt the Pentateuch was in process of shaping when Ezekiel was writing; but it had not reached its completed form by any means. I suspect that the interpolations in the Blessing of Jacob were later than Ezekiel's day, and that the interpolator intended to identify the Messiah spoken of by the prophet in such indefinite terms as 'he whose right it is'.

It has been argued that, by denominating 'the prince' of his ideal state as 'David', Ezekiel intended his readers to understand (1) that this prince would be the Messiah, and (2) that he should be of Davidic descent. Neither of these two propositions, however, is self-evident. Ezekiel's Messianic teaching is very difficult to follow, and it is quite uncertain whether 'David' is the prophet's Messiah. Rather this term appears to have a collective significance, and denotes a line of princes, since provision is made for sons and for their endowment with property.[2] Again, the prophet does not state clearly that the prince is to be of the Davidic family, though possibly this is implied by the title 'David'. There is no doubt, however, from the passage in chapter xxi, that Ezekiel did expect a Messianic king whose the kingdom was by 'right'—a mysterious person unnamed and unidentified—and upon whom Yahweh would bestow it. Is there any figure in his prophecy to whom the kingdom belongs by 'right'?

One stupendous figure, called 'the Glory of Yahweh' (i 26, viii 1 ff, &c.), is seen in vision wearing 'a similitude as the appearance of a man'. To Ezekiel's successors in the apocalyptical school this figure was known as 'one like unto a son of man' (Daniel vii 10), and 'the Son of Man' (1 Enoch); and we have identified him as that mysterious being, 'the Angel of Yahweh'[3]. Whether Ezekiel recognized in him the future Messiah we do not know; but his new name for Jerusalem, 'Yahweh is there', would seem to imply that the Angel would manifest Yahweh in the Holy City. Certainly the kingdom was his by 'right'. If to Ezekiel this figure was to be the Messiah we can understand why

[1] xlviii 35. [2] xlvi 16–18. [3] *J. T. S.* Oct. 1925.

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he made no mention of the Angel's human descent, but merely left that question unanswered.

(ii) We next consider the Septuagint translations of the two Genesis interpolations.

(*a*) 'Until he come to Shiloh' becomes 'until the things reserved for him come.' The translators make the text apply to Judah: the tribe will continue to hold the kingship until every promised blessing shall be fulfilled. Thus they lay stress upon the Davidic origin of the Messiah, and reject the expectation of a Messiah ben Joseph.

(*b*) 'From thence is the Shepherd, the Stone of Israel' is paraphrased as, 'From thence is he who strengtheneth Israel'. This paraphrase, as is often the case with the Septuagint renderings, is extremely interesting and important, since it throws considerable light upon the meaning of the Hebrew.

The phrase 'he who strengtheneth Israel' is found in almost these terms in the *Testament of Dan*, where to the Angel of Peace is ascribed this very function of 'strengthening Israel that it fall not into the extremity of evil'. Dr Charles[1] has suggested that this Angel of Peace is the great angel who appears in Daniel x. It is a matter of considerable interest therefore that we should try to trace the genesis of this Angel, especially as the description of him in Daniel is used by the author of Revelation i in application to the ascended Christ, the 'one like unto a son of man'. Thus the writer of Revelation regarded the Danielic Angel as the Messiah.

Now this Angel exercises the function of 'strengthening' in Daniel as well as in Revelation, for he strengthens Daniel, Cyrus, and the Apocalyptist. Again, his title the Angel of Peace suggests that he is the same person as the Peace-bringer of Micah, and the 'Prince of Peace' of Isaiah ix. Again, in Isaiah lxiii 9, it is the 'Angel of the Presence' who saves Israel in its extremity. Thus the Angel of Peace, the Strengthener of Israel, is to be identified with the Messianic Angel, the Angel of Yahweh of whom the prophets had spoken.

Accordingly, by employing the phrase 'the Strengthener of Israel' the Septuagint paraphrase preserves the identity of 'the Shepherd, the Stone of Israel' of the Hebrew text: he is the Messianic Angel who is the self-manifestation of Yahweh. But while preserving his identity, the Septuagint says nothing concerning his human origin: it gives no indication of the tribe in which he will become incarnate, whether Joseph or Judah. Like Ezekiel and his predecessors it leaves that question open, possibly because at the time of translation the matter was much in dispute, possibly also because it preferred silence

[1] *Studies in the Apocalypse* p. 159: *Revelation* i 225, 226.

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where it had no knowledge. But it did teach quite clearly that the Messiah of expectation was to be the Angel Incarnate.

(iii) The Vulgate translates the 'Shiloh' passage by 'Donec veniat qui mittendus est, et ipse erit expectatio gentium', thus departing both from the Hebrew and the Septuagint. The phrase 'qui mittendus est' changes 'Shiloh' into 'Shaluah', keeping the Hebrew consonants but altering the pointing; but the Messianic allusion remains, though the reference to the Messiah ben Joseph's capital city is obliterated.

To summarize the points made, it would seem that the interpolated Hebrew text gives the only direct evidence of the hope of a Messiah ben Joseph in pre-Christian Judaism; and that both passages in the 'Blessing of Jacob' really do this, appears to solve a problem of long standing, viz. the allusion to 'Shiloh'. Indirect evidence for the existence, in some circles, of this form of the Messianic Hope is forthcoming from the Testament of Benjamin, which speaks of a sinless sufferer of Joseph's tribe and associates him with the 'prophecy of heaven', i. e. with the Servant Songs, or with the prophecy in Zechariah xii, two predictions with which post-Christian Judaism likewise asserted his connexion. It may be that these two Messianic predictions were composed under the influence of the belief in a Messiah ben Joseph: if so, they are of Northern Israelite origin, and they teach that the Messianic Angel would become incarnate in the tribe of Ephraim—which may account for the fact that in the Zechariah prediction the lamentation for the 'pierced one' is restricted to Jerusalemites, no mention being made of the Northern tribes. It is improbable that the Josephite expectation was ever held by any large number of Jews, since in itself it was a fluctuation from the more usual Davidic hope, while it would certainly be rejected by official Judaism which looked for a Messiah who should bring compensation for sufferings endured rather than penitence for sins committed: but that the expectation lasted in some small circles is witnessed by its recrudescence in post-Christian Jewish rabbinism.

Finally, the genealogies of Jesus in Matthew and Luke are 'legal' and 'official', since both trace His descent upon the side of Joseph: nothing is said of the descent of Mary of Nazareth, and we know nothing of her kindred except that she was cousin to Elizabeth, wife of Zacharias the priest. May it be that through her the Josephite and the Levitical fluctuations in the Messianic expectation found fulfilment?

G. H. Dix.

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THE WASHINGTON MS AND THE CAESAREAN TEXT OF THE GOSPELS.

I HAVE lately made a discovery which is in itself, I think, of considerable interest for the textual criticism of the Gospels, and which happens also to have a bearing on the friendly controversy between Prof. Burkitt and myself.

Prof. Sanders in his edition of the fourth-century[1] MS W proves conclusively that for Mk. i 1 to v 30 its text is the Greek equivalent of the Old Latin. But he proceeds, 'In the second part of Mark there is still a decidedly close relationship between W and the Old Latin MSS, but the special Latinisms and the peculiar agreements with MS *e* have mostly disappeared.... The most interesting feature ... is the increase in the number of agreements with fam. 13 (Ferrar group) and the other Syriacizing MSS fam. 1, 565, and 28.'

This description understates both the extent and the importance of the change in the text of Mark at this point, as I discovered after carefully testing several passages of considerable length. W is full of mistakes of spelling and has numerous singular readings. Ignoring these, it appeared in the passages tested that eighty-five per cent. of the readings in which W differs from the T.R. are to be found in at least one (more often in several) of the six chief representatives of what I believe to be the Caesarean text, i.e. Θ, 1 &c., 13 &c., 28, 565, 700. Conversely, W (so far as tested) contains seventy-eight per cent. of the readings in which any two of these six authorities agree together against the Byzantine text. What is even more significant, in some fourteen out of seventeen cases where W does *not* contain the family reading it agrees with the Byzantine text.[2]

From these facts only one conclusion seems possible. We have in W, for Mk. v 31–xvi 8, a MS which has preserved, with a relatively small amount of Byzantine correction, the fundamental text of the Θ family. Accordingly, it is no longer possible to maintain that this 'text' is a purely hypothetical entity. That *all* the non-Byzantine readings found in any member of the Θ family ever stood in one single MS I have never suggested; but I am now able to call into court a witness of the fourth–fifth century in which the great majority of them are actually to be seen.

[1] Prof. A. S. Hunt tells me he inclines to date W late fourth century, but would not rule out early fifth century.

[2] I am giving further details in an Appendix to a new impression of my book *The Four Gospels* now in the press.

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Prof. Burkitt's reply to my Note in *J. T. S.* (p. 379) of last July calls for a few observations. The formidable-looking lists of readings which he there prints, though intrinsically very interesting, have no real bearing on the points at issue between us.

(1) The group of 'triple variants' first cited merely proves that members of the Θ family are occasionally divided against one another in support of non-Byzantine readings. So far from denying this fact, I have myself stated it, and have endeavoured to define its exact significance (both in my book p. 572 f, and in *J. T. S.* p. 375) by pointing out that such differences are of less frequent occurrence than differences between ℵ and B. Unless it can be shewn that 'triple variants', like those adduced by Prof. Burkitt, occur *more often* than differences between ℵ and B, my argument is absolutely unaffected.

(2) The second group of five readings is brought forward by Prof. Burkitt as a set of 'instances where 1 &c., with or without subsidiary support, deserts the main "Caesarean" body to agree with Syr. S'. He has, however, failed to notice the all-important fact that in four out of the five instances the members of the Θ family which differ from 1 &c. exhibit the reading of the Byzantine text, and therefore cease for the time being to represent the characteristic family text. Hence the agreement of 1 &c. with Syr. S in these four instances is merely their agreement against the Byzantine text; it is not against the non-Byzantine element in the other members of fam. Θ, and therefore cannot fairly be described as a 'desertion' by 1 &c. of 'the main "Caesarean" body to agree with Syr. S'. (His remaining instance must, I think, have been adduced through some accident, for in the reading cited 1 &c. does *not* agree with Syr. S.) Now these readings are brought forward by Burkitt as 'some notable agreements of 1 &c. with Syr. S against the majority of Streeter's "Caesarean" authorities'. That they are not such I have already shewn; but, seeing that in every instance the only members of the Θ family which do *not* give the Byzantine reading are found to agree with 1 &c., they can actually, every one of them, be cited in support of my contention that the non-Byzantine readings in those MSS belong to one single text.

The point in regard to which Burkitt and I differ is small compared with those on which we are agreed; but, as he himself indicates, it is of importance to the student of the history of the text.

We are at one in distinguishing an 'Eastern' text (preserved in the Old Syriac and in the non-Byzantine readings of Θ 1 &c., 13 &c., 28, 565, 700) from the 'Alexandrian' (ℵ B L &c.) and the 'Western' (D Old Latin). I differ from him in maintaining that a further distinction exists between the text presupposed in the Old Syriac and that of the non-Byzantine element in Θ and its supporters—a distinction com-

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parable to that between the 'African' and 'European' families of the Western text. I maintain that the text of the Θ family is a kind of half-way house between the Old Syriac and the Alexandrian; and that it is not unreasonable to connect this with the fact that Caesarea is geographically intermediate between Antioch and Alexandria.

Burkitt in his Note in *J. T. S.* p. 378 ff repeatedly emphasizes the close connexion of Codex 1 with the Old Syriac. If, then, I make that MS the test case, I am meeting him on ground he has himself chosen; and if I produce statistics from Lists of readings compiled twenty years ago by another scholar, I cannot be suspected of 'cooking' my figures. Fortunately in the Introduction to Prof. Lake's edition of Codex 1 (*Texts and Studies*, vol. VII) there are ready to hand classified Lists of the readings of that MS which make possible the test desired.

List C gives 'Readings (of Cod. 1) for which the Old Syriac version is the chief authority'; thirty-two variants are noted. In List D, which gives 'Readings which are found in both the Old Latin and Old Syriac versions, but not in ℵ B[1] or in the Antiochian (= Byzantine) text', there are fifty-seven. In List E, which gives 'Readings for which ℵ B are the chief ancient authorities', seventy-two variants are noted. That is to say, the agreements of Codex 1 with readings specially characteristic of the Alexandrian text are nearly twice as numerous as its agreements with readings specially characteristic of the Old Syriac. And even if one adds together the figures in Lists C and D—as one must in order to get a fair idea of the relation of the ground text of 1 to ℵ B and the Old Syriac respectively—the proportion is as seventy-two to eighty-nine. This surely justifies my contention, so far as Codex 1 is concerned—in which MS according to Burkitt the connexion with the Syriac is specially notable—that the text of fam. Θ is markedly distinct from that of the Old Syriac, and is roughly speaking midway between this and the Alexandrian type.

The occasional instances of cross-grouping, shewn in Burkitt's list of 'triple variants' above, in no way invalidate my main argument. They are exactly comparable to the occasional cross-groupings found in the chief authorities for the African and European types of the Western Text. Thus *e*, our second most important authority for the African Latin, has been shewn by Prof. Burkitt elsewhere to have quite a number of readings characteristic of the European Text. Indeed, with the possible exceptions of B k and Syr. S, no uncial MS exists which has escaped entirely from some mixture with an alien type of text. Even ℵ, as Hort pointed out, has a not inconsiderable

[1] I think ℵ B is an error for B alone, since in the List several instances are given where ℵ deserts the Alexandrian group and has a 'Western' reading.

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Western mixture. What I am claiming for the non-Byzantine element of the Θ family is, not that it preserves an absolutely pure text, but that its deflections from the type are less frequent than the deflections of ℵ from the Alexandrian or of *e* from the African Latin type.

Another point should be borne in mind. The uniformity of the Byzantine Text as it is represented in the numerous surviving uncials of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries is not the absolute uniformity of a printed text. Every one of these predominantly Byzantine MSS has (besides a few readings peculiar to itself or found with small support elsewhere) sporadic readings, now of the Alexandrian, now of the Western type. Presumably, then, the MSS used by the various scribes who revised the several ancestors of Θ and its supporters had a few such readings. Hence the occasional occurrence, on which Burkitt lays stress, of readings in some one member of the Θ family agreeing with ℵ B or D Latt. against other members of the family is quite as likely to be due to the text used by the 'Byzantine corrector' as to survival from earlier MSS of the Caesarean text. At any rate, sporadic mixture is a phenomenon which occurs in all uncials (and in all cursives of which the readings are quoted in any Apparatus Criticus). Hence to group MSS into families, we must consider averages holding over large numbers and—provisionally at least—ignore occasional exceptions. If the method of averages is regarded as valid by the Physicist when he investigates the constitution of the atom, or by the Zoologist when he tests Mendelian theories, the textual critic need not blush to call in its assistance.

Burkitt concludes as follows: 'When the attestation of any reading in this (sc. Eastern) group does not include Syr. S, there is, I think, a strong presumption that the reading in question is a later corruption inside the group, not an original feature of it'. In an interesting article on 'W and Θ' in *J. T. S.*, October 1915, Burkitt argued at some length for the general superiority of the B ℵ text. I think he proved his case. But, if so, are we to say that the larger number of readings in which the Θ family supports B ℵ against Syr. S are 'later corruptions'; or are they evidence that the Θ family is, not only independent of, but at times superior to, the text found in Syr. S?

B. H. STREETER.

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PISTIS SOPHIA AND THE COPTIC LANGUAGE.

I.

THE arguments which I have ventured to use in this JOURNAL (*J. T. S.* xxiii 271 ff: xxvi 391 ff) to prove that *Pistis Sophia* is not a translation from the Greek, but a Coptic 'original' work, have not convinced Prof. C. Schmidt of Berlin, but they have elicited from him a very interesting and valuable defence of the traditional view.[1] In one important respect the controversy is proceeding along the lines I hoped it would go—that is to say, upon the general history of Coptic Christianity and literature. I still think that this is a very obscure, though interesting, subject, and that certain things about 'Coptic' are assumed rather than satisfactorily established. Before, therefore, leaving the matter I should like to put forward my doubts about the full legitimacy of the Coptic language itself.

First of all, let me make clear to the non-Coptic scholar the very peculiar nature of the Coptic idiom. For this purpose we have to go to written documents: the priests of the Coptic Church can still read enough Coptic to chant the service, but it is in no sense a living tongue: I am raising the question whether, in the full sense of the word, it ever was alive. We must, in any case, go to books and writings.

The speech of Ancient Egypt was a peculiar tongue with certain features akin to Semitic, but in the main quite distinct. As everybody knows, the Egyptians were among the first of men to reduce their language to writing; cumbrous and imperfect as it is, the system of signs which used to be called Hieroglyphics does represent, so far as it goes, the way that the Egyptians talked. A cursive form of this writing, generally called Demotic, was in use in Ptolemaic times and during the first two centuries of the Christian era. But 'Coptic' is what may be roughly called 'Egyptian' written with Greek letters, eked out by half a dozen extra signs for the non-Greek sounds. At the first glance an ancient Coptic MS, such as *Pistis Sophia* itself, or the ancient MS of the Acts in the British Museum, looks very much like a Greek text written in uncials.

It might be supposed that no question could arise about the general nature of Coptic. It might be thought to be a mere question of script that 'Demotic' was the Egyptian language written in debased Hieroglyphics, while 'Coptic' was the same in a Greek transliteration. But

[1] *Die Urschrift der Pistis Sophia* von Carl Schmidt (*ZNTW* xxiv 218–240).

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the matter is not quite so simple. The really extraordinary thing about Coptic is the freedom with which Greek words are used in it, not only Greek nouns and verbs, but also Greek particles. I give here as an example a literal translation from the tale of Horsiesius (see *J. T. S.* xxiii 314), with the Greek words retained as they stand in the text.

Faustos.—Heli the Priest, and why did He destroy [him] with his sons in their sins? καίπερ he gave instruction to them many times they did not listen to him. Should father οὖν die for son?

Horsiesios.—Dost thou know not that they will inquire of the shepherd about the sheep? Well, πόσῳ μᾶλλον his vessels he alone, should he ἀμελεῖ them that they rob them? Heli γάρ, by their giving the λαὸς unto him [it was] that he might watch over them, ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ again his sons too he did not give instruction to them as a hard one ἀλλὰ as a negligent.[1]

This is, of course, from a literary work. I give another example from a letter, from the collection recently published by H. I. Bell and W. Crum.[2] The collection in question is a bundle of letters written between 330 and 340. They are mostly in Greek and relate to monks and other believers belonging to the Meletian schism, but three of them are in Coptic. Here is one (p. 92):—

Hatre of Eagle Island who writes to his Father Paeiēw greeting him much. In the Lord χαῖρε. I greet [*names*] and all the Brethren that are with thee κατὰ their names. I greet [*more names*]. I greet you (pl.) much in the Lord, desiring to see your face like the face of ἄγγελος. ἐπειδὴ[3] I spoke, then, to thee on the day when thou didst come unto us about the fashion of a λεβιτών,[4] now if οὖν it be possible make it κατὰ thy wish. . . . I know μὲν that thou art a good man, ἀλλὰ have mind of me also and do thou pray for me.

In the rest of the letter there occur ἐπιστολή, γάρ, ἤ, and in the address ἀπόδος, ὁμολογητής and παρά.

Nothing could be simpler than this 'epistle', but it is evidently written in the same language or jargon as the extract from the tale of Horsiesius. Its interest lies in its date: it is the earliest piece of Coptic to which a direct date can be given, i. e. about ten years after the Council of Nicaea, not very much more than a generation after there is reason to believe this language came into being. What sort of persons really used it? If οὖν it be difficult to understand how

[1] See W. Crum *Papyruscodex* (Horsiesius), S. 69.

[2] *Jews and Christians in Egypt* (Greek Papyri in the British Museum), edited by H. Idris Bell, with three Coptic texts edited by W. E. Crum (British Museum, 1924).

[3] Written ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲧⲉ.

[4] The cloak worn by Egyptian monks (Butler's *Historia Lausiaca* ii 89): we learn from this passage that it is fem., as Thomas Edwards stated long ago.

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a monastic tailor could express himself in this style, then πόσῳ μᾶλλον is it difficult to believe that the villagers and peasants of Egypt really talked and bargained and made love to their fellows in it.

II.

Let us now return to Prof. Schmidt's paper. He quotes my remark that very likely the most idiomatic native style of Coptic was the least literary, and continues (p. 219): 'Here Burkitt touches a problem which, so far as I know, has hitherto not been clearly envisaged by Coptic scholars, that is to say whether Greek only invaded the Coptic language when the population of Egypt became Christian, so that it was only from that period this peculiar mixed language took its rise. It should be clearly recognized that from the days of the Ptolemies the native tongue had been much repressed by the Greek immigrants, especially in Lower and Middle Egypt. Greek was the language of the government and of legislation down to the Byzantine age; Greek was the language of scholars and literary men. The superiority of Greek culture must even have struck the Egyptian nationalists, and so it is quite comprehensible why representatives of the higher classes, such as Manetho and Chaeremon, should have composed their works in Greek, because it was only in this way they could attract a large enough circle of readers. But the peasant population also could not avoid the influence of the raising of general culture, however doggedly they might cling to the religion of their fathers. Their poorer mother-tongue was enriched by borrowings from the Greek vocabulary. A further impulse in the same direction was supplied by the mixture of the Hellenic and Egyptian races, which in the course of six centuries could not have been without influence on the language of everyday life. *It is true that this Graeco-Egyptian mixed dialect has found no literary embodiment, for the Egyptian peasant remained the same unliterary person that he was before.*[1] He had to betake himself to a letter-writer in the town or village, who would write the required documents or letters either in Demotic or in Greek. Demotic, the official language for writing (*Schriftsprache*) in the Graeco-Roman period, knows no mixture with Greek; where necessary, documents were prepared in two parallel texts.'

Prof. Schmidt goes on to say that during the 2nd century Christianity in Egypt was wholly Greek: it spread almost exclusively in the towns, among Greeks and half-Greeks and Jews. 'No documents of Christian character from the 2nd century in Egyptian language have yet come to light, and it is not probable that such documents will come to light'.[2]

[1] My italics. [2] p. 220.

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Accordingly he cannot accept a 2nd-century date for the earliest Coptic versions of the Bible. According to him the change only came through the influence of Antony in Middle Egypt (about 270) and of Pachomius (died 346) in Upper Egypt. Further, Prof. Schmidt draws attention to the account of Hieracas in Epiphanius (*Haer.* 67), as a possible name of influence in the adaptation of Christian literature for the native Christians of Egypt (p. 221).

One other extract from Prof. Schmidt must be added. On p. 223 he pleads for an earlier date for Hieracas than Harnack allows (viz. born 275); Schmidt would say the second half of the 3rd century. 'That is just the time in which I would put the employment (*Verwendung*) of the Egyptian popular dialect for Christian propaganda. . . . A specimen of this popular dialect from a heathen pen is to be found in the Magical papyrus of London and Leiden,[1] a text belonging to the great group of Magical papyri found in Egypt, which are mostly in Greek. But this one is written in Demotic cursive, and its peculiar characteristic is that a series of Greek words are taken up into the Demotic text, which then are repeated as glosses in a Greek transliteration. In these some of the special extra letters used in Coptic occur'. Schmidt agrees with Griffith and Thompson in placing the papyrus as late as the 3rd century.

I do consider that the London-Leiden papyrus is a most decisive factor in the question, but I do not think Prof. Schmidt's description of it would quite prepare a reader for what he finds in the text and transliteration by Griffith and Thompson. The Egyptian text, of which there are twenty-nine columns, is almost wholly pure Egyptian. One or two names of *materia medica* (such as Mandragora)[2] appear in transliteration, but there is nothing in this text like the indiscriminate use of Greek words in Coptic, and above all no Greek particles. The scribe knew how to write Greek, for he three times gives Magical invocations in Greek, viz. cols. iv 9–19, xv 25–28, xxiii 9–20, the middle one of these being given also an entirely Egyptian translation, written in Demotic.[3] My point is, that in this specimen of what Prof. Schmidt calls the popular dialect there is no syntactical mixture of Greek and Egyptian, as there is in Coptic. A few technical terms are transliterated, but that is all.

Christian Coptic, on the other hand, presents this peculiar mixture from the beginning, as the examples already given sufficiently shew.

[1] F. Ll. Griffith and Herbert Thompson *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden* (London, Grevel & Co., 1904).

[2] Col. xxiv, l. 18: *m'ntr'gwrw*. 'Ivy' is written KICCOY (l. 10), and also *gyss'os* in Demotic (l. 22).

[3] The third of these Invocations is that referred to in *J. T. S.* xxvi 397.

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In the letter that follows the one I quoted (Bell and Crum, p. 95), where the writer wanders into pious reflexions in a Biblical style, in addition to μέν, ὡσ and ὥστε we have πίστισ, ἀγάπη, βίοσ, γραφή, καρπόσ. Now it is usually said that Coptic adopted all these words because it was a language so much poorer than Greek, but it is ridiculous to suppose that the language of an agricultural people had no word for 'fruit' or 'produce' and was obliged to adopt καρπόσ to supply the defect. As a matter of fact there is such a native word in Coptic (*utah*), but in this letter καρπόσ is used, because in the Coptic Bible καρπόσ is so often adopted as a loan-word from the Greek.

The two formative elements in Christian Coptic, as I view the matter, were the influence of the original Coptic Bible (i.e. probably the Psalter and the Gospels) together with the influence of the professional scribe upon an unliterary folk.

It must not be forgotten that all the Coptic that survives, whether in books or tombstones or ostraca, is the work of persons who have learned to *write*, and therefore had been to some sort of school. The native Egyptian who wished to learn to write had to learn the Greek letters, and he learned with them all the lore connected with Greek handwriting. He did not have to learn the difficult Greek language, with its complicated accidence and syntax, or the art of building up its linked periods. But besides his letters he did no doubt acquire a smattering of Greek: if we may judge from the result, the Copt who had learnt to write liked to put in as much Greek as he knew. Very often it is tautological; he would write *palin on*, each word of which meant 'again'. After all he was a Christian, the Oracles of God were written in Greek, and there was every reason that he should put in as much Greek as his hearers would understand. As he was really an Egyptian his stuff remained essentially non-Greek.

The public for which this curious jargon was first composed consisted mainly of monks, or rather devotees, who had left the world. The ultimate origin of the Coptic Bible seems to have been to provide a common Psalter that the Brethren could recite together when they met for worship. So far as we can gather, it was their only literature, and so it became their mode of expression. The artificial life of the Laura and the Cells nourished the artificial style of the literature, so that οὐ μόνον it did not seem ξένον or odd that all sorts of Greek terms were put in at will, ἀλλὰ καὶ these tags also became part of the natural language of these men, like the special slang of a public schoolboy. Fresh Greek words and phrases might come in from time to time, as fresh Greek theological works were similarly translated, but the main source was the Bible. Revisions of the Bible were indeed made, but there is little evidence that it was much corrected from fresh Greek

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MSS: the changes seem chiefly to have been made to adapt the spelling to the local pronunciation of native words.[1]

I said at the beginning of this paper that I have doubts as to the full legitimacy of the Coptic language. I do not mean by this to doubt that the speech of the Egyptian peasantry at the time of the Arab invasion was a real, though degraded, descendant of the speech of the Pharaohs. But I do not think it was Coptic, if by 'Coptic' is meant a language in which Greek words, including the most exotic particles, are used freely. Nor, again, do I mean that there is not a genuine body of Coptic literature. It may not be of the highest literary quality and it is of an exclusively theological character. But the sentences are often well expressed, and even with all the Greek particles the ancient Egyptian idiom can tell a plain tale well, as may be seen in *Horsiesius*, or in the story of how the Spirit came down and coalesced with the boy Jesus in *Pistis Sophia* (p. 109 f).[2] But I do think it was artificial, that it was the language of the school and not of the people, and that that is the main reason why the fellaḥin of to-day have altogether abandoned the language of their ancestors. The Latin liturgy, the Syriac liturgy, the Armenian liturgy, may be couched in what is now an antique classical tongue, but once it was the speech of the people, and there are still populations who cherish these liturgies and speak modern dialects of the languages in which they are recited. I do not believe that the language of the Coptic liturgy and Bible was ever the real language of the people: it was from the beginning a more or less literary jargon.

III.

One special point may be noticed here. Prof. Schmidt holds, as I do, that the remarkable Sahidic text of Job does not prove the Coptic Bible to be a work of the 2nd century or even of the 3rd. But with regard to this text he uses the word 'pre-Origenian' (p. 224). This epithet, as I explained in *Encyclopaedia Biblica* 5027 (Text and Versions § 63), is a misnomer, for the Sahidic Job is definitely Origen's revised text of the LXX with the passages under asterisk omitted. The question of Origen's posthumous theological reputation in Egypt does not arise: these post-Hexaplar texts did not circulate under Origen's name, nor was Origen's learning or textual good faith called in question by his opponents. The Sahidic Job is what it is, as Prof. Schmidt himself says,

[1] e.g. they said *erof* for 'to him' in most parts of Egypt, but it was *elaf* in the Fayyum. Most of the peculiarities of Coptic 'dialects' seem to me to be of this nature.

[2] The 'pages' of *Pistis Sophia* in this article are the pages of the Askew MS, given also in Mr Horner's translation.

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because the Coptic translator used the Greek MSS which were available. As a matter of fact Egypt, in textual as in many other matters, was old fashioned and behind the age: consequently at the time of the Mohammedan invasion (to name a definite point in history) the Coptic Churches were using a form of Biblical text which in the rest of the Christian world was antiquated. To put the matter the other way round, Egyptian Biblical texts that from their internal textual character seem to belong to the 3rd century must really be dated in the 5th or 6th century, because in certain respects the cultural developement of Coptic Christianity lagged behind that of the rest of Christendom.

IV.

I have laid stress on this matter of textual criticism because I think it provides an analogy for the question of the date and origin of *Pistis Sophia*. I must now say a few words on the linguistic proofs brought forward by Prof. Schmidt to prove that it is a translation. At the outset, however, I must point out how very little we really differ. According to Schmidt, *Pistis Sophia*, a late and comparatively unintelligent production of syncretistic Graeco-Egyptian Gnosticism, composed in Greek, was translated into Coptic by a not always intelligent translator. According to Burkitt, *Pistis Sophia*, a late and comparatively unintelligent production, was composed in Coptic, the sources being partly Greek and partly Coptic works belonging to the later stages of Gnosticism in Egypt. I cling to the theory that the work, or rather works, preserved in the Askew Codex are more explicable as a Coptic by-product of Gnosticism than as a stage, however degraded, in what may be called Christian-Alexandrian thought.

Prof. Schmidt makes the point that Introductions are usually the actual composition of authors and editors, and he claims that the opening words of *Pistis Sophia* read like a translation from the Greek. It is what he calls *eine lange feingegliederte Satzkonstruktion* (p. 237), which he reconstructs as follows:—

Ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ τὸ Ἰησοῦν ἀναστῆναι (or ἐγερθῆναι) ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ διατριβῆναι ἔνδεκα ἔτη διαλεγόμενον τοῖς μαθηταῖς καὶ διδάσκοντα αὐτοῖς μόνον μέχρι τῶν τόπων τοῦ πρώτου ὄρου . . . εἶπεν (Ἰησοῦς) τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ κτλ.

I must confess that this does not sound to me like original Greek: it sounds to me like what it is, a translation into Greek from some foreign language. First of all, ἐγένετο δὲ is a queer way for a real Greek work to begin. The Greek Bible, both in Ezekiel and Jonah, begins with καὶ ἐγένετο when such an exordium is required. The Coptic of *Pistis Sophia*, however, starts off with ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲉ: no doubt the writer

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thought it sounded biblical. Then, again, καὶ διατριβῆναι is an adaptation to Greek syntax which is not in the original: the Coptic is ⲁⲧⲱ ⲁϥⲣ̄ (followed by '11 years'), which as it stands is καὶ διέτριψεν, just like καὶ ἐποίησεν in Rev. i 6, and καὶ ἔπλυναν in Rev. vii 14. Moreover, the dots indicate six and a half Coptic lines of trailing construction. I cannot imagine any Greek, who could write a book, composing this introductory sentence, though I can well believe that a Copt might think it was something like the beginning of a biblical work.

With regard to the vocabulary, Schmidt lays stress on the fact that *Pistis Sophia* sometimes has the Coptic word, sometimes the Greek transliteration, e.g. we find sometimes 'their 8-form', sometimes 'their 8-schema'. But the very same change between *smot* ('form') and σχῆμα in transliteration is found in *Agathonicus* 82 and 83.[1] And is not an exact parallel found in Prof. Schmidt's own paper? On p. 236 he uses *Satzbau*, on p. 237 *Satzkonstruktion*.

Of the Greek phrases in *Pistis Sophia*, for which (according to Schmidt) the 'translator' had found no suitable equivalent (p. 239), two at least come straight out of the Sahidic New Testament, viz. ⲉⲕⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩⲥ (= 1 Cor. xii 27 Sah.) and ⲟⲩⲕⲉⲝⲉⲥⲧⲓ (= Matt. xiv 4, xxvii 6 Sah.).[2] And if ⲁⲣⲁϩⲏ (p. 351 *b* = *Schmidt* 381, l. 9) really corresponds to ἆρα ἦ, as Schmidt suggests (p. 239), is this Greek? Does it not look much more like a Copt trying to use Greek particles?[3]

V.

The last instance given by Prof. Schmidt to prove that errors in the Coptic of *Pistis Sophia* shew it to be a translation is concerned with the interpretation of 'Mammon' in Lk. xvi 9. This is so interesting in itself that I give the passage in full. Jesus had explained to the disciples that if a soul know even one of the twelve names of the Dragon of the Outer Darkness it will escape the worst torments and be put in a place of comparative ease (*Pistis Sophia*, pp. 298–299). Thereupon Mary says, 'My Lord, this is the word Thou saidst to us formerly in a parable "Make you a friend out of the Amonas (*sic*) of wickedness, that should ye leave he may take you within the habitations for ever." What then is the Amonas of wickedness, if not the Dragon of the Outer Darkness?' (p. 300 *a*).

[1] In Crum's *Papyruscodex* p. 23, ll. 24 and 28; the same MS as *Horsiesius*.

[2] I am quite willing to believe that ⲟⲩⲕⲉⲝⲉⲥⲧⲉⲓ (so spelt, e. g. Mk. vi 18) was really part of the vernacular speech. Legislation was in Greek, so it corresponds to '*Verboten*'.

[3] The sentence in question is ⲁⲣⲁϩⲏ ⲟⲩϩⲱⲃ' ⲉϣϣⲉⲡⲉ· ϫⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ., meaning 'Is it then a thing one ought to do, or not?'

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Now obviously this is not derived directly from the Sahidic text of Lk. xvi 9, which has a correct translation of the Greek. But neither is it a correct representation of the Greek itself. Here indeed, if anywhere, *Pistis Sophia* is reporting the genuine Gnostic speculation of an earlier age, of the age indeed of Irenaeus. The Third Book of Irenaeus' great work sets forth the true Apostolical tradition, in opposition to Gnostic fancies. It sets forth the origin of the Four Gospels, of the correct tradition of the unbroken chain of witnesses at Rome, where the true Documents of the Faith, the Old and New Testaments, are preserved (*adv. Haer.* iii 1–5)[1]. In chap. vi it is shewn that no other is called God in these Scriptures but the Father and His Word. In chap. 7 the Pauline phrase 'the God of this world' (2 Cor. iv 4) is explained away. The next chapter is entitled 'What is Mammon?' At first sight it seems a curious side-issue. Irenaeus does not quote Lk. xvi 9 in this context, only Matt. vi 24, but his procedure becomes far more rational and interesting if we may suppose that he has in view 'Gnostics' who actually understood *Mammonas* (however spelt) to be the Dragon of the Abyss, with whom it was worth while to make friends.

Moreover, just before explaining that 'Mammon' is not God or Lord, Irenaeus refers to 'Render unto Caesar', adding the remark *Caesarem quidem Caesarem nominans*, i. e. Jesus meant the Emperor, not some quasi-divine Being. But in *Pistis Sophia* (p. 267 *a*) this famous saying is interpreted to mean that something is given by the soul after death to Adamas and the 'Rulers', while the true honour and glory it gives to those of the region of the Light.

I do not suppose that Irenaeus (*adv. Haer.* iii 8) is referring to *Pistis Sophia*, but I think it likely that the bizarre explanations of the texts about Caesar and Mammon given in *Pistis Sophia* were ultimately derived from Gnostic explanations of the Gospel, which (so far as these passages go) were as old as Irenaeus, and of course were not made by Copts but by Alexandrians.

This explanation of 'the Mamonas of ἀδικία' I have treated at full length because of its intrinsic interest. So far as it goes, it does not make for my general thesis, but neither does it directly favour Prof. Schmidt. I have never supposed that the only sources of the authors of the treatises in the Askew Codex were the Coptic Bible and their own imaginations. On the contrary, the free imagination of the writers played but a little part, because (as I view the matter) it was feeble and limited. I imagine that the writers had read some of the Books of Jēu in Coptic, and some 'Gnostic' sources which were originally Greek. These Gnostic works taught the fate of the soul after death: the Canonical Scriptures were believed by these writers to mean the

[1] Harvey's numeration.

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same as the esoteric Gnostic works, but the real meaning had been hidden 'in a parable'.

There is no sign that the Askew MS came out of a monastery: the monasteries were no doubt hostile to this sort of doctrine. Nor, again, is it likely that it was the work of a priest, for other and more effective mysteries than those which ordinary Christian priests perform are described with gusto. At a guess I would suggest a succession of physicians, a source which may be held to be indicated by the interest in astrology and in the processes of birth. Very likely, during the later Middle Ages, when Coptic was forgotten and the volume unreadable, it was regarded by its owners as a lucky talisman, and so survived intact, unlike most Coptic MSS, into the 18th century, when it finally found a home in a civilized land.

The argument that most strongly moves me still to maintain the Coptic origin of the treatises in the Askew Codex (viz. the Three Books which treat more or less of *Pistis Sophia*, and the untitled, but earlier, Fourth Book at the end) is that I can better understand the late developement of this curious farrago of half-understood Gnostic lore as a backwater in a backward isolated community, such as the Christendom of Upper Egypt, than as a survival of the Greek-speaking Alexandrian Gnostic schools, which at a much later date was thought worthy of translation into the dialect of Upper Egypt. Large parts of the book, including all the to us intolerable repetitions, seem to me fundamentally non-Greek. What there is valuable in it is derived no doubt from Greek, or rather Levantine, thought, but it is only here and there that this element comes to the surface.

Further, I have in this paper expressed my doubts that Coptic is a real language at all. It seems to me a literary dialect, elaborated by a society whose members learned to read and write after having more or less cut themselves off from the world. This dialect was indeed the only means of writing and of literary expression for Egyptians who could not write Greek, and so it was more or less used by that minority of the population who had any need of letters. When the Greeks were driven out of Egypt, in the 7th century, Coptic had every opportunity of becoming a real national language, but it was too artificial to last. A remnant of the Egyptians hold fast to the Christian faith of their fathers, but their language for centuries has been not Egyptian of any kind, but Arabic.

F. C. BURKITT.

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ON SOME PASSAGES IN THE BOOKS OF KINGS AND CHRONICLES.

In 2 Kings iv 13 the words הִנֵּה חָרַדְתְּ אֵלֵינוּ אֶת־כָּל־הַחֲרָדָה הַזֹּאת 'behold, thou hast been careful for us with all this care' or 'shewed us all this reverence' are, to say the least, "a peculiar expression".[1] The difficulty lies (1) in the fact that חרד is a very strong word, meaning not 'cared' or 'reverenced' but 'trembled', 'was terrified', and thus unsuitable to describe the Shunammite's feelings towards Elisha, and (2) in the use of the preposition אל which, on the only other occasion on which it follows חרד, gives the verb the sense 'turned trembling towards (a person)',[2] which is not here required. Now I have previously shewn both how Hebrew *ἅπαξ εἰρημένα* lie concealed in the Old Testament under homophonous roots and how the Hebrew ח (*ḥ*) represents the Arabic ح (*ḥ*) and خ (*ẖ*). May not the Hebrew חרד therefore represent both the Arabic خَرِدَ 'was shame-faced' and also the Arabic حَرَدَ 'separated', 'took up one's abode by oneself' (cp. حَرْدٌ, حَرِدٌ and حَرِيدٌ 'living alone')?[3] The passage under discussion should then be translated: 'behold, thou hast separated *all* this separation for me', that is, 'thou hast set apart all this privacy for me', 'made all these arrangements for me to have a room to myself', which is precisely what the woman had done, making for him 'a little chamber on the wall' and setting for him there what was necessary. She had not 'turned trembling towards him', as חרד 'trembled' would imply. The LXX, it seems, had the true meaning in mind in the translation (B) *ἰδοὺ ἐξέστησας ἡμῖν τὴν πᾶσαν ἔκτησιν (ταύτην)* 'behold, thou hast set aside all this tenure for us', or 'alienated all this property to us', where *ἐξιστάνειν* must be taken in its literal sense 'to cause to stand out' or the like in view of *ἔγκτησις* 'tenure of land', 'right of holding such property'. The alternative rendering (A) *ἰδοὺ ἐξέστησας ἡμᾶς* (acc.) *πᾶσαν τὴν ἔκστασιν ταύτην* 'behold, thou hast terrified us with all this terror' is then an alteration of an original *ἰδοὺ ἐξέστησας ἡμῖν* (dat.) *πᾶσαν τὴν ἔκστασιν ταύτην* 'behold, thou has set aside all this setting aside for us' by a copyist who failed to understand the literal meaning of *ἔκστασις* 'standing aside' and gave it the commoner meaning 'ecstasy', 'terror', by changing the case of the pronoun.[4] The

[1] Skinner *Kings* p. 292.

[2] Gen. xlii 28.

[3] Lane *Arabic-English Lexicon* I ii 544; Freytag *Lexicon Arabicum* i 364.

[4] Liddell and Scott *Greek-English Lexicon*, under *ἐξίστημι* (p. 503 a), *ἔκστασις* (pp. 443–444), and *ἔγκτησις* (p. 407 a); Preisigte *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* under the same words (cols. 516–517, 454, and 414).

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Syriac version, it may be added, also adopted a rendering identical with that found in the English Bible.

The second passage I approach with some diffidence. In 1 Kings xviii 26 the words וַיְפַסְּחוּ עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ 'and they leaped' or 'limped about the altar' have given rise to some discussion, and various emendations have been proposed. Burney suggests that the verb פִּסֵּחַ is the intensive theme of פָּסַח 'limped' (used metaphorically in *v.* 21) and describes with some scorn the pantomimic dance of the priests.[1] May we not see a confirmation of the meaning 'leaped violently', 'hopped about' or 'danced' for the root, which primarily denotes 'limped', in the Syriac ܦܣܚ 'danced'?[2] That the equation of the Hebrew *ḥ* with the Syriac *k* is permissible is shewn by the Syriac ܦܣܐ, ܦܣܚܐ, one of the forms of the Hebrew פֶּסַח 'Passover'; compare also the Assyrian *kirḫu* 'fortress' with the Syriac ܟܪܟܐ 'city'.

The meaning of the verb פָּלַע 'carved' in 1 Kings vi 29, 32, and 35 and of its derivative מִפְלָעוֹת 'carving' in 1 Kings vi 18, 29, 32 and vii 31 is established by a comparison of it with the Arabic فَلَعَ 'extracted' and فَلْعٌ 'architect's axe',[3] carving being essentially the cutting out of chips from a block of wood.

In 2 Chronicles xxii 10 וַתְּדַבֵּר אֶת־כָּל־זֶרַע הַמַּמְלָכָה 'and she destroyed all the seed royal' the verb וַתְּדַבֵּר (for which the parallel passage in 2 Kings xi 1 has וַתְּאַבֵּד 'and she destroyed') has been unjustly suspected because it is found only here in this sense, and it has been proposed to substitute for it וַתְּאַבֵּד 'and she destroyed' on the authority of the parallel passage. But once again we have two distinct roots, one of which is in the O.T. an ἅπαξ εἰρημένον, concealed under the same form. Thus דבר represents (1) the well-known verb דָּבַר 'spoke' and (2) דָּבַר 'violently entreated', which happens to have been preserved only in this passage. This second root is cognate with the Assyrian *dabru* 'violent' which occurs in the *Epic of Creation* I 142 and III 33 in the phrase *ûmi dabrûti* 'destructive spirits'[4]; the verb, as far as I know, has only been found hitherto in the participle of the IV i *mundabru* 'one who does violence' (*sens. obsc.*)[5]; compare N. Hebr. דִּבֵּר 'had

[1] Burney *Kings* p. 223.

[2] Payne-Smith *Thes. Syr.* ii 3189; Brockelmann *Lex. Syr.* 279 a.

[3] Hava *Arabic-English Dictionary* 624–625.

[4] Langdon's reading (loc. cit.) *da-ap-ru-ti* or *-te* should be corrected to *da-ab-ru-ti* (or *-te*).

[5] Delitzsch *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* 210 a; cp. Ebeling *Liebeszauber im alten Orient* p. 16 n. 22. Whether this root is connected with Ass. *dabâru* 'to drive out' and Arabic دَبَرَ 'back', &c. is uncertain.

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sexual intercourse with (a woman)'.[1] Thus the renderings of the Versions (Syr. ܐܘܒܕܬ; LXX ἀπώλεσε and Vulg. *interfecit*) do not necessarily imply a different reading from that of the Massoretic text.

G. R. DRIVER.

CHRIST AS THE APXH OF CREATION.

(Prov. viii 22, Col. i 15–18, Rev. iii 14.)

THE main object of this paper is to point out the fact—hitherto, I believe, unnoticed—that in Col. i 16–18 St Paul is giving an elaborate exposition of the first word in Genesis, בְּרֵאשִׁית *Berêshíth*, and interpreting *rêshíth* as referring to Christ. This interpretation depends, as we shall see, upon an inferred connexion between *rêshîth* of Gen. i 1 and the same term applied to Wisdom personified in Prov. viii 22, יְהוָֹה קָנָנִי רֵאשִׁית דַּרְכּוֹ *Adônāi ḳānānī rêshîth darkô*—a passage to which there is obvious reference in πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως in Col. i 15. Since the interpretation of Prov. viii 22 has raised greater controversy than that of almost any other passage in the O. T., and is still in some degree unsettled, we shall do well to begin with a discussion of it.

Interpretation of Prov. viii 22.

The renderings of A.V. and R.V. are identical:

> The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way,
> Before his works of old.

R.V., however, adds the marginal alternatives 'formed' for 'possessed', 'as' (the beginning) for 'in' (the beginning), 'The first of' for 'Before'.

Meaning of קָנָנִי.

In the first place, the fact needs emphasis that the verb קָנָה *ḳānā* always seems to possess the sense '*get, acquire*', never the sense '*possess, own*' simply, apart from the idea of possessing something which *has been acquired* in one way or another. This clearly appears from examination of the usages of the verb in Hebrew, and through comparison of the cognate languages.

There are (if my computation is correct) 88 occurrences of the verb in the Hebrew Bible and the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus. The various shades of meaning which it has may be classified as follows:—

1. '*Buy*', Gen. xxv 10, xxxiii 19, xxxix 1, xlvii 19, 20, 22, 23, xlix 30,

[1] Dalman *Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch* 90 b.

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l 13; Ex. xxi 2; Lev. xxii 11, xxv 14, 15, 28, 30, 44, 45, 50, xxvii 24; Deut. xxviii 68; Josh. xxiv 32; 2 Sam. xii 3, xxiv 21, 24 *ter*; 1 Kings xvi 24; 2 Kings xii 13, xxii 6; Isa. xxiv 2, xliii 24; Jer. xiii 1, 2, 4, xix 1, xxxii 7 *bis*, 9, 15, 25, 43, 44; Ezek. vii 12; Am. viii 6; Zech. xi 5, xiii 5 (s.v.l.); Prov. xx 14; Ru. iv 4, 5 *bis*, 8, 9, 10; Eccles. ii 7; Neh. v 8, 16; 1 Chron. xxi 24 *bis*; 2 Chron. xxxiv 11; Ecclus. xxxvii 11. Total 60.

2. '*Own*' (by right of purchase), Isa. i 3 ('The ox knoweth its owner'). Gesenius (*Thesaurus*, *s.v.*) also includes under this head Lev. xxv 30; Zech. xi 5; but seeing that in both these passages there is an antithesis between קנה and מכר 'sell', it is clear that the sense 'buy' is intended, and that they belong to the first category, where we have included them. Total 1.

3. '*Acquire*' (otherwise than by purchase). '*Get*' wisdom, &c., by application of the mind and will, Prov. i 5, iv 5 *bis*, 7 *bis*, xv 32, xvi 16 *bis*, xvii 16, xviii 15, xix 8, xxiii 23; Ecclus. li 20, 21, 25, 28. Of these passages Prov. xxiii 23 ('Get truth, and sell it not') shews that the metaphor of *buying* is in the writer's mind. '*Get*' a wife, Ecclus. xxxvi 29. Of Yahweh's *acquiring* Israel, Ex. xv 16; Isa. xi 11, Ps. lxxiv 2; obj. 'the hill' of Zion, Ps. lxxviii 54. Total 21.

4. (*a*) '*Beget*', Deut. xxxii 6 ('Is He not thy Father that begat thee? He made thee and established thee'). (*b*) '*Get*' (by bearing), Gen. iv 1 ('I have gotten a man with [the help of] Yahweh'. The verb is here chosen to explain the name קַיִן *Ḳáyin*). Total 2.

5. '*Create*', Gen. xiv 19, 22 ('Creator of heaven and earth'), Ps. cxxxix 13 ('For thou hast formed my reins'). Total 3.

These, with Prov. viii 22 (where the meaning of the verb must for the present be considered ambiguous), make up the sum total of 88.

To make this evidence complete we must briefly notice the usages of substantives derived from the root. These are—

קִנְיָן *ḳinyān*. 1. '*Acquisition*' (by purchase), Lev. xxii 11. 2. '*Property*' (as *acquired*), Gen. xxxiv 23, xxxvi 6; Josh. xiv 4; Ezek. xxxviii 12, 13; Ps. cv 21.

3. '*Act of acquiring*', Gen. xxxi 18; Prov. iv 7. 4. '*Creation*', i. e. collectively '*creatures*' (parallel to מַעֲשֶׂיךָ 'Thy works'), Ps. civ 24.

מִקְנָה *miḳnā*. 1. '*Object purchased*', Gen. xvii 12, 13, 23, 27, xxiii 18. 2. '*Act of purchase*', Lev. xxvii 22; Jer. xxxii 11, 12 *bis*, 14, 16. 3. '*Purchase-price*', Lev. xxv 16 *bis*, 51.

מִקְנֶה *miḳné*. '*Property*', more especially such as consists in *cattle*. This is very frequent. That the underlying conception is that of something *acquired* (cf. κτῆνος from κτάομαι) is clear from Gen. xlix 32, 'The *purchase* of the field (i. e. the purchased field) and the cave that is in it from the sons of Heth' (to secure a good sequence in English R.V.

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transposes, 'The field, &c., that was purchased from the children of Heth'.

To this evidence for the Hebrew usage of the verb קנה it is important for our purpose to add the proper name אֶלְקָנָה *Elḳānā*, which can hardly mean anything else than '(He whom) God has begotten *or* created'. Whether *ḳānā* here has the sense 'beget' or 'create' is ambiguous. If the former, the name is analogous to the frequent proper names compounded with אָב *'āb* 'father' in reference to the Deity, e.g. Abiel 'My Father is God', Abijah 'My Father is Yah' (cf. in Babylonian such names as Šamaš-abum 'The Sun-god is father', Sin-abušu 'The Moon-god is his father'); if the latter, we may compare El'āsā, 'Asāhēl 'God-made' (sc. the bearer of the name). 'Asaiah 'Yah made', Ya'asiel 'Yah maker' (cf. in Babylonian the frequent names compounded with *bâni* 'creator', e.g. Anum-bâni, Sin-bâni, Šamaš-bâni 'The god Anu *or* Sin *or* Šamaš is creator', Ilušu-bâni 'His god is creator', Ilušu-ibni 'His god created', Ilušu-ibnišu 'His god created him'.[1]) Elḳānā in O.T. is the name of several persons, being borne by the father of Samuel (1 Sam. i f), one of David's warriors (1 Chr. xii 6), a high official in the time of Ahaz (2 Chr. xxviii 7), a son of Korah (Exod. vi 24), and several Levites (1 Chr. vi 8, 10, 11, 20, 21, ix 16, xv 23). The repeated occurrence of the name over a widespread period is important as proving that the verb קנה in the sense 'beget' or 'create' was well known in popular usage, and not an uncommon usage as might be inferred from the few cases which we are able to cite (*ḳānā* verb **4** and **5**, and *ḳinyān* subst. **4**).

In face of this evidence we must surely conclude that the ground-meaning of *ḳānā* is that of *acquiring* something not previously possessed, which may be done by *buying* or *making* it, in the case of a child by *begetting* it, in the case of wisdom by *accumulating* it through mental application. The single instance of the verb in the sense '*own*' (Isa. i 3), in which there seems to be no perceptible stress upon the act of *acquiring*, is no evidence in proof that *ḳānā* ever means to *possess* in a sense which excludes the idea of previous acquisition. The ox of the passage in question is far from being inseparable from the man who owns it. There was a time when it did not belong to him; therefore, when Hebrew speaks of *its owner*, it uses a term which properly means '*he who has acquired it*' (קֹנֵהוּ). This is also true of the substantival forms derived from *ḳānā* which bear the sense of *property* or *possessions*. The underlying idea is always that of *acquired* property. The Hebrew *ḳānā*, in fact, in so far as it contains the idea of *possessing*, is exactly like the Greek κτάομαι (in the perfect), and the substantives derived from it like κτῆμα. A man's money, furniture, children, knowledge, are

[1] Cf. instances of these names cited in Thureau-Dangin *Lettres et Contrats de l'époque de la Première Dynastie babylonienne.*

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ḳinyānîm or κτήματα because he *has come to possess* them; his legs and arms, for example, are not *ḳinyānîm* or κτήματα because they are inseparable from our idea of him as a complete man—there never was a time when he did not possess them. Of course if we shifted our point of view, and regarded the man as a pre-existing spiritual entity subsequently endowed with a body, we might think of his body as a *ḳinyān* or κτῆμα, since thus the body and its members would be pictured as *acquired* property.

Evidence from the cognate languages as to the meaning of קָנָה.

This conclusion as to the ground-conception of the verb קנה in Biblical Hebrew is borne out by the usage of the same root in the cognate languages.

In New Hebrew the meaning of קני, קנה is 'acquire, buy', and also 'create'. Cf. *Rosh ha-shana* 31 *a*, בראשון מה היו אומרין לה' הארץ על שם שקנה והקנה ושלים בעולמו, 'On the first day what (Psalm) do they recite? "The earth is the Lord's" (Ps. xxiv); because He created His world and gave it in possession, and is ruler over it.' Here קנה והקנה means literally '*acquired* (by creation) and *caused* (men) *to acquire* (it)'. Cf. other instances of the use of the verb in Levy *Neuheb. u. chald. Wörterbuch*, *s.v.*

Aramaic קנא, Syriac ܩܢܐ *ḳ*ᵉ*nā* corresponds in usage precisely with Hebrew. The O.T. occurrences of Hebrew *ḳānā* are regularly reproduced by *ḳ*ᵉ*nā* in the Targums and the Peshîṭṭā,[1] and in addition Heb. רָכַשׁ *rākash* 'gather property' is rendered by *ḳ*ᵉ*nā* in the Aramaic versions (Gen. xii 5, xxxi 18, xxxvi 6, xlvi 6), and רְכוּשׁ '(gathered) property' normally by *ḳinyānā* (*niksín* 'riches', *s*ᵉ*gullā* 'treasure' also occur as renderings). The N.T. and patristic occurrences of ܩܢܐ exhibit the same usage (cf. Payne Smith *Thesaurus*, *s.v.*).

Arabic قنا *ḳanā* means 'to acquire' (e. g. sheep or goats) for a permanent possession, not for sale (Lane, Supplement to *Dict.*), and in conjugation VIII 'to possess' property so acquired. The verb may also have the sense 'create' (Kamus, p. 1937, اقتناء الله خلقه).

In Sabaean votive inscriptions the causative הקני *haḳnī* is the regular term for 'dedicate', i. e. 'cause to acquire'; cf. *CIS.* iv nos. 2^{8}, 3^{3}, 30^{2}, 37^{1}, 75^{2}, 77–91, &c. In *ib.* no. 37^{5} we find the simple stem, . . . דקני ועסי . . . ותברהו, 'and his riparian property . . . which he acquired and made'. The subst. קני means 'property'; *ib.* nos. 3^{3}, 29^{8}, 37^{1}.

[1] Exceptions are Prov. viii 22, where both Targ. and Pesh. use the verb ברא 'created' (see below on the Versions), and Deut. xxxii 6 where Targ. Onkelos paraphrases קָנֶךָ 'who begat thee' by וְאַתְּ דְּיִלֵיהּ 'and thou art His', doubtless in order to obviate the anthropomorphism of the original.

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Ethiopic ፍጥረ: *ḳanaya*. Dillmann (*Lex.*, cols. 44–78) gives as meanings (1) 'Acquire, purchase', citing Am. viii 6, 'To buy the poor for silver'; (2) 'Subject to one's power, reduce to servitude'; (3) 'Impose labour, drive to work'. He makes no mention of a sense 'possess' in Ethiopic.

In Babylonian the verb *ḳanû* seems to be infrequent. Meissner, however, quotes two instances of it (*Supplement*, p. 85); *amar ša abûa* [*ina*] *ṣilli šarri iḳ-nu-u-ni intaš*, 'All that my father acquired under the protection of the king he has taken away' (K. 1101, 16; Harper *Letters* no. 152); *eklé kiré niše ša ina ṣilli'a iḳ-nu-u*, 'The fields, gardens, (and) slaves which under my protection they acquired' (BA. 2, 566, 24). Here we might perhaps render 'owned' in place of 'acquired'; yet still the reference would be to the *owning* of wealth *acquired* during a period of prosperity.

Importance of recognizing that the sense 'acquire' is inseparable from קָנָה.

The evidence adduced above as to the meaning of *ḳānā* is familiar to competent Hebrew scholars, and the conclusion which we have drawn as to its invariable ground-conception would hardly be called in question by them. The reason why it has seemed desirable to marshal the facts in such fullness is that, in the controversy which has raged round קָנָנִי in Prov. viii 22, they have not been rightly apprehended by theologians, either in the past or in modern times. Thus, for example, Dr Liddon in his *Bampton Lectures* (Lect. ii, 13th ed. pp. 61 f.) states that 'modern critics know that if we are to be guided by the clear certain sense of the Hebrew root, we shall read "possessed", and not "created", and they admit without difficulty that the Wisdom is uncreated by and co-eternal with the Lord Jehovah'.[1] He adds in a foot-note that 'the current meaning of the word is "to acquire" or "possess", as is proved by its certain sense in the great majority of cases where it is used'. Here it is clear that he fails to recognize the sharp distinction which exists between the meaning 'acquire' and the meaning 'possess' with the force in which he postulates it, viz. 'possess' in a sense which not only ignores the idea of preliminary acquisition, but is actually to be understood as excluding such an idea. But, if our argument has been sound, this distinction forms the *crux* of the question. The idea of *creation* is closely connected with the idea of *acquisition* as being one form of it; whereas the idea of *possession without acquisition* stands sharply apart,

[1] Similar statements as to the incorrectness of the rendering 'created', and the correctness of 'possessed', are made by Newman *Select Treatises of St Athanasius* ii p. 270; Ottley *Incarnation* i p. 305.

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and cannot, as we have seen, be substantiated for a single occurrence of the verb.

We are justified, therefore, in concluding that קָנָנִי cannot rightly be rendered 'possessed me', but must have the meaning 'gat me' in some sense still to be determined. Now the idea of *buying* or *acquiring from an outside source* may clearly be excluded without argument, since Wisdom is certainly not pictured as something originally external to God. We thus have to choose between the two meanings 'created' or 'begat'.

Does קָנָנִי *mean 'created me' or 'begat me'?*
Meaning of נִסַּכְתִּי, חוֹלָלְתִּי *in following verses.*

Our decision must be guided by the meaning which we attach to the verbs descriptive of the production of Wisdom in the immediate sequel, Prov. viii 23–25. These are נִסַּכְתִּי *nissakti* in *v.* 23, חוֹלָלְתִּי *hôlālti* twice in *vv.* 24, 25. There is no variation between the renderings of A.V. and R.V. in these verses.

23. I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning,
Or ever the earth was.

24. When there were no depths, I was brought forth;
When there were no fountains abounding with water.

25. Before the mountains were settled,
Before the hills was I brought forth.

Now we observe that, while there is no doubt at all as to the meaning of חוֹלָלְתִּי—'I was brought to the birth' or 'was travailed with', there *is* more than a doubt whether נִסַּכְתִּי is correctly rendered 'I was set up'. Though this meaning may be supported by the single occurrence of the verb in Ps. ii 6, נָסַכְתִּי מַלְכִּי 'I have installed my king' (cf. Babylonian *nasâku* 'appoint'), and by the subst. נָסִיךְ *nâsîk* 'prince' (Babylonian *nasîku*), Josh. xiii 21, Mic. v 4, Ezek. xxxii 30, Ps. lxxxiii 12, we cannot fail to observe that the interpretation of נִסַּכְתִּי in our passage as the Niph'al of this verb involves an unnatural hysteron-proteron, the official installation of Wisdom being mentioned prior to the repeated figure of the birth-pangs which produced it. We notice further that נִסַּכְתִּי might be the Niph'al of another root נָסַךְ 'to weave' (Arabic نَسَجَ *nasağa*), which occurs in Isa. xxv 7, xxx 1 (probably), and in the subst. מַסֵּכָה *massēka*, מַסֶּכֶת *masséketh*, 'web, piece of woven stuff'; *or*, it might be Niph'al of the related סָכַךְ *sākak*, 'interweave' (whence New Heb. תְּסִיךְ 'weave'), of the form which is illustrated by Gesenius-Kautzsch *Heb. Gram.* § 67 *u* (נֶחַל from חלל, Ezek. xxii 16, xxv 3; נֶחַר from חרר, Ps. lxix 4, cii 4, &c.).

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Now there are two O.T. passages in which this verb סכך (שׂכך) is applied to the *weaving* of the embryonic body in the womb, the thought being of the mysterious interlacing (as it were) of bones, sinews, and veins, as appears from the passage Job x 11.

עוֹר וּבָשָׂר תַּלְבִּישֵׁנִי
וּבְעֲצָמוֹת וְגִידִים תְּשֻׂכְּכֵנִי׃

With skin and flesh didst Thou clothe me;
With bones and sinews didst Thou weave me.

(So R.V. rightly, 'knit me together'. A.V. wrongly, 'fenced me', *marg.* 'hedged').

The other passage is Ps. cxxxix 13.

כִּי־אַתָּה קָנִיתָ כִלְיֹתָי
תְּסֻכֵּנִי בְּבֶטֶן אִמִּי׃

For *Thou* didst form my reins;
Thou didst weave me in my mother's womb.

(A.V., R.V. *text* wrongly 'didst cover me'; R.V. *marg.* rightly, 'didst knit me together').

The meaning of תְּסֻכֵּנִי 'didst weave me' is further illustrated by *v.* 15 רֻקַּמְתִּי *rukkamtí*, 'I was skilfully wrought' or '*embroidered*', the figure being that of the working of a piece of tapestry (רִקְמָה *rikmā*, Judg. v 30, &c.).

Conclusion that קָנָנִי *means 'begat me'.*

If, then, in Prov. viii 23 (stage 2) נְסַכְתִּי means 'I was woven' (prenatal growth of the embryo),[1] and in *vv.* 24, 25 (stage 3) חוֹלָלְתִּי means 'I was brought forth with travail' (birth), the inference is obvious that the figure described in *v.* 22 by (stage 1) קָנָנִי is 'beget me' (act of procreation). We notice that Job x 10—the verse which immediately precedes the passage which we have discussed as referring to embryonic growth—runs,

Hast Thou not poured me out like milk,
And curdled me like cheese?

Here, without a doubt, the figure is that of (*a*) procreation, and (*b*) conception (cf. Gray and Ball *ad loc.*, and for the idea underlying (*b*) Wisd. vii 2 *παγεὶς ἐν αἵματι* with Goodrick's note).

Thus this long discussion brings us, with close approximation to certainty, to the conclusion that יהוה קנני means 'The Lord *begat* me'.

[1] This is the view of Hitzig, Ewald, Zöckler, Frankenberg, Toy.

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Interpretation of רֵאשִׁית דַּרְכּוֹ קֶדֶם מִפְעָלָיו.

Passing on to consider the rival interpretations of רֵאשִׁית דַּרְכּוֹ 'the beginning of His way' as (1) an adverbial accusative '*in* the beginning of His way' (A.V., R.V. *text*), or (2) a direct accusative in apposition to the object of קָנָנִי, '*as* the beginning of His way' (R.V. *margin*), we note that an adverbial usage of רֵאשִׁית is never elsewhere found in O.T.,[1] '*in* the beginning' being regularly expressed by prefix of the preposition ב (Gen. i 1; Jer. xxvi 1, xxvii 1, xxviii 1, xlix 34). The absence of a parallel for such a usage cannot, however, be greatly pressed; since the adverbial usage is well illustrated with other substantives,[2] and is thus theoretically possible. In particular, we may notice two passages in which the synonymous substantive תְּחִלָּה 'beginning' seems to be used as an accusative of time: Hos. i 2 תְּחִלַּת דִּבֶּר יְהוָה בְּהוֹשֵׁעַ וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה, lit. 'Beginning of Yahweh spake by Hosea, and (= then) Yahweh said', i.e. 'In the beginning of Yahweh's speaking by Hosea, Yahweh said' (the construction is, however, undoubtedly harsh, and some uncertainty attaches to text and interpretation); 2 Sam. xxi 9 *K*^{e}*thibh* תְּחִלַּת קְצִיר שְׂעֹרִים 'in the beginning of barley-harvest' (here, however, there exists a Massoretic correction embodied in the *k*^{e}*ré* which inserts the preposition ב 'in' before תחלת).

Jerome (*Ep.* cxl *ad Cyprianum*) cites the Hebrew of our passage in transliteration with the preposition ב before ראשית, *Adonai canani bresith dercho.* Since, however, we have no trace of this reading elsewhere, it seems likely that, having decided that the use of ראשית was adverbial, he instinctively substituted בראשית with preposition in citing the passage from memory, because the prepositional usage was natural in this sense to a scholar with a feeling for the language. Such inadvertency would of course have been impossible had it appeared to him that a question of importance turned upon the interpretation of the phrase. This, however, does not seem to have been the case, since his whole interest in the exegesis of the passage centres in postulating for קָנָנִי the meaning 'possedit' rather than 'creavit'.

In favour of the interpretation of רֵאשִׁית דַּרְכּוֹ as a direct accusative in apposition to the object of קָנָנִי, we may cite the parallel of Job xl 19, where it is said of Behemoth, הוּא רֵאשִׁית דַּרְכֵי־אֵל 'He is the first of God's ways', i.e. the prime fruit of His creative activity.

Interpretation of the corresponding phrase in the parallel line, קֶדֶם מִפְעָלָיו, to some extent hangs together with that of רֵאשִׁית דַּרְכּוֹ; and thus

[1] The statement of Cornelius à Lapide that רֵאשִׁית is often used for בְּרֵאשִׁית has no foundation.

[2] Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch *Grammar* § 118 *i*.

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A.V., R.V. *text*, having rendered רֵאשִׁית דַּרְכּוֹ 'in the beginning of His way', gives to the corresponding expression the meaning 'before His works', intending doubtless to obviate the inference that Wisdom is described as one of the created works of God. R.V. *margin*, on the other hand, parallels the direct accusative 'as the beginning of His way' in stichos 1 by a second direct accusative in stichos 2, likewise governed by קָנָנִי—'the first of His works'.

קֶדֶם is regularly a substantive denoting *that which is in front* or *foremost*, whether in place or time. Its interpretation in a prepositional sense, 'before', is unparalleled in Hebrew, and this rendering may be definitely excluded, unless we are prepared to revocalize the word as the Aramaic קֳדָם, an expedient which can hardly be contemplated seriously. The natural interpretation of קֶדֶם מִפְעָלָיו is 'the foremost (in time) of His works', Wisdom being regarded as one of the works of God, though indefinitely anterior to all other works which she was instrumental in calling into being. It would, however, be legitimate to render, 'the antecedent of His works'—a rendering which serves merely to state the priority of Wisdom to the works of God, without necessarily placing her in the same category with them. This rendering appears to be preferable, as preserving a measure of ambiguity which is inherent in the original.

Lastly, מֵאָז, rendered by A.V., R.V. 'of old', and referring, like the expressions which follow in *vv.* 23–25, to remotest antiquity, is intended to qualify קָנָנִי ('begat me of old'), and should therefore be preceded by a comma in the English renderings in order to obviate connexion with 'His works' (as though, 'His works which were of old').

We arrive, then, at the following rendering for the verse as a whole:—

> The Lord begat me as the beginning of His way,
> The antecedent of His works, of old.

The Versions.

The renderings of Prov. viii 22 in the principal ancient Versions are as follows:—

LXX. Κύριος ἔκτισέν με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ. κτίζειν is also found as the rendering of קנה in Gen. xiv 19, 22, and Jer. xxxix (xxxii) 15 (where, however, κτισθήσονται is probably an error for κτηθήσονται). We find ἀγοράζειν in Ecclus. xxxvii 11 and γεννᾶν in Zech. xiii 5 (Hiph'il). Elsewhere, κτᾶσθαι is the regular equivalent, and this verb is employed in our passage by the later Greek translators Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.

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'A. Κύριος ἐκτήσατό με κεφάλαιον [ὁδοῦ] αὐτοῦ, ἀρχῆθεν κατεργασμάτων αὐτοῦ [ἀπὸ τότε].

Σ. Κύριος ἐκτήσατό με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ, πρὸ τῆς ἐργασίας αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τότε.

Θ. Κύριος ἐκτήσατό με ἀρχὴν ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ, πρὸ τῆς ἐργασίας αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τότε.

Peshiṭtā. ܡܪܝܐ ܩܢܝܢ ܐܢܐ ܫܘܪܝܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܗ : ܩܕܡ ܥܒܕ ܡܢ ܪܫ ܕܥܠܡ ܗܘ ܐܬܝܣܕ ܐܢܐ.

'The Lord created me in the beginning of His creation, and before all His works'.

Targum. אֱלָהָא בְּרָאַנִי בְּרֵישׁ בְּרִיְתֵהּ וּמִן קֳדָם עוֹבָדוֹי מִן רֵישׁ

'God created me in the beginning of His creation, and before His works from the beginning.'

Vulgate. Dominus possedit me in initio viarum suarum, antequam quidquam faceret a principio.

Here we observe that, with the exception of the Vulgate, all Versions give a legitimate sense to קָנָנִי—LXX, Pesh., Targ. 'created me'; A', Σ., Θ., 'gat possession of me'. Vulg. 'possedit' stands alone, and it is a mistake to group it, as has sometimes been done, with ἐκτήσατο of the later Greek Versions, because the idea of *acquiring*, which is inherent in ἐκτήσατο as in קָנָנִי, is absent in 'possedit'; and, as we shall notice presently when speaking of the explanations of the Fathers, this rendering was chosen by Jerome expressly to exclude the conception of *acquiring*.

The explanation of רֵאשִׁית דַּרְכּוֹ as a direct accusative is adopted by all the Greek Versions; while Pesh., Targ., Vulg., interpret the phrase adverbially. On the other hand, all the Versions give to קֶדֶם a prepositional sense 'before'.

Jewish authorities.

In the Wisdom of Ben-Sira the following passages are clearly based on Prov. viii 22.

Ecclus. i. 4

προτέρα πάντων ἔκτισται σοφία,
καὶ σύνεσις φρονήσεως ἐξ αἰῶνος.

Here we have the interpretation 'created me as the beginning of His way'.

Ecclus. i 9

Κύριος αὐτὸς ἔκτισεν αὐτήν,
καὶ ἐξέχεεν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ.

ἐξέχεεν seems to take נִסְכְּתִי of Prov. viii 23 in the sense 'I was poured out'.

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Ecclus. xxiv 8, 9 (Wisdom speaks)

8 *τότε ἐνετείλατό μοι ὁ κτίστης ἁπάντων,*
καὶ ὁ κτίσας με κατέπαυσεν τὴν σκηνήν μου.
9 *πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἔκτισέν με,*
καὶ ἕως αἰῶνος οὐ μὴ ἐκλίπω.

None of these passages is included among the extant fragments of the Hebrew text.

Philo *De Ebrietate* § 8

ὁ θεὸς ἐκτήσατό με πρωτίστην τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔργων,
καὶ πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐθεμελίωσέ με.

Here we notice that, while the first line varies from LXX and is obviously based on an independent knowledge of the Hebrew, whether direct or indirect, the second line is drawn directly from the LXX rendering of *v.* 23*a*. The rendering 'the very first of His works' seems to combine the parallel phrases רֵאשִׁית דַּרְכּוֹ and קֶדֶם מִפְעָלָיו. *ἐθεμελίωσέ με*, the LXX rendering of נִסַּכְתִּי in *v.* 23, which A.V., R.V. render 'I was set up', but for which we have postulated the meaning 'I was woven', may imply connexion with a verb נָסַךְ which is used of *casting* or *founding* an article of metal, such as a molten image; unless, as is possible, LXX read נוֹסַדְתִּי 'my foundations were laid' in place of נִסַּכְתִּי.

Ibn Ezra interprets קָנָנִי in accordance with the use of the verb in Gen. iv 19, 22 ('create', which is the explanation given by Rashi in Gen.). He explains רֵאשִׁית דַּרְכּוֹ as meaning first in order among created things, as in the passage in Job xl 19, 'He is the first of God's ways'; and states that קֶדֶם מִפְעָלָיו is the equivalent of קֶדֶם, רֵאשִׁית דַּרְכּוֹ being synonymous with רֵאשִׁית.

R Levi. ben-Gershom interprets קָנָנִי 'created me', and explains the passage as meaning that Wisdom was created prior to the other works of God.

The Fathers.

The interpretations of Prov. viii 22 offered by the Fathers depend, with but few exceptions, on the LXX rendering *Κύριος ἔκτισέν με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ*, not attempting to go behind and challenge it. The Arians used the passage as one of their principal proofs that the Second Person of the holy Trinity is a created Being. The orthodox replied that His Divine Sonship is fully proved by the whole tenor of Scripture; therefore the Arian interpretation of this obscure passage

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is certainly wrong. For things created and made are external to the maker; whereas the Son exists not external to, but of, the Father who begat Him.[1] In regard to the meaning of ἔκτισεν different views are found. It is argued that the verb does not necessarily mean 'created out of nothing', and therefore affords no argument against the eternal generation of the Son of the substance of the Father.[2] Taken absolutely, it may be referred to the mode of generation without change or passion in the Divine Generator[3]; or, regarded as limited by its close connexion with ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ, it refers, not to the eternal generation of the Son, but to His position in regard to creation, in a sense which practically amounts to 'constituted Me head of creation'.[4] A very general tendency, however, is to accept the rendering 'created' in its ordinary sense, and interpret the passage as prophetic of the Incarnation.[5]

We find that some few of the Fathers go behind and challenge the LXX rendering of קָנָנִי. First we may notice a group who, though not themselves authorities as to the meaning of the Hebrew, are yet aware of other Greek translations offering a different rendering, viz. ἐκτήσατο. Such are Eusebius,[6] who refers to Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion; St Epiphanius,[7] who mentions the rendering of Aquila; and St Basil[8] and St Gregory of Nyssa,[9] who speak without specification of 'other

[1] Cf. St Athanasius *de Decretis Nicaenae Synodi* 13.

[2] Cf. St Athanasius *Orat. c. Arianos* ii 44 εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ἀγγέλου ἢ ἑτέρου τινὸς τῶν γενητῶν ἐστι τὸ γεγραμμένον, ὡς περὶ ἑνὸς ἡμῶν τῶν ποιημάτων ἔστω λεγόμενον τὸ "ἔκτισέ με"· εἰ δὲ ἡ Σοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστιν, ἐν ᾗ πάντα τὰ γενητὰ δεδημιούργηται, ἡ περὶ ἑαυτῆς λέγουσα, τί δεῖ νοεῖν ἢ ὅτι τὸ "ἔκτισε" φάσκουσα, οὐκ ἐναντίον τῷ "ἐγέννησε" λέγει;

[3] So St Hilary *de Synodis* 16, 17. The same idea, though less clearly expressed, seems to underlie his *de Trin.* i 35, xii 1, 35. It is also found in the statement of the semi-Arian party drawn up under the leadership of Basil of Ancyra: cf. St Epiphanius *Haer.* lxxiii 20.

[4] Athenagoras *Supplic.* x 2, 3 argues that the Son was γέννημα to the Father for the work of creation, and then supports his position by quotation of Prov. viii 22. Tertullian *c. Hermog.* 18 explains, 'Sophia scilicet ipsius exinde nata et condita, ex quo in sensu Dei ad opera mundi disponenda coepit agitari'; Didymus *fragm. in Prov.* (*P. G.* xxxix 1629 D–1632 D) distinguishes the reference of ἔκτισεν in Prov. viii 22 from the eternal being of ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ Σοφία and associates it not with οὐσίωσις but with σχέσις πρὸς τὰ κτίσματα, and then goes on to interpret of the Incarnation; cf. his *frag. in 1 Cor. v 17* (*P. G.* xxxix 1705 D–1708 A). Dionysius of Rome (*apud* Athan. *de Decretis* 26) explains ἔκτισεν as 'He set over the works made by Him through the Son Himself'.

[5] So St Athanasius *de Decretis* 14; *Orat. c. Arianos* ii 1; St Gregory of Nazianzus *Orat.* xxx 2; St Augustine *de Trin.* i 12 (24). A long list (yet not professing completeness) of writers taking this view is given by Petavius *Theol. dogm.* ii 1 § 3.

[6] *De Ecclesiastica Theologia* iii 2, 3.

[7] *Contra Haereses* II lxix 25.

[8] *Adv. Eunomium* ii 20.

[9] *Contra Eunomium* i.

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Greek translators'. St Basil may be cited as making perhaps the most acute comment on the meaning of the passage which is to be found in the Fathers. 'We must not', he remarks, 'ignore the fact that other interpreters, who have reached the meaning of the Hebrew more aptly, render *ἐκτήσατό με* instead of *ἔκτισεν*. This will offer them [the Arians] the greatest obstacle against the blasphemy of their creaturely interpretation. For he who said, "I have gotten a man through God", manifestly used the expression not as the creator of Cain, but as his generator.'[1] St Epiphanius similarly cites the parallel usage of *ἐκτησάμην* = קָנִיתִי in Gen. iv 1; but then somewhat strangely rejects the explanation on the ground that *ἐκτησάμην υἱόν* describes an event which is recent, whereas in God nothing is recent.[2] By this objection he presumably means that קָנָה = 'beget' properly implies, as in its ordinary sense 'get', the obtaining of something which at one period was unpossessed—and this, if we press the force of the expression, is of course true. The answer is to be found in the consideration that human terminology, framed to describe events happening in time, is inadequate to the description of eternal facts. But objection to the use of קָנָה in the sense 'begat' might equally be aimed against the use of the terms 'Father' and 'Son' in view of their human implications, as in the Arian logic. Epiphanius proceeds to express his preference for the strange view that קִנְּנִי is a denominative from the Hebrew קֵן 'nest', and give it the meaning *ἐνόσσευσέ με*, 'hatched me like a nestling'. Such a denominative would take the form קִנְּנַנִי from קֵנֵּן, and not קִנְּנִי from קָנָה; and the verb, which occurs but five times in the Hebrew Bible, means 'to nest', and not 'to hatch'. Epiphanius must presumably have obtained this suggestion from a Jewish source; for we find it appearing in later ages, together with other explanations, in Rashi's commentary on Deut. xxxvi 6 הֲלֹא־הוּא אָבִיךָ קִנָּךְ 'Is not He thy Father that begat thee?'

We come now to St Jerome, who was the first of the Fathers to apply an original knowledge of Hebrew to the elucidation of the passage. In his commentary on Ephesians ii 10 (dated by Vallarsi A. D. 388) he is still dependent on the LXX, and applies the rendering *ἔκτισέν με* to our Lord's Incarnation, arguing that in this respect He

[1] *Τέως γε μὴν μηδὲ ἐκεῖνο ὑπαρασήμαντον καταλίπωμεν, ὅτι ἄλλοι τῶν ἑρμηνέων, οἱ καιριώτερον τῆς σημασίας τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν καθικόμενοι, ἐκτήσατό με ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔκτισεν ἐκδεδώκασιν. ὅπερ μέγιστον αὐτοῖς ἐμπόδιον ἔσται πρὸς τὴν βλασφημίαν τοῦ κτίσματος. ὁ γὰρ εἰπών, ἐκτησάμην ἄνθρωπον διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐχὶ κτίσας τὸν Καΐν, ἀλλὰ γεννήσας, ταύτῃ φαίνεται χρησάμενος τῇ φωνῇ.* The words 'he who said' imply a mistaken reference of *καὶ εἶπεν* to Adam, whereas it is clear from the Hebrew fem. וַתֹּאמֶר that Eve is the speaker.

[2] *Ἀλλ' οὔτε Ἀκύλας τὴν δύναμιν ἡρμήνευσε. Καὶ γὰρ τό, Ἐκτησάμην υἱὸν, ὡς πρόσφατόν ἐστιν, ἐν Θεῷ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔνι πρόσφατον.*

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may legitimately be called a creature. 'Since Wisdom in the Proverbs of Solomon speaks of herself as created a beginning of the ways of God, and many, through fear lest they should be obliged to call Christ a creature, deny the whole mystery of Christ, and say that not Christ, but the world's wisdom, is meant by this wisdom, we freely declare that there is no hazard in calling Him creature Whom we confess with all confidence of our hope to be "worm", and "man", and "crucified", and "curse".'

In his commentary on Micah iv 8, 9, however (assigned to A. D. 392), he has reached another view through study of the Hebrew text: 'et qui ex persona assumpti hominis ait in Proverbiis: Dominus creavit me in principio viarum suarum in opera sua, sive ut in Hebraeo scribitur: Dominus possedit me: *canani* enim non creavit me sed possedit me habuitque significat'. Similarly in his commentary on Isaiah xxvi 13 (assigned to *c.* A.D. 410) he says, 'Quod quidem et de Sapientia legimus, quae iuxta Hebraicum loquitur in Proverbiis: Deus possedit me initium viarum suarum, licet quaedam exemplaria male pro possessione habeant creaturam'. His strongest expression of opinion as to the interpretation of the verb is found in *Ep.* cxl *ad Cyprianum*, where he argues against the meaning 'create' for קָנָה on the ground that this meaning is expressed by the verb בָּרָא, while קָנָה properly means 'possess'. 'Inter possessionem autem et creationem multa diversitas est. Possessio significat, quod semper Filius in Patre et Pater in Filio fuerit. Creatio autem eius, qui prius non erat, conditionis exordium'.

This is a meaning for the verb קָנָה—*possession*, not merely ignoring the conception of preliminary acquisition inherent in the verb, but actually to be understood as excluding it—which, if our argument as to the usage of the verb has been sound, can by no means be substantiated; yet St Jerome's verdict has satisfied subsequent theological thought, and is generally accepted by theologians at the present day.

Col. i 15 πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, *a direct allusion to* יְהוָה קָנָנִי רֵאשִׁית דַּרְכּוֹ.

I turn, now, back to St Paul, whose authority I claim in support of my interpretation of Prov. viii 22. No one can contemplate the rendering which I have, as I hope, substantiated for יְהוָה קָנָנִי רֵאשִׁית דַּרְכּוֹ 'The Lord begat me as the beginning of His way' (i. e. His creative activity) without perceiving that πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως 'the first-begotten of all creation' can hardly be other than a direct reference to the O.T. passage. This conclusion, which at first I supposed to have been unnoticed (it is not found, for example, in Lightfoot's commentary), I have since discovered to have been anticipated by St

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Epiphanius (*c. Haer.* II lxxiii 7). His words are, 'In place of *ἀρχήν* the Apostle used *πρῶτος*, in place of *γεννᾷ με* (i.e. the LXX rendering of חוֹלַלְתִּי 'I was brought forth' in *v.* 25) the term *τόκος*, for the whole statement *Ἔκτισέν με ἀρχὴν ὁδων αὐτοῦ* and *Γεννᾷ με* the expression *Πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*, instead of *ἐθεμελίωσέν με* (*v.* 23) the statement *Ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα*, instead of *Δι' ἐμοῦ*[1] the statement *Ἀπ' αἰῶνος, εἴτε θρόνοι, εἴτε κυριότητες, εἴτε ἀρχαί, εἴτε ἐξουσίαι, τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκτισται.*'

Here Epiphanius, having elsewhere, as we have noticed, rejected the meaning 'begat me' for קָנָנִי, does not recognize that this verb corresponds to the second portion of the term *πρωτότοκος*, but finds a correspondence less naturally in *γεννᾷ με* three verses later. The verses which follow in Col. i 16–18 as a development of *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως* are not simply, as St Epiphanius supposes, reminiscent of Prov. viii 22 and its context, but are based upon another O.T. passage, immediately suggested to the Apostle by the allusion in Proverbs. Without a doubt he is passing from the use of רֵאשִׁית 'beginning' in Prov. viii 22 as applicable to Christ, to the use of the same term in the creation-narrative of Genesis, where it occurs as the first word of the Hebrew Bible, בְּרֵאשִׁית *Bĕrēshîth* 'In the beginning'. That this is so I hope to prove presently through examination of St Paul's words. As a preliminary, however, we may notice that the tracing of a connexion between the Proverbs-passage and the Genesis-passage would be obvious to a Rabbinic scholar, and has in fact been made elsewhere in Rabbinic literature.

In *Bereshith Rabba*, the great Midrashic commentary on Genesis, Rabbi Hoshaiah (*c.* third century A.D.) opens with a discussion of Prov. viii 30, where Wisdom states, 'Then I was with Him as *'āmôn*' ('master-workman'). After mentioning various proposed explanations of *'āmôn*, he continues as follows. 'Another explanation of *'āmôn* is *'ōmēn* "workman". The Law says, "I was the working instrument of the Holy One, blessed be He". In worldly affairs a human king who is building a palace does not build it by his own skill, but he has parchment plans (*διφθέραι*) and drawing tablets (*πίνακες*), that he may know how to make the rooms and doors. In the same way the Holy One, blessed be He, was looking at the Law when He created the world. Now the Law says, 'By *rêshîth* God created'; and there is no *rêshîth* except the Law; compare the passage, 'The Lord gat me as *rêshîth* of His way'.

This connexion between the two O.T. passages, which R. Hoshaiah

[1] The reference is to *v.* 16:

δι' ἐμοῦ μεγιστᾶνες μεγαλύνονται,
καὶ τύραννοι δι' ἐμοῦ κρατοῦσι γῆς.

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makes and interprets with reference to the function of the Law as *rēshîth* in Creation, is made by St Paul in Col. i 15–18, and interpreted as referring to Christ: ὅς ἐστιν . . . πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως· ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα, ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα, εἴτε θρόνοι εἴτε κυριότητες εἴτε ἀρχαὶ εἴτε ἐξουσίαι· τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκτισται· καὶ αὐτός ἐστι πρὸ πάντων, καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκε. καὶ αὐτός ἐστι ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ σώματος, τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ὅς ἐστιν ἀρχή, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, ἵνα γένηται ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτὸς πρωτεύων.

Here we have an elaborate exposition of *Bĕrēshîth* in Gen. i 1 in the Rabbinic manner. Three explanations are given of the preposition *bĕ*; then four explanations of the substantive *rēshîth*: and the conclusion is that, in every possible sense of the expression, Christ is its Fulfiller.

Let me give a running paraphrase of St Paul's words, in order to illustrate how, as I conceive, the argument developed itself in his mind.

'Christ is *the First-begotten of all creation*, for it is written (Prov. viii 22 ff), "The Lord begat me as *rēshîth* of His way, the antecedent of His works, from of old. From eternity was I wrought . . . when there were no deeps was I brought forth". This passage has obvious connexion with Gen. i 1, where it is written "*Bĕrēshîth* God created the heavens and the earth". Now the force of the preposition *bĕ* attached to *rēshîth* may be interpreted as "IN" ("IN *rēshîth* God created"); hence IN HIM *were created all things in the heavens and upon the earth, seen and unseen, whether thrones, or dominations, or principalities, or powers.* But again, the preposition may bear the sense "BY" ("BY the agency of *rēshîth*"); hence *all things were created* THROUGH HIM. Yet again it may be interpreted "INTO" ("INTO *rēshîth*"); from which it follows that creation tends INTO HIM as its goal. Passing on to the substantive *rēshîth*, we note that it ordinarily bears the sense "BEGINNING"; hence Christ is *BEFORE all things.* It may also have the meaning "SUM-TOTAL"; so that *all things ARE SUMMED UP IN HIM.* Yet another meaning is "HEAD", i.e. *He is the HEAD of the body, namely, the Church.* Lastly, it means "FIRST-FRUITS"; *He is FIRST-FRUITS, first-begotten of the dead.* Hence it follows that *in all senses He is the Fulfiller of the meaning of rēshîth* (πρωτεύων)'.

Putting the argument in tabular form for the sake of lucidity, it appears as follows.

Prov. viii 22 ff, where Wisdom (i.e. Christ) is called *rēshîth*, gives the key to Gen. i 1, '*Bĕrēshîth* God created the heavens and the earth'.

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Bĕréshîth = 'in *réshîth*'—*ἐν αὐτῷ ἔκτισθη τὰ πάντα, κτλ.*
Bĕréshîth = 'by *réshîth*'—*πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἔκτισται.*
Bĕréshîth = 'into *réshîth*'—*πάντα εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκτισται.*
Réshîth = 'Beginning'—*αὐτός ἐστι πρὸ πάντων.*
Réshîth = 'Sum-total'—*τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκε.*
Réshîth = 'Head'—*αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ σώματος, κτλ.*
Réshîth = 'First-fruits'—*ὅς ἐστιν ἀρχή, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν.*

CONCLUSION. Christ fulfils every meaning which may be extracted from *Réshîth*—*ἵνα γένηται ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτὸς πρωτεύων*

If this interpretation is correct, we can trace phrase by phrase the lines along which St Paul's thoughts were running. It is true that, if we look up *réshîth* in a Hebrew Lexicon, while we shall find the meanings *Beginning* and *First-fruits*, we shall not find the meanings *Head* and *Sum-total*; but since the substantive *réshîth* is derived from *rósh*, which means *Head*, and which is also used with considerable frequency in the sense *Sum-total*,[1] these two additional meanings would easily be referable to it. The Aramaic *résh* stands for both Hebrew *rósh* and *réshîth*, and is susceptible of all the meanings postulated.

We have reference to the line of thought here based on the two Old Testament passages elsewhere in St Paul's Epistles. Christ as the goal of creation is referred to in Ephes. i 10 *ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ*, 'to bring all things under *réshîth* in Christ', who is the *Head* and *Sum-total* of creation. The reversion of humanity to its Source, which is the aim of Christianity, is the *καινὴ κτίσις* to which the Apostle refers in 2 Cor. v 17, Gal. vi 15; cf. also Ephes. ii 10, *αὐτοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν ποίημα, κτισθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*. When this has been accomplished in the world, creation will have reached its goal.[2]

We may notice that several of the Fathers adopt the interpretation of *bĕréshîth* in Gen. i 1 as referring to Christ. We find it in Origen, *Homily* I *on the Pentateuch*, the opening of which runs thus in the translation of Rufinus: '"In principio creavit Deus coelum et terram." Quod est omnium principium nisi Dominus noster et Saluator omnium Christus Jesus, "primogenitus omnis creaturae"? In hoc ergo principio, hoc est in Verbo suo, "Deus coelum et terram fecit", sicut et Evangelista Ioannes in initio Euangelii sui ait, dicens: "In principio erat verbum" &c. Non ergo hic temporale aliquod principium dicit, sed "in principio", id est in Salvatore, factum esse dicit coelum et terram et omnia quae facta sunt'. St Ambrose (*Hexae-*

[1] Cf. Exod. xxx 12 כִּי תִשָּׂא אֶת־רֹאשׁ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל 'When thou takest the sum of the children of Israel' (i.e. their census); Lev. v 24; Num. i 2, 49, iv 2, 22, v 7, xxvi 2, xxxi 26, 49; Ps. cxix 160, cxxxix 17.

[2] The thought underlying *ὅς ἐστιν ἀρχή, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν* is brought out again in 1 Cor. xv 20 *ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων* (cf. also *v.* 23).

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meron I iv 15) and St Augustine (*De Genesi ad litteram* I 2) also give the same interpretation.

Another New Testament allusion to Prov. viii 22 in reference to Christ is found in Rev. iii 14 ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ, a title of the risen Christ which Dr Swete and Dr Charles have not a shadow of authority for limiting in meaning to '*the Source* of God's creation'. There is every reason to suppose that ἀρχή is here used with all the fullness of meaning which St Paul extracts from *réshíth*—Beginning, Sum-total, Head, First-fruits. This at any rate fits in with the statement of xxi 6, ἐγὼ τὸ Α καὶ το Ω, ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος, where τὸ τέλος embodies the interpretation of *bĕréshíth* '*into* Him' as the goal.

C. F. BURNEY.

TWO NOTES ON THE *BAZAAR OF HERACLIDES*.

I.

IN § 72 of the first part of Nestorius's Apology, known as 'the Bazaar of Heraclides', there is a passage represented by dots only in Dr Bethune-Baker's *Nestorius and his teaching* p. 127, and very obscurely rendered in the Oxford translation, p. 65. It will be convenient to give the Syriac and a suggested translation at once.

ܗܘ ܕܒܝܫ ܠܗ ܒܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܦ ܥܠ ܓܒ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܒܟܠ ܥܠܡ

accounted fatigue and privation because of remoteness from everything He attained to all this supremacy, to as high as bodily power can be exalted.'

In the above I take the clause ... as a parenthesis. certainly means 'delay', not 'be left alone' as the Oxford Editors translate it (i.e.). It probably corresponds to *χρονοτριβεῖν*, as in Acts xx 16: Nestorius is evidently contrasting the blameless sojourn of Christ among men with His lonely struggle in the wilderness.

, which begins the apodosis, might stand for *ἀπέναντι* (as in Gen. iii 24) or *κατέναντι* (Mk. xi 2), but I think it is more likely to correspond to *τοὐναντίον* (see 1 Pet. iii 9).

The adjective 'in need' has in Syriac the preposition after it in Ezek. iv 17 and Prov. xii 9 ('in need *of* bread') as also in late Hebrew. It has been suggested to me that might stand as well as , so that the clause might be translated 'when He was in need of everything in the world'. In support of this two passages from Wright's *Kalīlā we-Dimnā* (pp. 184^5, 312^{23}) can be quoted, where is followed by : this text is a translation from the Arabic, made in the 10th or 11th century. But I cannot find any other instances of the construction with , for in ES ii 317 B is governed by (i.e. 'deprived *of*'). On the other hand, in ES ii 133 E ... means 'in need *of* a piece of bread'. In Payne Smith *Thesaurus*, art. , note that 'Is. Ant. 1. 22. 3 a f', should be 'Is. Ant. ap. B. O. i, 223'.) The original Greek of Nestorius might be *ἐνδεέστεροσ γενόμενοσ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ*.

In any case, whatever be the construction of (2°) in l. 5 of the above extract, it is evident that in l. 6 cannot be governed by , and as there is no conjunction before (3°) the words ... must go with what follows, so that this must mean 'out of', i.e. *out of* weakness Christ was made strong in solitude.

The Oxford Editors, following Prof. Nau (p. 62), have: 'Because it was thought that he was more than all an observer of the commandments, on account of his manner of life among all men, and because if in many things he was left alone (=il était laissé seul), [it might have been] easy [to fight] against him (*so* Nau), where there was nothing whereby

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he could be helped, he went forth alone into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil, while poor in all the things of the world, even in that which is considered a burden and a distress. And [because of this] removal far from everything he attained to the utmost supremacy to which bodily power could be raised.'

II.

I take this opportunity of pointing out that the tale referred to at the end of the long Note to p. 62 of Dr Bethune-Baker's *Nestorius* is a tale of a Cross, not of a 'crucifix'. The story will be found on pp. 366–7 of the Oxford translation of the *Bazaar*. But I think that 'the cross, which had been set up, of him who was crucified in nature and truth' (p. 367, l. 10) should be 'the cross which has been constituted [a Christian symbol] from Him, who &c.' That is to say ܙܩܝܦܐ followed by ܕ does not refer to the mechanical setting up of that wooden Cross by the Emperor (in Syriac ܨܠܒܐ), but to the Cross-figure having been hallowed by the crucifixion. I believe no 'crucifixes' were seen in Constantinople till after the Trullan Council (692).

F. C. Burkitt.

'ΕΠΙΦΩΣΚΕΙΝ.

In a learned article in vol. xiv no. 56 of the Journal Professor Burkitt collected passages from ecclesiastical and other writers to illustrate the use of this word and its equivalents, but it may be doubted whether its use in the First and Third Gospels has yet been fully explained.

1. Mt. xxviii 1 ὀψὲ δὲ σαββάτων τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων ἦλθεν Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ κτλ. καὶ σεισμὸς ἐγένετο.

The problem is plain; ὀψὲ σαββάτων should mean towards sunset on Saturday evening, and τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων should mean towards sunrise on Sunday morning. How then can the whole phrase describe any time on Saturday or Sunday?

Two explanations are familiar.

(a) Matthew may have meant to describe a time on what we call Saturday evening, in which case ὀψὲ σαββάτων is a correct expression, but τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων must be translated 'when the first day of the week was drawing on'. This not only gives a most unnatural sense to the verb, but involves the assumption that Matthew wished to represent the women as watching all night at the tomb, witnesses of the

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descent of the angel and of the resurrection. *θεωρῆσαι τὸν τάφον* hardly suggests such an intention.

(*b*) Matthew may have wished to describe a time which we should call the early hours of Sunday morning. In that case *τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ* presents no difficulties, but *ὀψὲ σαββάτων* must be translated 'late on the sabbath night', and we must suppose that Matthew thought of the first day of the week as beginning at dawn on Sunday. This involves a double improbability.

Let us turn to Mark, Matthew's main source.

xvi. 1. *καὶ διαγενομένου τοῦ σαββάτου* Μαρία *ἡ* Μαγδαληνὴ *καὶ* Μαρία *ἡ τοῦ* Ἰακώβου *καὶ* Σαλώμη *ἠγόρασαν ἀρώματα ἵνα ἐλθοῦσαι ἀλείψωσιν αὐτόν.* 2. *καὶ λίαν πρωὶ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου.*

Suppose that Matthew was copying Mark. He began by substituting *ὀψὲ σαββάτων* for *διαγενομένου τοῦ σαββάτου*, a change which made no difference to the sense. He then paused to consider what he should make of the latter part of Mark's sentence. Could an account of the action of the women in bringing spices be reconciled with his story of the guard at the tomb? In the end, having possibly written and erased Mark's verse, he decided that he must omit altogether the account of the women's action. Accordingly, he went straight on to verse 2, paraphrasing *λίαν πρωὶ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων* quite correctly as *τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων.* He forgot to erase *ὀψὲ δὲ σαββάτων* which he had already written, and the result is the impossible *ὀψὲ δὲ σαββάτων τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων.* The explanation is the telescoping of Mark's two phrases describing two distinct times into one phrase apparently descriptive of a single time. But Matthew had no intention of using either phrase in an unusual sense.

2. Lk. xxiii 53 *καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸν ἐν μνήματι λαξευτῷ οὗ οὐχ ἦν οὐδεὶς οὔπω κείμενος.* 54 *καὶ ἡμέρα ἦν παρασκευῆς, καὶ σάββατον ἐπέφωσκεν.* 55 *κατακολουθήσασαι δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες . . . ἐθεάσαντο τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ ὡς ἐτέθη τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, ὑποστρέψασαι δὲ ἡτοίμασαν ἀρώματα καὶ μύρα.*

As the text stands the meaning can hardly be in doubt. The burial took place on Friday evening, and it was the preparation, and the sabbath *was drawing on.* But the women followed and saw the tomb, and returned to prepare spices the same evening.

Two points seem clear. Luke uses *ἐπέφωσκεν* in a sense which has nothing to do with sunrise, since the women have still to prepare their spices; and he does not know that the sabbath began at 6 p.m., otherwise he would not represent the law-abiding women (*v.* 56*b*) as making their preparations in the evening. Can we avoid these improbabilities?

If we read the whole passage we cannot fail to be struck by the awkwardness of *v.* 54. Without it the sequence of the narrative is

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perfect. Joseph takes down the body, wraps it in linen, and lays it in a tomb; the women follow, see the exact situation of the corpse and the manner of burial, and return to prepare spices for use when the Sabbath is past. Why should Luke have broken the sequence to insert an irrelevant statement that it was the preparation and the Sabbath was drawing on? In Mark the mention of the approach of the Sabbath explains Joseph's action, but here it is altogether pointless.

It is difficult to believe that *v.* 54 belongs to the original text. Luke omitted to mention the approach of the Sabbath in his account of the burial because he had another explanation to offer of Joseph's action—'he was a good man and a just'. May it not be that an early copyist noticed the omission, and not understanding the reason for it, sought to introduce into Luke's text a mention of the Sabbath? But Luke had so recast Mark's account that it was impossible to insert a clause in the proper place, so the interpolator put it in at the first available opportunity, which was after the description of the burial.

But why did he use *ἐπέφωσκεν*? Perhaps the interpolator lived at at a time when Mt. xxviii 1 had influenced the use of the word, and in Christian circles it was commonly used as meaning 'draw on'. But it was not its proper sense, and it was not the sense in which Matthew used it to represent *λίαν πρωί*, although it came to bear that meaning in later times.

Thus an accident perhaps led to a new meaning being given to a Greek word.

P. GARDNER-SMITH.

ST JOHN III 25—A SUGGESTION.

Ἐγένετο οὖν ζήτησις ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν Ἰωάννου μετὰ Ἰουδαίου περὶ καθαρισμοῦ.

May I suggest that it is not unreasonable to emend the *Ἰουδαίου* in the text to *Ἰησοῦ*? The argument with an unknown Jew has always seemed curious and difficult of explanation. The disciples of John fasted, and presumably also practised the customary lustrations. Between any orthodox Jew and the disciples of John there need not therefore have been controversy *περὶ καθαρισμοῦ*. If, on the other hand, we read *Ἰησοῦ* in place of *Ἰουδαίου*, we get sense at once. The whole passage is an echo of Mk. ii 18–22. The disciples of John find the new leader gathering disciples, with the accompaniment of a baptismal rite. They discover that he is in many respects unorthodox (see esp. Mk. ii 18) and they argue with him, eventually returning to their own

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leader to seek an explanation of the scandal, i.e. that he has borne witness to this new teacher, whose doctrines are divergent from those of Pharisaic orthodoxy. The probability that this is the correct interpretation is strengthened by a comparison of Mk. ii 19 and 20 with Jn. iii 28 and 29.

I venture to add that when I originally made this suggested emendation it was pointed out to me, by a friend to whom I shewed it, that a transformation of Ἰησοῦ into Ἰουδαίου might have been due to dittography (IOYIOY) or to a badly written IHΣOY. That Ἰουδαίου was from early times regarded as an awkward reading seems clear from its having been altered in ℵ* 1 &c, 13 and other MSS into Ἰουδαίων, though the latter reading does not help matters very much. I have also been reminded that if Ἰουδαίου had been the orginal text, we should have expected to find it followed by τινός.

A. C. BOUQUET.

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REVIEWS

Le Culte: Étude d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuse. Tome premier: *Le caractère religieux du Culte*, par ROBERT WILL. (Strasbourg: Libraire Istia, 1925.)

SOME time ago M. Will published in the same series of studies of the history and philosophy of religion issued by the faculty of Protestant Theology of the University of Strasbourg an interesting and able work on Luther and Christian freedom. In the present work he enters upon a still larger field—nothing less than the whole question of the collective expression of religion. Like the previous work, while it is marked by independence of thought and individuality of presentation, it depends largely on recent German research. Even M. Will's practical interests are mainly determined by recent developments in the ideas and practices connected with public worship in Germany. For example, he treats the recent high Lutheran ritualisms and Otto's cult of silence as if they were novelties instead of being echoes of our extremes. Then he depends largely on three authors—Otto, Heiler, and Reitzenstein—and no one of them is really akin to his own type of mind. Only over what he borrows from these authors can there be much dispute. Unfortunately he mainly just borrows and does not set forth his own reasons, at least very fully. This is due to considerations of space. But they are vital issues for the discussion and room could have been saved elsewhere. For example, M. Will uses Otto's numinous feeling to distinguish between religion and magic, and makes the essence of magic the mere doing of rites without feeling or concern. But there is routine religion as well as routine magic, and there is at least as much spooky awed feeling in magic as in religion. Moreover, this makes a wrong start in the study of primitive religion, leading to the confusion of the material sacred and magic, which may be things entirely apart. This leads later to the difficulty that while magic is to be condemned, there seems to be something which ought to be continued in some other form in the cult, and M. Will cannot clearly determine it. Moreover, if the 'holy' as treated by Otto is the essential mark of religion, how were the prophets, who exalted the rational and ethical and escaped the shuddery awe which could express itself in human sacrifice, reformers of religion? Prophetic religion is for M. Will the highest form, and of course the cult should express the highest form. But the other element remains and M. Will never manages to settle with it. In the same way his dependence on Reitzenstein causes trouble. The great victory of the prophetic religion was over what

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M. Will includes in Mystery Religions, once the debased emotional religions of absorption in the deity of the Canaanite cults. Apparently Paul brings Christianity back to it, and yet Christianity is advanced prophetic religion. The question is too large to discuss, but the view that a Hebrew of the Hebrews like Paul absorbed so much paganism is far from convincing, and a misunderstood Paul seems a far more probable stage in the evolution of the Catholic Church than a Hellenized one. Again, one must be grateful for a very admirable selection of examples in Heiler's book on Prayer, and if M. Will makes much use of them it is only what all who henceforth write on the subject are likely to do. But Brunner speaks of the sweltering emotionalism of Heiler, and this emotionalism or even sentimentalism is not akin to M. Will's own mind, and he is not very successful in trying to find a place for them. But all these matters are rather outside of M. Will's own task. This he has done with fresh study and wise judgement. The main part of the volume is occupied with a discussion of the cult in relation to the three types of religion—religion of sacrifice, or giving in order to get; of mystery or absorption into the Divine; of prophecy or personal, ethical, relation to God. He deals with their intermixture in history and lays the foundation for considering what permanent elements of the lower stages may remain in the cult of a prophetic religion. Finally, he deals with the two attitudes, adoration and edification, and discusses with wisdom the place of each in the public service of worship. Apart from this intrinsic value of the book as a contribution to the study of an important subject, those who read French but not German will obtain information of importance on what is going on in religious circles in Germany to-day.

Miracle and its Philosophical Presuppositions: Three lectures delivered in the University of London 1924, by F. R. TENNANT, D.D., B.Sc., Fellow and Lecturer of Trinity College, Cambridge. (Cambridge University Press, 1925.)

WE may begin with Dr Tennant's conclusion. It is that (1) science assumes only a relatively stable order and cannot dogmatically assume the impossibility of miracle; and (2) that a fixed rational cosmic order which excludes miracle as irrational is an assumption, not a proved philosophical position. Yet testimony cannot reach divine agency, and, therefore, miracles are devoid of all evidential value. Yet he thinks the discussion gives some freedom in respect of the reign of law, providential guidance of the physical world, and clears up the

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real difference between deism and theism. In this respect alone the book is of a value far beyond its size. The most valuable part of the book is the discussion of the scientific idea of law. It is both lucid and compact, and it avoids the extreme of taking science to give a picture of the world as a closed mechanical system on the one hand, and of taking it to be a mere series of convenient concepts on the other. The least satisfactory part of the book is the criticism of previous writers. Hume arrives at pretty much Dr Tennant's own conclusion, but Dr Tennant thinks inconsistently. His criticism, though it was used by Dr Flint among others before Dr Broad, to whom Dr Tennant says he is indebted for it, would not I think have wrung Hume's withers. Especially Hume's view is not psychological. Customary sequence is for him all that is objective. Now a miracle, according to definition, was a breach of the customary, whereas inaccurate reports are not. Again, Kant is not without confusions, but none of them concerns the use of reason, for he clearly distinguishes *Vernunft* and *Verstand*. But the criticism of the theologians of Romanticism is most lacking in sympathy, and sympathy is necessary for understanding. Newman acted from panic, but Schleiermacher certainly did not. Moreover, Schleiermacher explains quite clearly what he means by feeling, and himself related it to thought and action: and the essence of what he has to say is that you know the spiritual world by being in it and not by proof from something else. Finally, if Dr Tennant admits that reality may be the meaning of the world, how can Ritschl's value-judgement be mere evasion? For what is meaning if not value? And what is the final spiritual question, if not whether standards of value are applicable to reality, or are mere individual notions?

J. OMAN.

Immanence and Incarnation, by S. F. DAVENPORT, M.A., LL.B., with a Foreword by F. R. TENNANT, D.D. (Cambridge University Press, 1925.)

THIS book is the Norrisian Prize Essay for the year 1924. It is an attempt to relate in a systematic way the doctrines of transcendence and immanence by means of the conception of incarnation. A philosophical basis is found by passing in rapid, and all too brief, review six well-known systems, and the conclusion is reached that 'the true philosophy of the Absolute is the philosophy of true Mysticism'. This involves the rejection of the claims of exact thinking and the identification of God with the Absolute. Types of immanence, the various ways

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in which God is immanent in different things, are examined. 'By immanence we signify the maintenance of a thing or person in being, as well as the constitution of that person or thing in being: not that God *is* that person or thing . . . nor that He is completely other than it . . . but that He is all that it is, while it is not all that He is' (p. 234). In this way, immanence indicates the organic, not the mechanical unity of God and His whole creation, and the term may be used in a moral and spiritual, as well as in a metaphysical sense. Mr Davenport speaks of 'degrees of immanence'. For example, 'God is more fully present by His activity in man than He is in the stone, more present in the sun than in the moon' (p. 48). Such statements, however, not only present difficulties in regard to the measurement of these degrees, i. e. the criterion of more or less, but also are wholly incompatible with the further contention that God's immanence in man is *toto genere* different from His immanence in nature (p. 61). Mr Davenport argues that the notion of immanence is unable to account for the Incarnation because, in Christ, something quite new, something absolute, came into the world. If, however, difference of kind, as well as difference in degree, is possible in respect of God's immanence in Nature and in man, then it is difficult to see why resort to Incarnation was the necessity Mr Davenport thinks it was, or wherein it differs from absolute immanence.

At every point of the discussion Mr Davenport shews that immanence implies the complementary notion of transcendence and that 'whenever the sole emphasis is laid upon immanence, pantheism is never far off; and whenever the divine transcendence is not allowed to tabernacle in the world of form, there we may expect some philosophy resembling deism' (p. 125). Thus the vital question is, in what precise way is God as transcendent related to God as immanent? 'To say God is transcendent is to say that He cannot be brought into any class or category of existence' (p. 126). Somehow, God has to be absolute without being implicated in the world's finite processes. Especially is this problem pressing in respect of the way in which God is immanent in man. Mr Davenport rightly rejects absorption. 'God's immanence in man, by way of ethical qualities, disallows compulsion . . . co-operation and persuasion are . . . the only possible means . . . of transforming him into His likeness' (p. 128). This implies that God deals with us in a personal relation, which raises the question whether the problem can be adequately dealt with in terms which are spatial metaphors. And although he warns us against it, Mr Davenport never really avoids the spatial implication.

The main argument of the essay is that Incarnation bridges the gulf between God as transcendent and God as immanent. God as immanent is 'inferentially obtained': 'God as incarnate is an experience' (p. 136).

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There must be no deification of the laws and forces of nature, but of *the lawgiver*; likewise there must be no absolute gulf separating God *from nature*; there must be Incarnation' (p. 138). Mr Davenport does not accept Hegel's position with regard to universal incarnation on the ground that it implies that God and the world are equally real constituents of the Absolute, and that it involves 'the destruction of the significance of the Incarnation of the Logos altogether' (p. 112). By Incarnation is meant 'an absolute revelation of Transcendent Being within the sphere of time and space' (p. 142). So that 'while immanence admits of degrees, Incarnation admits of none' (p. 111).

The history of Doctrine has so accustomed us to connect the term Incarnation with questions regarding the being and essence of God, that it requires great care and some precision of definition to avoid the spatial implications and the external relations with which the term is associated. And it may at least be doubted whether this difficulty is not intensified if Incarnation is treated as the way in which the 'gulf' between God as transcendent and God as immanent is bridged. Here is a real difficulty, for it is not immediately obvious that there is any gulf to be bridged. Surely it is the transcendent God who is immanent? And if there were a gulf, how was it bridged prior to the Incarnation? If we start with Deism on the one hand, and with Pantheism on the other, then, in a truly Hegelian spirit, we have to speak about a synthesis—and the whole discussion of Incarnation will continue to move on an *a priori* plane. And the same tendency is evident throughout the book. 'It is not primarily that Christ is divine because He is the purest and completest revelation of God . . . but He is divine and *therefore* He is perfect God and perfect man' (p. 253). This *a priori* approach to the problem is for ever confronted with the question to which no answer can be found: How do you know *a priori* that Christ is divine? Against this whole method Ritschl raised his voice; but Mr Davenport gives Ritschl but four pages, and in them it cannot be said that he seriously comes to grips with the vital principle involved in Ritschl's criticism.

The question of the right approach, however, is fundamental. Mr Davenport does not seem to recognize it as a problem, with the result that one feels that his argument, couched in the language of traditional theology, does not do justice to religious experience. 'Transcendence', 'immanence', and 'incarnation' all stand for something real and fundamental, but they are terms which belong to a pre-critical stage of Theology and which need careful definition if they are to be used without misunderstanding to-day. For religion has to do with a personal relation and theology cannot remain true to its task of interpreting religious experience unless its terms are adequate to the nature of personality. If we can determine *a priori* neither what God is in

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Himself, nor what He should do to effect man's salvation, we can only proceed from what He has done and is doing as He deals personally with His children.

Mr Davenport has read widely. His book shews evidence of enormous labour, and since it states a position which no theologian can afford to neglect, however much he may disagree with it, it should be provocative of thought.

M. McARA.

Pascal, Pensées, by JACQUES CHEVALIER. Two vols. (Gabalda, Paris, 1925.)

THE Messieurs of Port-Royal were great men, and we owe them much; most of all, the preservation of the precious fragments which they published in 1669–1670 under the title of *Pensées de M. Pascal sur la religion et sur quelques autres sujets*. But it is difficult to forget or forgive, or indeed to understand, the way in which they handled them. Doubtless the disorder of the papers—scraps often barely legible, or intelligible—was baffling, and their contents sometimes disconcerting and dangerous. The friends of the dead man may well have hesitated to give them to a world suspicious of any trace of Jansenism, and that they should have ventured to do so, even after the Peace of the Church, argues no small courage. One can also pardon their occasional doctoring of a dubious sentence and even their attempts, greatly daring, to polish Pascal's French. But what is really incomprehensible is that having had in their hands the thread which would lead them out of the labyrinth, they should have dropped it; that having had a glimpse of the draft of Pascal's great defence of Christianity they should have disregarded it, and proceeded to construct an edifice which is imposing enough, but is not after Pascal's plan.

That plan had been disclosed to them in 1658, when he kept them spellbound through a long June afternoon while he unfolded his scheme for convincing the free-thinker of the essential reasonableness of the Christian religion. And the memory of that day had been fixed for them by one of their own company, Filleau de la Chaise, who, either at first hand or from material supplied by an eyewitness, had reduced the exposition to writing in a *Discours sur les Pensées* which, although sometimes obscured by his own reflexions, is coherent and can moreover be matched paragraph by paragraph from the fragments and notes left by Pascal at his death. The plan outlined at Port-Royal and preserved by Filleau de la Chaise, and in an abbreviated form by Pascal's nephew, Ét. Périer, is very possibly not the one which Pascal himself would have

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finally adopted; there is abundant evidence that his mind was not made up as to the definitive form and order of his undertaking. But the *Discours* certainly represents one stage of his intention, and more than one student of Pascal has recognized the incomparable value of the document as a guide to the Master's mind. Yet no one before M. Chevalier has used it as the basis of an edition of the Thoughts, thus bringing order out of chaos.

The task of selecting fragments to illustrate the Plan is exceedingly delicate, as any one who has made the experiment will readily allow, and probably no two experimenters would choose exactly alike. But M. Chevalier knows his *Pensées* so well, and has such a sensitive finger for Pascal's pulse, that he would put up a very good defence if challenged on any detail. Speaking for myself, I should have preferred the Apology—and, n'en déplaise à M. Chevalier, there *is* an apology, though neither Pascal nor his friends gave it the name, hidden in the fragments, kept separate from the miscellaneous reflexions on eloquence, criticism, &c., and from those which seem to be Pascal's own heart-searchings rather than arguments for the conviction of the *libertin*: the 'Mystère de Jésus' for instance. And as a matter of fact M. Chevalier does relegate to an appendix pieces which plainly belong to the polemic against the Jesuits. No one will dispute his contention that an anthology of Pascal's 'cris de l'âme' is impossible: 'il faut les prendre tous'. Certainly no unilinear arrangement can comprehend the wonderful sweep and movement of Pascal's mind; his thought resembles a musical score which must be read vertically as well as horizontally. But I believe the book would have gained in clarity and would have brought us closer to Pascal if the separable elements had been differentiated.

I have only one other criticism to offer. Since this edition is founded on Filleau de la Chaise's *Discours*, it would have been immensely strengthened by the inclusion of that essay either in entirety or in a summary. It would not have swollen the volume beyond measure, and it would have been a great convenience. As it is, the reader must either turn to one of the early editions of the *Pensées* which include it, or to Victor Giraud's recent reprint in the series of *Chefs-d'œuvre inconnus*.

The depth and reality of M. Chevalier's sympathy with his subject is shewn by the *callidae suturae* which he supplies between his sections, borrowed from Filleau de la Chaise, from the Port-Royalists, from other works of Pascal, and, when all these fail, from his own pen. And the marvel is that you can hardly tell where the seventeenth-century writers end and where the modern editor begins. In other words, M. Chevalier's prose is not unworthy of Pascal, and there can be no higher praise. For example, 'Toute la conduite de l'homme est dictée par le

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souci de la gloire, et il ne fait ordinairement le bien, comme il ne cherche le vrai, que pour qu'on en parle.' That is the authentic Pascal touch. Among the few foot-notes of an admirable succinctness and sobriety which M. Chevalier allows himself, there is one in which, following an article by the Père Lagrange in the *Revue Biblique* for October 1906, he defends Pascal's use of Messianic prophecy, usually belittled nowadays, as being, in method at least, in strict consonance with the best critical science. Pascal's armour seems indeed to be proof against all attack. Time has no power to blunt his sword. Of it, especially as now furbished by M. Chevalier, the Christian apologist may surely say: 'There is none like that. Give it me'.

A. M. S. Boethi De Consolatione Philosophiae, by A. FORTESCUE and G. D. SMITH. (Burns, Oates, and Washbourne, London, 1925.)

THE zeal of the late Dr Fortescue and the piety of his friend and colleague, Dr Smith, both of St Edmund's College, Ware, have combined to produce a noble edition of what Gibbon called 'a golden volume, not unworthy of the leisure of Plato or of Tully'. The *Ausstattung* is all that the eye can wish, and reflects infinite credit on the publishers and the Cambridge printers; and the matter is worthy of the form. A long introduction dealing with the life and religion of the author is supported by excursuses on 'Providence and Fate' and the 'Perpetuity of the World' (concerning both of which topics Boethius has been accused of paganism or heresy); *testimonia* ancient and modern, in the good old style; a full bibliography (from which, however, I miss the fine French translation by L. Judicis de Mirandol, 1861); an *index alagerianus* (Dr Fortescue was a first-rate Dante scholar); an *index biblicus*; indexes of authors and things. The text is a sound one, though it is matter for surprise that no reference is made to that prepared by Professor E. K. Rand for the Loeb series, which, without claiming to be definitive, is a marked improvement on Peiper and is largely founded on first-hand manuscript authority. We still await from August Engelbrecht the final critical edition. The notes, in Latin, as is fitting, are sensible and erudite, and sweep in most of the information needed by the student. There is one point which successive editors have shirked and on which Drs Fortescue and Smith are silent, viz. the accusation levelled against Boethius of magical practices. Will not some reader of the JOURNAL take this up? It should furnish material for an interesting Note.

The question of Boethius's faith, which so greatly exercised our forefathers, has been laid once and for all by the discovery of the fragment

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of Cassiodorus (the so-called *Anecdoton Holderi*, published by Usener in 1877) ascribing to Boethius a book on the Trinity, a book against Nestorius, *et quaedam capita dogmatica*, which must surely include the once disputed *De fide catholica*. It is indeed the Tractate to which the term dogmatic best applies.

There only remains the problem of the *Consolatio* itself, which is notoriously deficient in explicit Christianity. The answer to this is an exceedingly simple one, which Dr Fortescue makes with good effect: *Peruulgata erat iam apud antiquos Christianos doctrina philosophiam et religionem esse quidem inter se distincta, cum ex ratione humana illa, haec ex Verbo Dei sumeret principium, minime uero esse sibi contraria*, p. xxix. Boethius had shewn his theological capacity in the tractates; the *De Consolatione* contains plain philosophy. He does not mix his orders. Dr Fortescue need hardly have had recourse to the suggestion that the absence of open Christian doctrine is due to the fact that Boethius was not in prison when he wrote his last work, but only in exile, and, though uncomfortable and removed from books and library, not under the shadow of the executioner's club. To say this is to run counter to tradition, as expressed in the beautiful thirteenth-century drawing which serves as illustration to this work, to probability, to the evidence of the Anonymus Valesii, and to Boethius's own words, 'Nunc quingentis fere passuum milibus procul, muti atque indefensi, ob studium propensius in senatum morti proscriptioni damnamur' I. pr. iv. I for one shall continue to believe that the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* stands with the Epistles of the Captivity, Ralegh's *History of the World*, and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, as one of the great prison books of all time.

H. F. STEWART.

Nestorius: *The Bazaar of Heracleides*, newly translated from the Syriac and edited, with an Introduction, Notes, and Appendices, by G. R. DRIVER and LEONARD HODGSON. (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1925.)

'THE present volume is the result of collaboration between two colleagues, the one a student of the Semitic languages, the other of Christian doctrine. After the former had prepared an English translation of the whole work, the manuscript was handed over to the latter, who read it carefully through; the difficulties were then jointly discussed. The Editors hope that by this means they are able to offer a reliable rendering of the original text. . . . They desire to acknowledge their indebtedness to MM. Bedjan and Nau, the editors of the Syriac text and of the French translation respectively, their own reliance on

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whom is evident on every page of the translation and in almost every note; indeed, if they had not already covered the ground, it is unlikely that the present work would ever have been accomplished' (Preface).

Theologians will welcome this first complete translation into English of the Apology of Nestorius.

The Introduction opens with a short account of the recovery of the work and of the imperfect MS in which it exists (or did exist until Turkey came into the War) and the modern copies taken from it. Then there is a section on the 'Value of the Syriac Translation': this is tested in part by means of the quotations which the work contains from Greek documents of which we have the text (mainly the Acts of the two Synods of Ephesus, 431 and 449). A certain number of blunders are pointed out, but the verdict is that on the whole the translation may be 'accounted good of its kind' (p. xvi). Pp. xvii–xxix contain a very useful summary of the course of events from 428 to 451, compiled from Dr Kidd's *History of the Church to A. D. 461*, with references to the pages of the translation on which this or that incident is alluded to. There follows (pp. xxix–xxxv) a short discussion of 'The Argument of *The Bazaar*'. There are four Appendices: I a translation of the Syriac fragments of Nestorius edited by Loofs (*Nestoriana*, pp. 365–388); II Critical Notes; III a note on the meaning of the word πρόσωπον; and IV a reprint from the *J. T. S.* (xix no. 73) of Mr Hodgson's article 'The Metaphysic of Nestorius'. A valuable feature of the edition is that it provides in the foot-notes (after Nau) the Greek text of quotations made by the author. But clearly the essential part of the volume is the English translation, and to this attention may here be confined.

The translation may be looked at in two ways: as a presentation of Nestorius's teaching in this work, and as a piece of Syriac scholarship. From the first point of view, it may be said that the reader who has made a study of this volume will be in possession, to an adequate degree, of Nestorius's arguments and of the position taken up by him at the time when he wrote his Apology. From the linguistic point of view, this version bears upon it evident marks of care and ability; yet I do not think that it can be accepted as final, or even sufficient. The book is not an easy one to translate; there are many obscure passages, and the text is in a very indifferent state of preservation. Nevertheless there are many places in which the translator has not succeeded in doing the best that could be done with it. Examples will be given presently.

On p. xvi the Editors explain the method and aim of their translation: 'mindful of the fact that they are translating into a third language a translation . . . of a lost work, whose meaning depends

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solely on the precise value assigned to a number of technical terms, [they] have frequently sacrificed the English to an endeavour to render faithfully the Syriac version, keeping as far as possible the same English word for the corresponding Syriac even at the cost of a certain harshness or awkwardness in many passages; for they have regarded it as their aim not so much to present the reader with their view of what Nestorius said as to enable him to form his own opinion from a careful and accurate version of the Syriac text.'

I am not sure that these last words do not contain an element of paradox. The version will be 'accurate' only in so far as it represents a right understanding of the text on the part of the translator: and he can do no better than present the reader with his own view of what Nestorius said, as reported by the Syriac translator. Again, it is somewhat of an over-statement to say that the meaning of the document 'depends solely on the precise value assigned to a number of technical terms'. Of technical terms in the strict sense the work contains hardly more than half a dozen, and there is no great difficulty in finding their Greek originals, which is all that it is necessary to do. The real difficulty lies not so much in the vocabulary, which is small, as in the crabbed translation-Syriac and the often uncertain condition of the text. There is one theological term, however, which the Editors translate as if they had not discovered its Greek equivalent: *dĕmūtha* ('likeness', 'similitude', 'form') is the word for μορφή in Phil. ii 6, 7, and in the present work it undoubtedly renders μορφή when it has reference to the divine and human natures in Christ. That is made clear by the frequent recurrence of the expressions 'the *dĕmūtha* of God', 'the *dĕmūtha* of a servant'. The Editors everywhere render by 'likeness', though that is hardly a translation of μορφή; 'form', as in the English versions of the N.T., would have been better. Pp. 182–183 will shew the importance of this term for an understanding of Nestorius's conception of the ἕνωσις.

As regards the manner in which the translation is presented, the Editors confess that they have made considerable sacrifices of the English in the interests of accuracy and uniformity. They do not use the word 'literal', but there are many indications that literalness also has been aimed at. The reader will not be slow to appreciate what is meant by 'a certain harshness or awkwardness in many passages', but I am not sure that he will always feel himself the gainer by it. What, for instance, will he understand by 'But it exists not for thee to read' (p. 150), which is only a Syriac way of saying 'But thou canst not read'? or what by 'the weight of the burden of the Council' (p. 123: τὴν σπουδὴν τῆς ἁγίας συνόδου Gk.), and 'the weight of the burden was upon me to set him correct' (p. 140: αὐτὸν ἐσπούδασα διορθώσασθαι

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Gk,)? The Syriac in reality is quite a fair rendering of the Greek, and would be translated accurately, if not literally, 'the diligence of the Council', and 'I was at pains to set him right'. Every language has idioms which cannot be reproduced literally in translation.

Besides the ungainliness of the English, there are one or two other matters to be noticed in regard to the outward form of the version. The punctuation is somewhat sparse, whereas it might have been made the means of giving the reader a good deal of help. The use of capitals with pronouns, in the cases customary outside the Bible (He, Him, and sometimes It), would in some passages have helped to keep the meaning clearer. Then there is the manner in which brackets are employed. Square brackets distinguish words which are not represented in the Syriac; but the range of their use extends considerably beyond the point of supplying words necessary to the English or fairly implied by the context: sometimes they enclose the mere copula; sometimes they introduce words which would involve an emendation of the Syriac text, but without the emendation being suggested; sometimes the additional words merely help the translator over a difficulty, and occasionally one of his own making.

To come now to the translation itself. I have read through with the Syriac text perhaps half of it in different parts of the book; and I have found few pages that do not contain renderings which, in my judgement, are more or less seriously faulty. It is not possible to give here more than a few examples. I shall first quote the Editors' version and then give my own interpretation. I begin with a passage which presents by no means an extreme case, but which is typical in several respects of what is to be found throughout the book.

Sophronius, the friendly objector, has just been speaking of the waters of the Nile turned to blood. After the change, he says, the water was still water to the Hebrews, but blood to the Egyptians. And he appears to conclude that the original *ousia* of water, though changed to blood, still subsisted: it was in fact both *ousias*, blood and water, at the same time. Nestorius answers thus, according to the translation:

P. 18 (§ 22). 'There were then two *ousias*; for the water which was taken by the Hebrews was blood and water and that which was taken by the Egyptians was both in the same way. But if the former was only water and the latter only blood, then they were afterwards changed; for when they were taken, those which were taken were changed and further were something else, namely that which they became. How then is it not seen that that which it became by nature is by all means that which it has become and nothing else?'

The reader will see from the last sentence the conclusion to which

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Nestorius has been working; but he will hardly see how the premisses lead to it. I translate as literally as possible, adding notes in justification:

'For *then*[1] there *would be*[2] the two ousias, *when*[3] those waters which were taken up by the Hebrews were blood and water, *or*[4] those which were taken up by the Egyptians were both in like manner. But if those were water only and these only blood, *and*[5] they were afterwards changed*—for when they were taken up* those which were taken up* were changed*[6], and they were ⟨*no*⟩ *more*[7] anything else *except*[8] that which they became*: how then do not *the same things*[9] (neut.) appear *in these things*[10] (*sc.* in the Christological discussion), (namely,) *that he who becomes*[11] (something) by nature is by all means that which (neut.) he has become by nature[12], and not anything else?'

1 The 'then' is temporal (ܗܝܕܝܢ), though it here supposes the fulfilment of certain conditions. The Editors appear to treat it as equivalent to οὖν, ܗܟܝܠ. 2 'would be' (ܗܘܝܢ ܗܘܝܢ): the participle with ܗܘܐ indicates that the clause is conditional. 3 'when' (ܟܕ), answering to 'then' before, is here equivalent to 'if'. Edd. render by 'for'. 4 'or' (ܐܘ): introducing an alternative supposition. 5 'and', not 'then' (Edd.): the apodosis is not yet reached. 6 'those . . . changed' is probably equivalent to '*what* they were when taken up was changed'. 7 Reading ܘܠܐ ܬܘܒ for ܘܬܘܒ: the negative is certainly to be restored, as is shewn not only by the following 'except' but also by the parallel in the concluding words ('and not anything else'). 8 'except' (ܐܠܐ ܐܢ, = *nisi*): 'namely' (Edd.) is quite impossible. 9 ܗܢܝܢ ܟܕ ܗܢܝܢ, not represented by Edd. 10 ܒܗܠܝܢ not translated by Edd. 11 ܕܗܘ ܕܗܘܐ (present): there can be no reference here to the water, since 'water' is plur. 12 'by nature' (2°), overlooked by Edd. * The verbs marked with an asterisk are in tense equivalent to our imperfect, and indicate continuous or repeated actions.

I now throw together a number of examples with only a word of comment here and there.

P. 11 'For as water, which cannot be broken because it is frozen, can in truth be broken.' Render: 'For as water which is not-subject-to-breaking, when it is frozen may truly be broken'. P. 12 'Has it then been revealed to thee wherein they are imagined [to be] the same . . .?' Render: 'So then it has been made clear to thee wherein they hold the same opinions.', P. 13 'for you seem like to me to be fully convinced of what they say.' Render: 'for you seem to me to be very well acquainted with what they say.' P. 14 'He is not able to wish not to be what he is, but only to be that which he is not.' Render: 'He does not wish not to be what He is, but

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to *become* that which He *was* not.' P. 20 (heading to § 27) 'Concerning what has been said about the Incarnation, in that he appeared in human nature.' Render: 'That for this reason incarnation is predicated of Him, that He appeared in human nature.' P. 37 'By whom then are these united in nature? It is evident that that which has been united has been so [united] by the creator of the nature.' Render: 'By whom then are these united in nature? Evidently (*galya* = δηλονότι) by the creator of that nature which has come into being.' P. 40 'For indeed he exalted himself.' Render: 'For He has removed it from Himself' (*sc.* His being ἴσα θεῷ, Phil. ii 6). P. 90 'Though he is their own king, [and king] of the administrators and of their lords.' Render: 'Though he is king of the institutions themselves and lord of them.' P. 93 'and to tell men what and what sort of thoughts they have concerning the Son.' Render: 'and to say to men who hold any sort of opinion whatsoever concerning the Son' (i. e. no matter what opinion they hold). P. 99 'But make use of that against which there is no accusation in the Gospel.' Render: 'But make use of the blameless ⟨expression⟩ of the Gospel.' It is probably necessary to supply ܒܒܪܬ ܩܠܐ. P. 134 'or to deprive me after I had been questioned.' Render: 'or to deprive (depose) me as one who had *declined* (to attend: *sc.* the Synod).' Bedjan has pointed the verb wrongly; it should be as p. 135, l. 6. P. 143 'but thou [actest] in the reverse way, because thou wishest that in the two natures God the Word should be the *prosópon* of the union. Thou allowest these things [to pass] as superfluous and thou makest a beginning after them, as they do.' Render: 'but thou on the contrary, because thou wishest that God the Word should be the person of the union in both natures, neglectest these things as superfluous and omittest (lit. 'passest over', *praetermittis*) to make a beginning from them.' It is absolutely necessary to read ܘܥܒܪ for ܘܥܒܕ, which is probably only a misprint: the text is lit. 'and *makest* to make a beginning from them'. P. 154 'Why dost thou wish that there should be an *hypostatic* union?' Render: 'What wouldst thou have a hypostatic union to be?' P. 163 'And because also the *prosópon* of the one is the other's and that of the other the one's, and the one [comes] from the other and the other from the one, the will belongs to each one of them. When he speaks as from his own *prosópon*, [he does so] by one *prosópon* which appertains to the union of the natures and not to one *hypostasis* or [one] nature.' Render, keeping the order of the text: 'And they have a mutual (ܕܚܕܕܐ) will, since also the person of this is (the person) of that, and (the person) of that (the person) of this. From that this speaks, and from this that, as from its own person, in the one person which is (that) of a union of natures, not (of

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a union) into one hypostasis or nature.' There is no ambiguity about this text, and it is difficult to see how the Editors can have got into trouble with it. P. 190 'for it is the one in nature and the other in the union.' Render: 'for He is other by nature, and other in the union.' P. 191 'that it is said that, when it was born, there was born of the Virgin Mary a man, the Son of God.' Render: 'that when the man was born, the Son of God himself is said to have been born of the Virgin Mary.' *Ibid.* 'For there is this agreement concerning the two natures, that in fact [the word] "Son" is indicative of two natures, indicating Christ and also Lord.' Render: 'For this agreement is one as to (lit. 'of') two natures; for "Son" and "Christ" and "Lord" are (lit. 'is') indicative of the two natures.' P. 231 'What then makest thou of the things of the *prosópon* of the *ousia* and of the nature?' Render: 'Why (ܠܡܐ) then dost thou make the things of the person those of the *ousia* and of the nature?' P. 317 'Thou sayest again something else to the contrary, that after the union [there is] one nature, because the distinction of the two, both of them his own, has already been abolished for him. Therein it is not [possible] for him to come to terms with the Easterns. Thou sayest however that there is even no indication of the distinction between the two, not, [that is], the distinction of the union but [that] for the diversity of the *ousias*.' Render, keeping the order of the text: 'Thou sayest again something to the contrary: "After the union, one nature; since the distinction of two (natures) has now been taken away" (*μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἕνωσιν, ὡς ἀνῃρημένης ἤδη τῆς εἰς δύο διατομῆς, μίαν ... φύσιν*: cf. p. 303 n.). Both of these (sayings) are his (i. e. Cyril's). By this (the latter) he cannot come to terms with the Easterns. Nevertheless thou dost say that "two" is [not] indicative of a "distinction": but "distinction" does not pertain to union (or 'unity') but belongs to diversity of *ousias*.' The Greek shews that the negative should be removed; Nestorius is referring to the words *τῆς εἰς δύο διατομῆς*: by that expression, he argues, Cyril concedes a distinction—he has already been hammering at Cyril's employment of *δύο*.

I have been obliged to select for the most part short passages and such as present no particular difficulty. It would take an undue amount of space to enter into discussions of long and difficult texts in which I should differ from the Editors. There are many such passages, as to which it must be enough to offer a general criticism. It is this, that the translator has hardly shewn sufficient appreciation of the difficulties of the text, or given the reader sufficient warning of them. There are few textual foot-notes, and most of these refer to the (comparatively few and mostly slight) emendations adopted or noticed in Appendix II. Most of the latter, again, are derived from Bedjan and

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Nau: the translator has hardly ventured into the field of textual criticism at all. The translation usually goes forward through thick and thin with only such indication of difficulty as is provided by the brackets in the text. Yet it needs almost a perpetual critical commentary. As already observed, the text is not in a good state, and there is a great deal more to be done for it in the way of emendation than has been attempted in the Critical Notes in Appendix II. We have met already with a few examples of necessary corrections which have not been made. I add here a selection of further suggestions from a list of over a hundred compiled in going through about half of the text. The references given are to the pages and lines of Bedjan.

13^{13} read ܒܨܒܝܢܗ, 'by His (own) will', for ܒܟܝܢܗ, 'by His nature', which is contrary to the whole argument. 38^{7} for ܐܬܛܠܡ certainly read ܐܬܛܠܡ (see the corresponding noun in ll. 9, 10). 38^{18} read ܕܒܪܢܫܐ for ܕܒܟܝܢܐ: 'the ousia *of man*' for 'the ousia *that is in nature*'. 39^{2} read ܘܒܘܛܠܐ for ܘܗܘܠܠܐ (cf. l. 1): the latter word cannot mean a 'mock' (Edd.). 39^{5} for ܡܫܟܚܐܝܬ : ܢܫܟܚܐܝܬ probably read ܘܕܢܫܟܚܐܝܬ : ܡܫܟܚܐ ܗܘ : '*is possible*; *and that* He should change it': answered by 'is *not* possible' in l. 8. The adv. in the text means *negligenter*, not 'easily' (Edd.), and can hardly be right in the context. 41^{3} ܡܬܘܡܝܐ, 'eternal', is meaningless here; we expect ܡܬܕܢܝܢܐ, 'thinkable' (cf. l. 7). 45^{20} after ܛܡܐܬܐ a verb is required, probably ܥܒܕܝܢ: 'they *make* unclean'. 47^{13} for ܘܚܕܬ probably read ܘܚܕܬܢ: 'and renewed *us* in immortality'. $50^{2,3}$ the text is out of order. The omission of ܐܝܟܢܐ would make a grammatical rendering possible; but probably a verb has fallen out: perhaps restore ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܡܩܒܠ ('as it receives'). Edd. have tried to make sense by deserting the Syriac order and translating ܐܝܟܢܐ by 'such as', which is not possible. 52^{13} ܐܠܗܘܬܐ, 'divinity', seems quite inappropriate. The text runs: 'he is not a man who has nothing of man's, neither soul nor body nor *divinity*.' Edd. again desert the order and render: 'nor consequently is he—neither soul, nor body, nor divinity—a man who has nothing of a man.' We might read 'but' for 'nor' (ܐܠܐ for ܘܠܐ), but more probably 'divinity' should be 'reason' (ܡܠܬܐ or ܡܠܝܠܘܬܐ; or perhaps ܡܕܥܐ, as at 135^{15}). 87^{20} I suggest ܡܠܐܟܐ, 'angel', for ܡܠܟܐ 'king': God in the first man was 'maker of all, lawgiver without *an angel*, glory', &c. (compare Gal. iii 19, which may well be in mind). 98^{11} read ܢܬܦܪܩܘܢ: '*be redeemed*' by Him; not 'part from him', *sc.* the devil. This gives a better sense and avoids an awkward change of subject. 110^{11} read ܕܒܡܫܝܚܐ, as in l. 13. 136^{19} probably read ܘܡܒܛܠܝܢ, 'and make void', for ܘܡܛܥܝܢ: 'and they *deceive* the fullness of God the Word' is not sense, and 'misrepresent' (Edd.) for 'deceive' is hardly legitimate

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and not very intelligible. 141[19] after ܒܗܠ a whole clause has fallen out: see the Greek in the foot-note. The construction shews that the words originally stood in the Syriac. 144[15] probably supply ܐܡܪ at the beginning of the line. Also for ܐ̈ܝ read ܐ̈ܡ: 'because *when* I said that "Son" and "Christ" and "Lord" indicate two natures, yet I said that the Son is God and man.' 217[13] I would suggest ܕܚܫܚܠ for ܕܚܫܠ. 237[13] probably point ܠܐ ܚܕܝ, 'and *impassable*' (? = *ἀπαράβατος*). 237[18] probably read ܕܐܬܐܡܪ, 'since they have been so *constituted*', for ܕܐܬܐܡܪ, 'since they have been so *styled*', which gives no tolerable sense. 258[8] read ܫܚܫܐ for ܫܚܫܐ: 'and thereby you have *bound* (or *put restraint upon*) the orthodox, so that they may easily be overthrown by the heretics, having no (arguments) that they may rightly use against them'; not: 'and thereby you have *thought* that the orthodox were easily deceived by the heretics [into supposing] that they have none of those things whereof they ought to make use against them' (Edd.). 382[14] read ܐܙܠ, 'I acquit', for ܐܙܠ, 'I blame'. Dalmatius acquits the Emperor of all responsibility and takes it upon himself. 507[4] read ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܥܝ.

These examples must suffice: there is a whole class of smaller errors which I have not touched, but which often have a considerable effect upon the sense.

To return to the translation. In a few cases forms have not been rightly identified. Thus on p. 72 ܡܚܦܚܒ, 'blinded', is connected with ܫܚܠ, 'drug', and translated 'envenomed'. On p. 266 the privative compound ܠܐ ܕܚܝ, 'unwonted', is connected with ܕܚܝ, 'to be distant', and rendered 'at no great distance'. On p. 276 ܡܚܫܐ, 'eagerly desirous', is twice rendered 'submit unto' (as if from ܫܥܐ). On pp. 13, 15, 106, the imperative ܐܡܪ, 'say', is translated 'I say'. On pp. 273–274 '*that I should be judged and condemned* as those who withstand God and usurp for themselves the (functions) of the priests', is rendered 'so that he has been judged', &c. The Emperor is speaking of himself, not of Nestorius. On p. 19 the imperative ܩܥ, 'pause', is rendered 'it remains'. The force of the Syriac tenses is not always grasped. The meaning of certain words is missed: thus the participle ܡܚܫܫ is constantly rendered 'persuaded of' or 'convinced of', whereas it means 'aware of', 'acquainted with'. On p. 66 'hope of the kingdom' should be '*gospel* of the kingdom': a rather unexpected confusion of ܫܡܥܐ with ܫܡܥ. The adverb ܡܢܐ, 'henceforth', 'thenceforth', appears to be treated as if only a variant form of ܗܫܐ (= *οὖν*), being almost always rendered 'then' or 'therefore'; also a good many other adverbs or prepositions are sometimes treated rather loosely. The (mostly untranslatable) *dativus ethicus*, especially common after verbs of motion and passives, seems not to be recognized, being usually referred to an antecedent other

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than the subject of the verb which it follows: examples occur on pp. 30 (third line from the end) 'changed by him'; 53 l. 10 'appeared unto him'; 192 l. 13 'found by him' (merely εὑρίσκεται Gk.); 317 l. 9 'abolished for him'; 378 l. 12 'and is not heard by him'.

In a considerable number of places (about twenty that I have noticed) words, or even clauses, have been overlooked, sometimes with disturbance of the translation in the neighbourhood: see especially p. 142, l. 5 ff, where after 'fathers' the words 'and who has restored the things which he (*ille*) has removed' should be read; and the next words should be 'and permits him not to steal aught therefrom: this man, who . . .? or I, who . . .?'

Having now drawn attention to what seem to me the defects of the translation, let me say again that I do not think they are such as to interfere vitally with its value as a presentation of Nestorius's teaching. I would repeat also that the book is a difficult one to translate, as I have reason to know; for here, in fairness to the present translator, I must make a confession.

In the summer of 1906 or 1907 Dr Bethune-Baker put into my hands a copy of the *Bazaar* with a request that I would look through it and give him some idea of its contents. In the months that followed I made a rapid, and in parts tentative, translation of a good part of it. Dr Bethune-Baker then asked me to allow him to quote some passages from this version in an essay on *Nestorius and his Teaching* which he had in view. I readily consented, but asked him to withhold my name for the reasons stated in his Preface, p. xv. The translation was made without any idea of publication, and I attempted no more than to render the sense into readable English. The portions extracted were revised to the best of my ability during their passage through the press; but looking over them now, with a wider experience of different types of Syriac, I can see that they are by no means faultless. The mistakes, however, are not on such a scale as to interfere with the reader's understanding of Nestorius's meaning as conveyed by the Syriac version. Some of them are not really mine, but due to errors in the copy employed—that called C (Cambridge) by Bedjan in his edition of 1910. A number of words appear which are not represented in the Syriac: most of these were originally in brackets, but in order to avoid distracting the reader it was felt desirable to remove the brackets wherever the additional words seemed necessary to the English or justifiable as an explanation of sense. A few emendations may have been tacitly adopted. Some of my mistakes have been put right in the new translation, but in a number of places where the Editors have taken a different view of the sense they have not been successful in rendering the Syriac.

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Hezekiel: der Dichter und das Buch, von GUSTAV HÖLSCHER. (A. Töpelmann, Giessen, 1924.)

THE writer of this powerful treatise aims at a revolution. Herrmann's *Commentary* (1924), noticed last year in this JOURNAL, carried the higher criticism of Ezekiel a stage further than had been reached before; but Hölscher would have us go far beyond Herrmann. He believes that the prevailing conception of the Prophet and of the Book is fundamentally wrong. He will have no compromise: the line must be drawn firmly between the Prophet and the Redactor, the real author of the Book. According to Hölscher, Ezekiel, in Babylon among the exiles of 597 B.C., saw two visions; the first induced him to proclaim the final siege of Jerusalem; the second revealed the idolatry going on in the temple, and roused him to hurl threats against the city and her two allies, Tyre and Egypt. Ezekiel is the prophet of doom and of nothing else. His brief oracles, sixteen in number, are invariably cast into the form of poetry; they can be distinguished at a glance by their intense emotion, their use of allegory, and their corrupt text. In passing it may be observed that the Book of Ezekiel contains 1,273 verses: of these Hölscher assigns some 170 to the prophet himself.

Generations later, probably just before the time of Nehemiah, a Redactor, who disguises himself in the mantle of Ezekiel to secure a hearing, composed the Book, pretty much as we have it, chronology and all. He incorporated the older prophet's oracles of doom, but balanced them by promises of restoration; and since the former had been signally fulfilled by the overthrow of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., so, it was hoped, the latter would be realized in due season.

The Book of Ezekiel, therefore, like the other prophetic books, is to be regarded as an anthology of original utterances, collected long after the prophet's day, and expanded freely by a later hand. Ezekiel himself becomes a very different person from the visionary mystic we have imagined, who combined a prophet's inspiration with a priestly care for worship and order; he was in no sense 'the father of Judaism'; but in temperament a man like Jeremiah, and only remarkable for a few nervous and incisive lyrics. The current opinion, that the legislation of chs. xl–xlviii furnishes the clue to the date and sequence of the later codes of the Pentateuch, must be abandoned; there need be no more discussion of the relation between Ezekiel and the Law of Holiness (Lev. xvii–xxvi), for the Redactor, not the prophet, was responsible in the main for chs. xl–xlviii, and the Redactor lived not long after the publication of Deuteronomy (which Hölscher brings

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down to a date *c.* 450 B.C.); he belonged to the same period and the same school as H, and naturally wrote in the same language. He was in fact a Zadokite priest of Jerusalem, and his book a 'Kampfschrift' or a 'Programmschrift' of the Zadokite party; the secret is let out in ch. xliv 15 f.

At times Hölscher almost convinces us. His theory does account for the contrast between the fine passages and the dull ones, the poems which flash like jewels and the monotonous prose of their setting. Moreover, if our conscience allows us to put down the *longueurs* of Ezekiel to a late Redactor, it is equally satisfactory to be relieved at once of the troublesome questions raised by the legislation of chs. xl–xlviii when compared with D and H and P. There is really no alternative to Hölscher's view but to suppose that Ezekiel was his own redactor, if we may say so. The majority of modern scholars hold that the prophet himself collected his earlier utterances, arranged the work of his lifetime in chronological order, and, in a reflective as distinct from an ecstatic mood, himself developed the two-fold message of doom and restoration which he wished to be preserved in writing. Every one admits, of course, that glosses and variants and the usual accidents of transmission have injured the original form of the text; particularly in chs. xl–xlviii later hands have inserted competing regulations and rival projects of reform. On such lines as these the Book is now usually interpreted, and with tolerable success.

But no one who has worked at Ezekiel can feel satisfied that all the problems have been solved. Let us keep an open mind; let us also look where we are going. And there is a good deal which makes us hesitate before we surrender to Hölscher's argument. For one thing, he applies his logic with a rigour which seems hardly fair to the text. Can any ancient piece of literature stand such treatment? He gives us the uncomfortable feeling that, having convinced himself of a certain theory, he is forcing the text to support it. Then, again, the Redactor, who is supposed to have written the Book, must have been a person very unlike the compiler or pedestrian editor whom we meet with elsewhere: for he invented the vision of 'the chariot' in i 5–27 (mere midrash, according to Hölscher), the striking symbolic acts in iv 3–7, v 3–4, xii 3–12, xxiv 18–24, xxxvii 16–20, the vision of the dry bones in ch. xxxvii, the exquisite image of the waters from the sanctuary in ch. xlvii. These are not the kind of things which we associate with the annotators who filled out ancient texts; they are not copied from any previous models; they bear the stamp of originality. Let us drop, however, the misleading name, and call the Redactor an Anonymous Prophet; but even then we can find nothing like this. The Second and Third Isaiah and the Second Zechariah shew that the practice

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was to attach anonymous prophecies entire to other books, not to build up a long book on a few fragments of earlier oracles. Ezekiel may be an exception: in that case it stands alone.

But the chief objection to Hölscher's theory is that it empties the greater part of the Book of all serious meaning. Again and again the language of the Redactor is described as 'vaticinium post eventum', 'no genuine prophecy, but literary rhetoric', 'literary fiction' (e.g. pp. 64, 66, 118). The polemic against the idolatries practised in Jerusalem and on the high places up and down the country, the threats of punishment and dispersion, are intelligible on the lips of Ezekiel, but, so far as we know, they would be out of date 150 years later in the days of the Second Temple. We are asked to believe that the Redactor transported himself back into the time of Ezekiel, and impersonated the prophet and invented his history and actions—a feat of the imagination which is quite incredible. The Redactor's real self is supposed to come out in his promises of a restoration to be preceded by a judgement which will rid the land of idolatry and heathen blasphemy; and he contrived to gain a hearing for his opinions in a way which strikes us as wholly artificial (pp. 40–42). Taking the view he does, Hölscher naturally has nothing but contempt for the pretences of the Redactor, his rhetoric, his tasteless imagery, his grotesque symbolism.

Great stress is laid upon the argument from language. No doubt the chapters assigned to the Redactor bear the mark of a single hand, as Hölscher rightly maintains, and they exhibit a certain number of forms and idioms which are characteristic of the later literature; but it may be questioned whether the language in itself compels us to date these chapters in the fifth century; they may just as well be assigned to the sixth. The prose of Ezekiel is distinguished, not so much by any strong peculiarities of language as by its conventionality, its lack of edge and colour. It is continually sounding the same note; though, as the Greek Version proves, many of the redundances and repetitions are due to the mistakes of copyists or the marginal notes of readers.

In his analysis of the chapters one by one, Hölscher has a great deal to say that is valuable and acute. His argument gathers persuasiveness, and every future student of Ezekiel will have to reckon with it. At the same time one hesitates to accept the consequences; the ruthless logic arouses misgiving; and one is left doubting whether the Book of Ezekiel, save for a few poems more passionate than religious, has any value at all, either as prophecy or as literature.

G. A. Cooke.

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Ecclesiastes and the Early Greek Wisdom Literature, by HARRY RANSTON, M.A., Litt.D. (London, The Epworth Press, 1925.)

THIS is an interesting book of 154 pages by an author who has something new to say about Ecclesiastes. He calls attention to the varying answers given by scholars to the question, Are there traces in Ecclesiastes of the influence of Greek thought? He holds that the discussion has been conducted on the wrong basis. He maintains that the 'abstract philosophers . . . the Stoics, Epicureans &c.' as such have not exercised any influence on the book, but he proposes to examine the practical gnomic philosophy of the ordinary (Greek speaking) man, to see if this philosophy can be shewn to have influenced Koheleth.

So Dr Ranston turns in the first place to the gnomic hexameters of Theognis (*circ.* 520 B.C.) and devotes 50 pages of discussion to them. Theognis was, our author reminds us, for the Greeks the moralist *par excellence*. Dr Ranston finds many parallels with Ecclesiastes. Theognis claims 'signal knowledge of wisdom': so also Koheleth (i 16; ii 15; xii 9). The wise man must not grudge to impart wisdom: so again Koheleth (xii 9, 10).

'We know nothing', says Theognis, 'The Gods accomplish all things according to their own mind.' 'God', says Koheleth, 'has put *ignorance* in man's heart' (acc. to one interpretation of iii 11). 'How, Son of Kronos', asks Theognis, 'dost thou think fit to deal out the same portion to wicked and to just?' 'There is one event', writes Koheleth, 'to the righteous and to the wicked' (ix 2).

Eccl. v 8 is translated by Dr Ranston, 'If thou seest the oppression of the poor, . . . marvel not . . . for high one above high one is watching and the Most High (גבהים) above them.' Theognis (199 ff.) says that Wickedness may seem to prosper, but 'in the end there is ill, for the mind of the Gods is wont to be superior' (ὑπερέχειν, 'to excel others').

Further, Dr Ranston collects a good many parallels to Ecclesiastes from Hesiod, Xenophanes, and Solon (the gnomic verses). The work was worth doing, but a doubt remains in the reader's mind whether such proverbial wisdom be not the general property of mankind: Greek and Hebrew may have arrived at it independently. A further doubt (which Dr Ranston himself takes account of) arises from the uncertainty of the meaning of many passages of Koheleth. A glance at the margin of R.V. places this uncertainty vividly before the reader. Koheleth the wise man was aware that brevity is the soul of wit, but his brevity is not seldom too brief.

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As Dr McNeile's valuable book has been in my hands constantly in writing this notice, I may be allowed to add a criticism on one of his views. On vii 1 he writes, '*v.* 1*a* has no kind of relevancy to the context'.

Literally rendered the verse runs:

'A name is better than good oil,
And the day of death than the day of birth.'

In the first clause the sense has been sacrificed to the sound,

Tōv shēm misshemen tov.

What is left to a man when he dies? Only 'a name' of what he once was, according to Koheleth. The name—the bare name—answers in the parallelism to the day of death. Again the 'good oil' with which the newborn infant was washed (Ezek. xvi 9) corresponds to 'the day of birth'; indeed the phrase might be rendered, 'glad oil'; cp. *yom tov*, 'glad day' or 'feast' in later Hebrew. The brevity of the first clause is responsible for any doubt about its meaning. There is no '*precious* ointment' in the passage, and no '*good* name'. The 'name' is the record, good or bad, whichever it be. The whole verse might be paraphrased thus: 'An epitaph is better than swaddling clothes, And the day of death than the day of birth.'

Micah, Obadiah, Joel, and Jonah, with Introduction and Notes by G. W. Wade, D.D. (Methuen, 1925.)

This book belongs to the well-known series of Westminster Commentaries, whose primary object is 'to interpret the meaning of each book of the Bible in the light of modern knowledge to English readers'. Dr Wade is learned, lucid, and generally abreast of the times in his comments, and the volume is a valuable contribution to the series. He is cautiously sensible in his treatment of Hebrew forms of poetry as used by the prophets. Passages of poetical structure, he says, 'are distinguished either by parallelism of thought, or by a series of uniform (or nearly uniform) rhythmic beats [*sic lege*] or by both these features together. Their writers, like other poets, subjected themselves to rules, though perhaps not very exigent rules . . . Their words through being uttered in rhythmical cadence, not only gained in force or sublimity but were more easily remembered, . . . it will be recalled that the utterances of the Greek oracles were generally couched in hexameters' (pp. cxl, cxli).

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Some particulars should be reconsidered before a new edition is demanded. 'David's capture of Jerusalem from the Jebusites' (p. cxii) is an incautious phrase. Not Jerusalem but 'the stronghold of Zion' was the locality in question (2 Sam. v 7, 9). Whether this was a stronghold in the military sense is doubtful. In the *Expositor* (January, 1914) I tried to shew that an underground sanctuary is more probably meant. David dispossessed the Jebusites of their holy place. The Hebrew text of Samuel (differing from 1 Chron. xi 4–8) points to some more mysterious transaction than the storming of a height.

On pp. cxxv, cxxvi Dr Wade accepts the view that the first letters of *vv.* 1–4 of Ps. cx yield the acrostic ShiM'oN. He draws the conclusion that Simon the Maccabee (1 Macc. xiv 35, 41) is meant, and that the Psalm refers to him. But the proposed acrostic is open to two criticisms. *First*, Why does it cover just the first four verses? Why does it not stop at the end of ver. 3, where there is a break in the sense? Or again, if it includes ver. 4, why does it not cover the whole of the Psalm? If the acrostic had consisted of seven letters (or of eight) and had yielded the reading 'Simon Prince' or 'Simon Priest' (either possible with seven or eight letters) it might have been accepted, but the solitary 'Simon' is not plausible. *Secondly*, the fourth letter 'N' is not well supported. If there were an acrostic, the fourth letter would occur naturally, not at the beginning of ver. 4 but, in the middle of ver. 3, which is indeed a double verse. But in that case the fourth letter would be M, and the acrostic would fail. Is it not better to leave the uncertainties of acrostics alone?

In writing on Jonah Dr Wade considers carefully the 'Defective Unity of the Book'. In an Appendix he prints the narrative portion of the book in double columns shewing how much overlapping there is in the present text. But it is hardly safe to take the variant of LXX in iii 4 as an indication of the existence of an alternative form of the narrative. According to MT Jonah proclaims, 'Yet *forty* days and Nineveh shall be overthrown'. In LXX the words run, 'Yet *three* days' . . . (O. L., codex Weingartensis, *adhuc triduum et nineve civitas evertetur*). But there are two possible explanations of the 'three days' of LXX. It may be a scribal error arising from the mention of 'three days' in the preceding verse. Still more likely, it may be a Midrashic commentary on the 'forty days' of MT. Jonah is commanded after his deliverance from the sea to deliver the message originally given him. This presumably allowed Nineveh a respite of *forty* days. But Jonah's flight and delay in delivering his warning reduced the period of respite. What then more obvious to a Midrashic mind than to reduce the forty days to three? *Three days* is a common Hebrew phrase for a brief space of time. The Septuagint is by no means free from Midrashic touches.

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Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft. N.F. Zweiter Band, 1925, Heft 1/2. (Alfred Töpelmann, Giessen.)

THIS is a good number. Students may be especially grateful for the Editor's Communication *Die Ausgrabungen in Samaria.* After some interesting remarks (not amounting to a review) on the two handsome volumes by Reisner, Fisher, and Lyon entitled *Harvard Excavations at Samaria,* he reproduces the text in square Hebrew characters of the sixty-five ostraka found in the ruined building which is described as Ahab's palace. Doubtful readings are marked, and students who have no access to Reisner's expensive volumes are provided with a text sufficient for working purposes. The proper names (of men) are particularly interesting, e.g. Elisha, Meribbaal, Ahinoam, Nimshi. Several of these name have the Aramaic ending נא- : parallel forms in Samuel and Kings are Sheva, Ira (2 Sam. xx 25, 26), Baasha, Arza (1 Kings xv 16, xvi 9), Shebna (2 Kings xviii 37, xix 2), Uzza (2 Kings xxi 18). Theophoric names (*Shemariah,* &c.) end in יו—not in יה nor in יהו as in M.T.

Another important communication by Dr Gressmann is entitled *Neue Hilfsmittel zum Verständnis Jeremias.* The first book noticed is Gi. Ricciotti's Italian version with Introduction and Commentary. 'Alles in allem', says Dr Gressmann, 'man wird sich den Namen Ricciotti merken müssen'. Next comes *Das Buch Jeremia, griechisch und hebräisch* brought out by the Württemberg Bible Institute after the death of Eb. Nestle. The Greek text is furnished with a fourfold (!) *apparatus criticus.* The work should prove a valuable help to study. The Commentary of Paul Volz is next described. Volz has a mind of his own and should be read: 'Dies Buch ist kein Sammelbecken für die Meinungen der Anderen.' Dr Gressmann is enthusiastic in his praise of Dr John Skinner's *Prophecy and Religion: Studies in the Life of Jeremiah*—'das voll ausgereifte Lebenswerk eines englischen Forschers, das man auch in Deutschland und anderswo im Ausland eifrig studieren sollte'. The comparison of Skinner with Volz is stimulating, and so Dr Gressmann is led to discuss the *crux* of Jeremiah's attitude to Josiah's (Deuteronomic) Reform. Skinner considers it 'the more probable view' that Jeremiah at first was warmly in favour of the movement. But later there was a developement of the written Law beyond Deuteronomy and perhaps in the direction of P. This developement Jeremiah characterizes in viii 8 (a late passage) as a scribal falsification; but he does not give up his original view, which was favourable to the original movement. Volz differs from Skinner considerably in his interpretation of particular passages; but his general

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view agrees with Skinner's. He considers xi 6–8 (not simply *vv.* 7, 8) as interpolated, and denies that chap. xi supplies evidence that Jeremiah supported Josiah's Reform by a 'canvass'. Originally Jeremiah was in favour of Deuteronomy, later he 'outgrew it', and rejected 'Temple, Cultus, and Sacrifice'. Dr Gressmann makes a proposal of his own dealing with the chief relevant passages. He suggests ingeniously that viii 8, 9 does not represent two voices (as generally supposed), one that of the Prophet, the other that of the Wise (the Scribes). Rather with the words, 'How do ye say' Jeremiah introduces in *vv.* 8, 9 one voice only, that of the People of the Land objecting as Conservatives to the innovation of Written Laws:

We are wise,
And the (oral) Law (Torah) of Jehovah is with us;
But see how the lying pen of scribes
Has made it a lie!
The Wise men (Scribes) are found out;
They are dismayed, and taken:
Behold, they have refused the Word of Jehovah,
And what did their Wisdom profit them?

But the Prophet is in favour of the (new) law of Deuteronomy, and he answers the popular objection with a denunciation of judgement upon the whole people. This denunciation Dr Gressmann finds in vi 10–12, which he supposes to have followed viii 9 originally. This last suggestion is, I think, unnecessary, but the new suggestion as to viii 8, 9, an enigmatic passage, should be carefully weighed. Abraham Menes writes on *Die Sozialpolitische Analyse der Urgeschichte*, and he developes a thesis which reminds one in part of the opinions of the Ophites. At first blush it seems too ingenious. The 'Kainsage', Menes tells us, has been mangled and is hard to interpret as it stands. There is a contradiction between Cain the murderer who is cursed by Jehovah and Cain the bearer of Jehovah's mark, and so the person under Jehovah's protection. The object of the 'Kainsage' is to shew how the Kainstamm (the Kenites) became nomads. In the history of civilization nomad life cannot have preceded Agriculture, for the reason that nomads could not live without the products of agriculture. [This sharp distinction between the Shepherd and the Farmer cannot surely be sustained. The modern Bedouin are essentially nomads, but they cultivate the date-palm and also small patches of barley. Doughty describes how they starve through the summer on a very little milk and an occasional quail.] Nomads (Cain, Ishmael, and the companions of David at Adullam) are the people who are driven out of the cultivated lands owing to some economic necessity or political or religious quarrel. Probably the killing of Abel was

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differently stated in the original story. The 'Kainsage' is intended to shew not only how Cain became a nomad but also how he became a worshipper of Jehovah. Like Ishmael he was driven into the desert, and to him as to Ishmael Jehovah revealed himself as a protector. That the Kenites were worshippers of Jehovah is generally acknowledged. Further J dates the beginning of the worship of Jehovah from Enosh (Gen. iv 26). But how could the writer, who doubtless looked upon the first calling on the name of Jehovah as an event of the highest importance, have attached it to the colourless name of Enosh, and made so little of it? The notice 'Then a beginning was made of calling on the name of Jehovah' surely stood once in a richer context. Menes thinks that it belongs to the 'Kainsage'. Cain was the first to call on the name of Jehovah.

Der exilische Messias (an endless subject) is discussed by W. Rudolph. Franz Wutz writes on the original Hebrew text: Can it be reached? One of his working principles at least is new: 'Dass die unmittelbare Vorlage für die [griechischen] Uebersetzer nicht der hebräische Konsonantentext ist, sondern ein mit griechischen Buchstaben geschriebener Transskriptionstext.' G. Kuhn offers five pages of emendations for the corrupt [Latin] text of the *Assumptio Mosis*. He does not seem to know Professor Burkitt's explanation of TAXO. The final eleven pages are devoted to a very useful enumeration of articles in Periodicals of interest to students of the Old Testament and of Judaism.

W. EMERY BARNES.

Hundert deutsche Fliegerbilder aus Palaestina, ausgewaehlt und erlaeutert von D. Dr GUSTAF DALMAN. (Bertelsmann, Guetersloh.)

OF all the volumes that have originated from the war this is perhaps the most interesting and valuable to the Bible student. Dalman's name is a synonym for fullness of knowledge and almost infallible accuracy in matters Biblical and Palestinian. And, besides, all that human ingenuity could do and all the resources of the German Empire have been brought to bear. These photographs were taken during the Great War as an aid to Germany's offensive against ourselves, and now they are given out to men of peace and goodwill to illumine the Sacred Volume.

In his *Orte u. Wege Jesu* Dalman had given us several of these pictures, but in the present folio volume we have 100, covering practically the whole land. They enable us to work out all the routes of Christ, to look upon the hills and the valleys as He saw them, and thus

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more fully to understand many of His allusions. And what is true of the Gospels is equally so of the rest of Scripture. The paths by which Abraham, Joshua, Samson, and many another ancient hero 'must have gone' can all be traced.

Picture No. 28 is interesting in connexion with the adventure of Jonathan, and if examined along with Nos. 1 and 2 it will make clear, as I for one have always maintained, that Isa. x 28–32 describes only an ideal advance, shewing the facility and rapidity with which the Assyrian could come. A real attack would have been along the line shewn in Nos. 21–26, i. e. a few miles farther west.

In the pictures of the cities (Hebron, Jerusalem, Jaffa, Accho, Nazareth, Tiberias, &c.) every street can be traced, and the individual houses identified. This suggests that we have in those of Jerusalem a very valuable asset for the discussion of the true position of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre, a question that has once again become acute through the discovery of the Third (Agrippa's) Wall.

For Jews there is also a special interest in No. 3, which shews the Holy City from Mount Scopus, the site of Titus's Camp when he launched his attack against Jerusalem in A. D. 70, which is now by the irony of history the site of the new Hebrew University.

From Transjordania we have photographs of extinct craters, the spurs of Hermon, the traditional Ramoth Gilead, and Rabbath Ammon, but those of Jerash excel them all. It was one of the cities of Decapolis, and here the antiquarian student meets the most complete and finest Greek ruins in the world, an empty city with its temples, palaces, amphitheatres, triumphal arches, and a complete naumachion (No. 93), the only one in the world in such condition.

The pictures are as good as real photographs and a glass can be used for enlargement. The date and hour of the day when they were taken is given. This enables one to learn much from the light and the shade, and to appreciate the slopes. The letterpress is concise, but I have not discovered the omission of anything essential. There are references to Palestinian Literature, including publications of our own Palestine Exploration Fund. A scale or finder is attached, and by its means even minute objects referred to in the letterpress can be found.

The volume is an indispensable companion to every Bible Dictionary, as well as to such books as Dr G. A. Smith's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*.

W. M. CHRISTIE.

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Geschichte des Volkes Israel, von RUDOLF KITTEL, Professor an der Universität in Leipzig. 2. Band: Das Volk in Kanaan, usw. 6te, vielfach umgearbeitete Auflage. (Verlag von F. Andreas Perles A-G., Stuttgart/Gotha, 1925.)

A YEAR ago we had the pleasure of welcoming the first volume of the new edition of Professor Kittel's 'History of the People of Israel'; and now the second volume, which completes the work, is lying before us. As in the first volume, some room has been obtained by the excision of certain sections of the chapters entitled *Quellenkunde dieses Zeitraums*, though that on the external sources from the division of the monarchy onwards (pp. 206–209) has been retained. Further economy of space has been effected by closer printing and thinner paper. Otherwise all the well-known features of the earlier editions reappear—but vastly enriched with new material. Not only are the latest views on specifically Hebrew problems amply treated, but the author has mastered current Assyrian literature, so that the new date for the fall of Nineveh, which took place in 612 according to the chronicle published by Mr Gadd from a tablet in the British Museum, is correctly given; not only so, but in an appendix there is a brief notice of Dr Lewy's recent discussion of this question in his *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte Vorderasiens* (1925). Another recent discovery is mentioned in an appendix, in which a notice about Ermann's discovery of the Egyptian origin of certain chapters of Proverbs is inserted. The author's caution is well seen in his careful remarks on the relationship of prophecy to early Zoroastrianism in Persia.

Excavations—for example, those at Megiddo and Samaria—receive due attention, and the welcome light shed by them and by inscriptions on the narrative is fully utilized. Full use is made of quotations from the prophets, with which both the historical narrative and the account of the developement of the Hebrew religion is illuminated; and the two sides of the story are not discussed in watertight compartments but are admirably interwoven.

The printing is very clear and singularly free from errors; but two misprints may be noticed in passing: on p. 379 l. 20 *kurzem* should be read for *kuzem*, and on p. 425 l. 29 *Zedeqia* for *Zedeqin*.

In conclusion, both the author and the publishers are to be congratulated on the completion of a most valuable work of learning. The notes are almost as full and as interesting as the text, and the whole book is not only thoroughly readable from beginning to end but is also certain to be of permanent value as a work of reference. Professor Kittel has also found time, it may be remarked in passing,

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during the publication of his *Geschichte*, to write a small brochure entitled *Die Hellenistische Mysterien-religion und das Alte Testament*, which is hardly less interesting than his greater work, and makes us hope that he may yet find time to add a third volume to his history and bring the story of the Jews down, if not to the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, at least to the end of the period covered by the Old Testament.

Grammaire de l'Hébreu Biblique, par le P. PAUL JOÜON, S.J. (Institut Biblique Pontifical, Rome, 1923.)

FATHER JOÜON is to be congratulated on an admirable work; his grammar of Biblical Hebrew is precisely what such a book should be. It contains a very full account of the phonetics, writing, and accidence of the language, and almost a half of it is devoted to syntax. A supplementary volume gives various tables of the pronouns, the conjugation of verbs and the declension of nouns, together with excellent indices. A noteworthy point is a brief list (on pp. 46–48), which might well have been expanded, of Massoretic technical terms commonly found in the margins of Hebrew Bibles.

A few remarks may now perhaps, with all reserve, be offered. Pp. 14–15: it might be well to add that the LXX confirms the statement that the Hebrew ע represents two distinct sounds. P. 66: similarly in the modern Arabic of Syria and Palestine *ra's* and *ḍa'n* have become *râs* and *ḍân* respectively.[1] P. 89: the origin of אֲשֶׁר 'who', 'which' can hardly be separated from the Assyrian *ašar* 'where', the construct case of *ašru* 'place' (cp. the use of *πού* 'where' in modern Greek and of *wo* 'where' in Bernese German with the sense of 'who', 'which'); שֶׁ־, &c. must be connected originally with the Assyrian *ša* 'who', 'which', the later שֶׁלְּ being compounded of this ש and the preposition ל; the Phoenician אש is the same ש with an א prefixed for euphony, as in the modern Palestinian and Syrian Arabic *išú* for *šú* 'what?' *'išî* for *šî* 'something' from *šî* 'thing'.[2] P. 93, n. 1: there is some evidence for the root קטל also in Assyrian, both in the verb *qaṭâlu* (Muss-Arnolt *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 910 *a*) and in the nouns *qaṭṭillu* 'slayer', 'murderer' and *taqṭulu* 'sacrifice'. P. 103: the form יִשְׁפּוֹט Ungnad (*Das Wesen des Ursemitischen*, p. 20) probably rightly regards as an error for יִשְׁפֹּט and takes it as a *momentanes Imperfekt*. Ps. 113: like the Hebrew אחח, the English 'possessed' has apparently both a passive and an active sense. P. 149: the Hebrew יֵלֵךְ and יֵהָלֵךְ find

[1] Driver *Grammar of the Colloquial Arabic of Syria and Palestine* p. 13.
[2] Driver *op. cit.* pp. 37, 40 and 249.

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an exact parallel in the Assyrian *illak* or *ilak* and *illuk*. P. 156: the double use of מָלֵא as transitive and intransitive goes back to the original use of the permansive-perfect, reflected in the Assyrian permansive, which is usually intransitive but may be also transitive, since being in a certain state implies a previous action which has brought that state about: thus *kasap nadin* means either 'the silver was given' or 'he gave the silver' with very little difference to the speaker's meaning. To obviate the obscurity, Babylonian retained the old Semitic case-endings, thus distinguishing *kaspum nadin* 'the silver was given' from *kaspam nadin* 'he gave the silver'; Hebrew treated the corresponding tense almost always as transitive and so needed no termination to mark the case, since נָתַן כֶּסֶף could only mean 'he gave the silver'. P. 179: the use of a helping vowel *ê* in verbs ע"ע in such forms as תִּסַּבֵּינָה is carried even further in Syrian and Palestinian Arabic, where these verbs are completely assimilated to those whose final consonant is weak, as in *ḥallêt* (حلّيت) 'I untied' from *ḥall* (Hebrew חלל) 'he untied';[1] P. 185: a note on the biliteral theory would have been useful here. P. 195: to the passives of the form קְטֻלָה there may be added שְׂרֻפָה 'thing burnt' and שְׁרֻקָה 'object of hissing' and possibly שְׁדֻפָה 'a thing blasted' (2 Kings xix 26). P. 197: it is scarcely correct to call שְׁאָר an Aramaic form in view of שְׁאָר 'remnant' which occurs as early as the eighth century in the name of Isaiah's son; rather it is a relic of the earlier Amorite element which went to the making up of the Hebrew language; the corresponding word from the Accadian side was יָתֵר 'remnant'. P. 198: to nouns of the form קֹטֵל should be added רֹבֵץ 'a lurker' if the rendering of Gen. iv 7 'sin is at the door, a lurker' (Spurrell, *ad loc.*) is right, in which case רֹבֵץ 'lurker' stands in the same category as the Babylonian noun *râbiṣu* 'lurker', used in the case of the demon called the *râbiṣu limnu* 'the evil lurker'.[2] Pp. 224–225: the old accusative לַיְלָה used as a nominative may be compared with the modern Greek ἡ νύχθα 'the night'. Pp. 227–228: the case-ending *-î* is best explained as an old helping vowel found sometimes in the construct case in Babylonian[3]; *-ô* is much more easily explained as a variation for *-û* (which is disliked as a nominal termination at least in early Hebrew) than as derived from the accusative ending *-â*, since (1) the accusative ending is already known in the form *-ā* (2) it is *-a* in all the other Semitic languages, and (3) the interchange of *ô* and *û* is not unknown in Hebrew (cp. Joüon *Grammaire*, § 29 *b*); the proper *-û* is only retained in the middle of compound words. P. 235: the

[1] Driver *op. cit.* pp. 102 and 103.

[2] Against this see Zimmern, *K.A.T.*[3] p. 460, n. 3.

[3] Driver in the *Journal of Theological Studies* vol. xxvi pp. 76–77.

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helping vowel is also found in segholate nouns in modern Arabic, now that the case-endings have fallen away.[1] P. 266: the feminine is used in multiplicative numbers because פְּעָמִים 'times' is to be supplied, *-ayim* being the old termination of the accusative *-am* which appears generally as *-ām* in Hebrew adverbs.[2] P. 268: the same ending appears in יוֹמָם (= Assyrian *ûmam*) 'by day'; this is better than to see in it a reduplication of the *m* as in the Syrian ܐܢܡܡܐ (*ibid.*, n. 3.) Then words like צָהֳרַיִם 'midday' will also be proto-Semitic accusatives and not duals which have come to be used for all cases. Pp. 268–269: when the feminine of adjectives is used for adverbs there is an ellipse of some common word like פַּעַם 'time' (fem.) as with רִאשׁוֹנָה 'at first', or לָשׁוֹן 'tongue' (fem.), as with אֲרָמִית 'in Aramaic', *&c.* The termination *-annîth* in אֲחֹרַנִּית 'backwards' and קְדֹרַנִּית 'in mourning' (if the reading be right) is different, being cognate with the Assyrian ending *-âniš*.[3] P. 271, n. 2: the negative אִי is more probably an old interrogative which has taken on a negative connotation and is cognate with the Assyrian *ai* 'where?' and *ai* or *ê* 'not' than a shortened form of אַיִן[4]; for the Assyrian *yânu* (and therefore the Hebrew אַיִן) 'there is not' is clearly a lengthened form of *ai*. That *ai* is the earlier form is proved by the fact that it underlies a variety of Hebrew interrogative adverbs, such as אֵיךְ 'how?', אַיֵּה, אֵיפֹה, אָן and אָנָה 'where?' and מֵאַיִן 'whence?'; it also is the interrogative element in the Assyrian *aium* and *yau* 'where?', *aiu* 'who?', *ainu* and *yanu* 'where?' Pp. 273–274: the noun whence אַחַר is derived is the Sumerian *EGIR* 'backside' (of men and things). Pp. 348 ff.: the infinitive absolute in Hebrew seems to cover two original constructions: (*a*) that in which the infinitive stood originally in the nominative and formed an exclamatory nominal clause, as in the Assyrian *tabâlum tatbal* 'a carrying away! hast thou carried away?' = 'hast thou surely carried away?' (cp. Isa. l 2), and (*b*) that in which it stood as the internal object in the accusative, as in the Assyrian *ḫašâla iḫšul* 'he overthrew an overthrowing' = 'he entirely overthrew' (cp. Jer. xxii 19). In Assyrian both constructions exist side by side, though often hardly distinguishable in use; in Arabic only the second is found. P. 353: forms like קֹב and שֹׁל probably go back to an ultimate identity of ע״ע and ע״ו roots. P. 360: it does not follow that, when the subject is separated from the infinitive construct, it is in the nominative, since constructions like אֵין־שֵׁם מחסור (Jud. xviii 10) shew that the genitive could be separated from its governing noun; when the vowels are not those of the con-

[1] Driver *Grammar* p. 19.
[2] Torczyner *Die Entstehung des semitischen Sprachtypus* pp. 72–74.
[3] Torczyner *op. cit.* pp. 209–210.
[4] Ungnad *Das Wesen des Ursemitischen* p. 13.

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struct case, as in לָנֶס שׁמה הרצח (Num. xxxv 6), the punctuation may well be an error (for לְנֶס). P. 366–367, n. 2: so also in Arabic (and in Assyrian) the verb 'to give' takes a pronominal suffix, properly expressing the direct, to express the indirect object. Pp. 403–404: among the uses of ב should be added its semi-partitive use in such phrases as הרג ב 'slew some among', הכה ב 'smote some among' and קצה ב (2 Kings x 32, a passage which should there not be emended) 'cut off some among' or 'in'. P. 430: it is possible that בלילה הוא is a misdivision of the words for בליל ההוא rather than an error for בלילה חהוא. P. 435: there are perhaps signs that the adjective is sometimes used also in Assyrian as the genitive of a noun, as in ציצת נבל; cp. *bît illim* 'a house of the pure one' (Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, VI, i, p. 38, no. 2, l. 1) for *bîtum illum* 'a pure house' (*ibid.*, p. 40, l. 9), if any heed is to be paid to the terminations in Assyrian. Another example may be seen in the curious *kasap gamirti* (masc. c.c. with fem. adj.) beside *kaspu gamirtu* 'all the money' (Muss-Arnolt *Ass. H. W. B.*, p. 224 *a*). P. 457: in modern Arabic peasant women often use the masculine of themselves.[1] P. 463: the addition of a part of the body as a secondary subject appears to be found also in Assyrian; cp. Smith *Babylonian Historical Text*, p. 86, l. 18: *išallal qâtâšu* 'he—his two hands—tears (it) down.' P. 464: possibly the feminine הִוא אשׁר and כן־הִוא should be read. P. 504–505: the use of a suppressed condition in strong asseverations and denials is a construction found also in Assyrian alone of the Semitic languages; cp. Scheil *Lois Assyriennes*, § 5, l. 60: *šumma ušaḫizušini* 'surely I did not let her take it' and § 48, l. 17: *šumma lâ iqbianni* 'surely he told me'.

The only fault to be found with the book is the poor quality of the paper on which it is printed; it is indeed unfortunate that a work of permanent value should not be considered worth a durable paper. The printing, on the contrary, is admirable and leaves nothing to be desired. It may not, however, be out of place to call attention to a few misprints which may be corrected when a new edition comes out.

P. 61, l. 2: أَحَد for أَحَد; p. 215, l. 19: עָזִי for עָזִי; p. 220, l. 29: זקי for זקן; p. 229, l. 1: חם for הם; p. 238, l. 14: סַפֶּר for סֵפֶר; p. 264, l. 27: *istên* for *ištên*; p. 353, l. 23: תביי for תבין; p. 355, l. 21: חלך for הלך; p. 381, l. 22: וַיִּרְדֹּף for וַיִּרְדֹּף; p. 482, l. 23: הִיא for הִוא; p. 511, n. 2: הֵקִים for הֵקִים; p. 513, n. 1: יָשֵׁב for יָשֵׁב, p. 531, l. 21: ויחי for ויהי; p. 24*, l. 3: סָבֲבָה for סָבֲבָה.

[1] Driver *op. cit.* pp. 26 and 160.

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Šumer et Akkad: contribution à l'Histoire de la Civilisation dans la Basse-Mesopotamie — avec 92 planches. CHARLES-F. JEAN. (Geuthner, Paris, 1923.)

THE editor has here published an interesting collection of tablets in his own possession from Nippur-Drehem, Umma, and Larsa, of the Sumerian period, and a few Semitic documents of the first Babylonian dynasty. The texts themselves, of which many are unfortunately more or less badly damaged, seem to be well copied, as far as can be judged by one who has not seen the originals, and the reproduction of the editor's copies leaves nothing to be desired. The introduction contains a valuable study of their contents, including an analysis of the proper names, of the various woods in use and of the objects made of them, and of the relative frequency or rarity of precious stones and metals employed at the time of the dynasty of Ur. The tablets comprise every kind of document relating to business: deliveries of precious stones, silver, timber, wool, cattle, grain, oil, and foodstuffs, lists of workmen, of their tools and their wages, catalogues of objects in bronze and copper, payments of compensation for damage, loans, settlements of accounts, the division of property, purchase of slaves and other goods, and, lastly, a few letters, also on affairs of business.

In the section on proper names the editor notices (p. 18) the name *Allânu* ('oak') as an interesting parallel to the Hebrew proper name אֵלוֹן (1 Chron. iv 37), and later (p. 110, n. 4) he compares the name *Ḫubaba* with חֹבָב (Num. x 29, Judg. iv 11), the father-in-law of Moses. Now M. Thureau-Dangin has published in the *Revue d'Assyriologie* (vol. xxii, pp. 23–26) plaques of the demon *Ḫumbaba* or *Ḫuwawa* (= *Ḫubaba*), in one of which the face is drawn in such a way as to appear composed of the coils of a serpent wound round and round in spirals, which the attached legend compares with the convolutions of the entrails. If, therefore, Wellhausen was right in connecting the Hebrew name Hobab with the Arabic *ḥubâb* 'serpent', it may indeed be ultimately cognate also with the Babylonian name *Ḫumbaba* = *Ḫuwawa* = *Ḫubaba*, all three forms of which actually occur. Another word of interest to the Hebraist is the *NA. KID* (p. 106, no. 64, R. 6), who is contrasted with the *SIB* (= Assyrian *rê'û* and the Hebrew רֹעֶה) 'shepherd' and the *NU. TUR. GUD* 'ox-herd'; the *NA. KID* is the Sumerian for the Babylonian *nâqidu*, who is identical with the Hebrew נֹקֵד 'sheepmaster' (2 Kings iii 4) or 'herdman' (Am. i 1). The interesting question then arises, whether the Hebrew (and the cognate Arabic) word are originally of Semitic or Sumerian origin; unfortunately, although *NA. KID* can be attested, according to Professor Langdon, as

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early as the twenty-eighth (T.-Dangin *Tablettes Chaldéennes*, 131, R. 3), the twenty-sixth (Gudea *St. F.*, iv 2), and twenty-fourth (Dungi in *O.E.C.T.*, i 43. 5) centuries B. C., Semitic words had already begun to pass over into Sumerian as pseudo-ideograms, so that the problem cannot yet be solved. Lastly, the root of *maḫrašu* 'oar' (p. 98, n. 5, and p. 100) is undoubtedly cognate with the Hebrew חָרַשׁ 'engraved', 'ploughed'.[1]

In regard to trees, the editor had not the advantage of using Mr Campbell Thompson's important *Assyrian Herbal*; he still clings to the old interpretation of *ṣarbatu* as 'elm' (p. 38) for which *styrax officinalis* (*op. cit.*, pp. 135–138) should be substituted, and leaves *ašuḫu* untranslated (pp. 38–39), though it is now almost certain that it means 'fir' (*op. cit.*, pp. 154–159).

Unfortunately, the interpretation of the texts in detail does not always reach the same level of excellence as the other parts of the work. Two small corrections should be made in the introduction: on p. 41 (and elsewhere) the reading *Dúr-gurgurri* for *BAD. TIBIRA* is now generally given up, and on p. 43 the Semitic equivalent of *GIŠ. DA* should be given as *li'u* (Hebrew לִיתַ) rather than as *pitnu* 'plank'. In the transcriptions and translations only a few important corrections can here be made. No. 159, O. 6: *DUP* can hardly be the correct reading, as it cannot stand for *DUP. ŠAR* 'scribe'; *DUMU* 'son' may perhaps be suggested, in which case the translation should run 'Kunnutum the son of Nabi-Šamaš has received . . .' No. 177, R. 3: the reading *tardîšinâti*, which is largely a guess, cannot be right and, since it would mean 'thou hast followed', or perhaps 'driven them', the translation *tu iras* is also incorrect. No. 178, E. 2: *KU* should apparently be *KI*; R. 3–5: these lines are hopelessly mistranslated owing to the omission of l. 5—*MU. Sa-am-su-i-lu-na LUGAL IN. PAD(?) MEŠ(?)*—in the transcription; the whole passage should run 'they have sworn by Samsu-iluna the king not to re-open the case'. No. 181, R. 3: it is difficult to see how the editor has extracted *se sont éloignées* from *itrikû*; R. 11: *uṣeribu* means 'they have brought in', not *sont entrés*, and *É. GAL* must be construed not with this but with the following verb, as the conjunction *-ma* shews. No. 182, O. 1: 7 + 50 should be 6 + 50; O. 5 and R. 1: here and elsewhere *AZAG. GA* should be read *KU(G). GA*; R. 6: the last witness should be *Ṣil-li-Nin-mar-ki* (cp. Deimel *Pantheon Babylonicum*, no. 2648), not *Ṣil-li-Nin-mar-tu*. No. 184, E. 2: *MU. PAL* does not mean *l'année passée* but the opening months of a king's reign between the death of his predecessor and the following new year.

[1] The ancients seem usually to have thought of the sea as 'ploughed' by the ship (Aesch. *Suppl.*, 1007; Verg. *Aen.* ii. 780; and Ovid *Met.* iv. 705) rather than by the oars; but compare Ovid, *Heroides* v. 54 *remis eruta canet aqua.*

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No. 187, R. 1 and 8: the sign read *RIQ* may be either *RIQ* (Meissner *S.A.I.*, no. 3525) 'dealer in perfumes' or *BAPPIR* (*ibid.*, no. 3587) 'brewer' (T.-Dangin in *R.A.*, vol. xx, p. 107, l. 4, n. 1), though it is more like *LÁL* (Brünnow *Classified List*, no. 3338), which here yields no sense; against *BAPPIR* it may be urged that (*awêl*) *BAPPIR* is not otherwise attested before the Cassite period (*B.E.*, xiv, 62, 17). No. 195, R. 2: *uddû* should mean 'they appointed', not *ils savent*, but the sense of the passage is obscure; R. 4: *amur* means 'read (it)' rather than *voici!*; R. 7: *šimâ* more probably means 'have hearkened' or 'obeyed' than *n'ont pas été entendus*; R. 10: *ana ṣîrika* 'unto thee' should not be construed with the preceding clause *aššum ša ašpuru* 'as regards what I have written' but with what follows, as the conjunction *-ma* shews. No. 197, O. 14: *tanadišunušim* is present or future, not preterite; R. 15: *piḫatum úl ílku* can hardly mean *le déchet on n'a pas reçu* for (*a*) *piḫatum* stands in the nominative, and (*b*) the meaning 'deterioration' or 'damage' has long been disproved (Walther *Das altbabylonische Gerichtswesen*, pp. 152–154, n. 2; cp. *Z.D.M.G.*, 69, 431 and 496–498); the only possible rendering is 'the administration' or 'department has not received (it)'. No. 199, R. 8: *UDU.ZUN mali-it-tum* cannot mean *moutons et vaches* (reading *UDU.ZUN.-ma li-it-tum*), since the conjunction *-ma* can only connect clauses, not substantives; if the reading of the text is correct, *malittum* must be a word qualifying *UDU.ZUN*.

Finally, a few misprints may be noticed: p. 19, l. 30: *En-nu-gi-gi-urŭ* should be *En-nu-gi-zi-urŭ*; p. 20, l. 6: *la ville* should be *sa ville*; p. 28, l. 31: צביה should be צביה; p. 46, l. 7: *documenta* should be *documents*; no. 159: hyphens have dropped out in *Ku-un-nu-tum*, *ka-a-nu-*[*ku*] and *Am-mi-iš-ḫa-ri(?)-e*; no. 160: *i-ša-ag-ga-lu* is misdivided; no. 168: *sit-it-ti-in* is an error for *ši-it-ti-in* 'for two (years)', which is interesting as proving Ungnad's suggestion (*Z.A.*, vol. xviii, p. 2, n. 2) that *šittîn* is the accusative of the dual, since it is here parallel to *šalušta* 'in the third (year)', both being the accusative of time; no. 175, R. 2: a hyphen has dropped out in *i-ša-ag-ka-an-šu*; no. 195, O. 9: *kaspam* should be *kaspim*; p. 151 *a*, l. 12: *gú-e* should be *gú-è*.

Attention has been called to these errors for the guidance of the reader, not to detract from the value of the work; for only those who have themselves edited documents of this kind know the difficulty of the task and the impossibility of avoiding mistakes. M. Jean has done an excellent piece of work and has earned the gratitude of all students by this contribution to his subject. In one small point, further, he deserves to be followed by all Assyriologists: he has definitely stated (p. 73) what system of transcription he is following.

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Sumerian Religious Texts, by E. CHIERA. (Upland, Pa., 1924.)

THE volume under review is the first of a series which the Crozer Theological Seminary intends to publish, containing the texts from Nippur; it is the wise intention of the trustees to undertake in their 'Babylonian Publications' the editing not only of the tablets in their own collection but also of all the other important texts from Nippur, notably of those in the *Musée d'Antiquités de Stamboul* (formerly the Imperial Ottoman Museum). No better editor than Mr Chiera, the assistant professor of Assyriology in the University of Pennsylvania, could have been found. Mr Chiera has proved his competence for the work by an ever-growing list of publications, and, though he is primarily a copyist of the first rank, he has also shewn himself to be a good Sumerian scholar.

This volume contains an introduction of forty pages, giving a summary of the contents, the tablets, and, in cases of special importance, a transcribed text and translation of the tablets; this is followed by seventy-two plates, containing the text of fifty-three tablets. Those here published are exclusively religious and mythological, tablets of a different nature being reserved for a future volume. Among these tablets may be noticed two fragments dealing with the Creation (nos. 2 and 4), one of the rare hymns to the god Amurrûm (no. 8), a portion of the Liturgy of the Cult of Kesh (no. 16), of which Professor Langdon has published other fragments, four extracts from an important series on the origin of Babylonian civilization (nos. 27–30), two fragments of the Sumerian originals of the Epic of Gilgamesh (nos. 38–39), and one of the Sumerian originals of the Descent of Ishtar (no. 53). It is especially noteworthy how many of these tablets fit into and help to complete other fragmentary texts already known.

The passage in No. 1, obv., col. ii, l. 17: *SAG. ḪUK NĪN. KALAM. MA GAL. GAL. LA* (= *mukîlat rêš nišê rapšâti*) 'she who supports the head of the wide-dwelling peoples', is valuable as confirming the rendering *nišê* 'people' proposed for *NĪN. KALAM. MA* by Streck (in *Z.A.*, vol. xix, pp. 239–241), for the meaning 'people' is here required by the context. In the ideogram *NĪN. KALAM. MA*, therefore, the addition of the determinative *NĪN* (= 'female') does not necessarily imply that *KALAM* 'people' connotes 'women-folk', though it often does so; the present passage seems to shew that it can stand for 'people' as well as for 'women-folk'. The old reading *sinnisâti* 'women', *aššâti* 'wives' or *šigrêti* 'concubines' (Delitzsch *Handwörterbuch*, p. 641 *a*; cp. Brünnow *Classified List*, no. 10947), though disproved by Streck, reappears (but marked by a query) in Luckenbill's *Annals of*

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Sennacherib, p. 34, l. 46, where *nišê* = 'women-folk' (as well as the commoner 'people') would probably be correct.

On such well-edited texts there is little to say in the way of review. But it may perhaps be mentioned on pp. 11–12 that, according to Professor Langdon (*Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 175), the goddess Nin-an-si-an-na or Nin-si-an-na is a name of Ishtar as the planet Venus and has no connexion with Nin-isin 'the lady of Isin', as Mr Chiera implies.

G. R. DRIVER.

Early Latin Hymns; with Introduction and Notes by the late A. S. WALPOLE. (University Press, Cambridge, 1922.)

THIS important work, one of the 'Cambridge Patristic Texts', had been almost completed by the Rev. A. S. Walpole before his death in 1920, and was then prepared for the press by Dr A. J. Mason. 'It is a matter for great regret', says Dr Mason, 'that Mr Walpole did not live to see the work through for himself. He was a scholar who had read deep and wide in Latin literature. He had taken immense pains over this work. In order, for instance, to judge of the authorship of the hymns attributed to St Ambrose, he had read through the whole of that author's prose works, marking every feature of his thought and every peculiarity of his diction and style'. The praise here given is substantiated by every page of the book, though naturally the arrangement and presentation has lost nothing by being in Dr Mason's competent hands. In particular the kind of reader who will chiefly use the book will be glad that the MS evidence for the various readings is so fully and clearly represented.

Mr Walpole's intention has been to give a *Corpus Hymnorum* containing those hymns which were not only written but also sung in church before about A. D. 600. The collection includes one hundred and twenty-seven hymns, of which nos. 1–40 are of known authorship, from Hilary and Ambrose to Flavius who died A.D. 591; nos. 41–61 are the anonymous hymns of the earlier series, nos. 62–127 those of the later series. The distinction between the Old Hymnal, viz. that of Benedict and of Caesarius and Aurelian of Arles, and the Later Hymnal, viz. that which first appears in MSS written by English and (Continental) Irish scribes, is well explained on pp. xi ff of the Introduction, due credit being given to the epoch-making investigation of Fr C. Blume.[1] Dr Mason looks with favour on the view which ascribes the general adoption of the 'Later Hymnal' to the efforts of Charlemagne and Alcuin (p. xix), and this was also the opinion of Mr Walpole, for on

[1] See Walpole's review of Blume in *J. T. S.* x 143–146.

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p. 265 he suggests that the two Sapphic hymns of the new Cursus may have been the composition of Alcuin himself. Many, indeed, of the hymns of the new Cursus were themselves old, though not in general so old as the set which they supplanted.

A word of praise should be given to Mr Walpole's explanatory Notes at the foot of the page: among other things he points out the sources of the Christian poetical vocabulary, e. g. *polus* for 'heaven' (see ii 10), *gurges* for 'water' (see xxxi 41), which are freely used by Christian versifiers, no doubt for metrical convenience. *Natus* for 'Son' is another.

The Christian poets seem also to have played with etymologies that do not quite commend themselves to our stricter ideas of philology. Thus *caelibes*, which is not a Biblical word, is used in lxii *b* 14 and lxxxv 16 in a context which suggests 'celestial' as well as 'unwedded'. I venture to suggest that in *Telluris ingens Conditor* (lxxv 1), where Mr Walpole says 'an unpleasing word in this connexion, but see Prudentius *Apoth.* 809', the hymn-writer felt that his epithet suggested *ingenitus*.

Hymn xli *Mediae noctis tempus est* is tentatively assigned by Mr Walpole to Niceta. Among other things he notices the Old Latin *Sileas* in l. 42. *Rex hagie* occurs l. 49; similarly in the Advent Hymn *Conditor alme siderum* we have *hagie* treated as three syllables (lxxxiv 21). But in xliv a 17 *hagius* (i. e. *aius*) is only two syllables: this is a non-Irish Hymn, possibly Gallic.

It would be interesting to know whether *hosianna* (xlix 33) is anything more than a scribe's blunder. The Hymn (*Christe, caeli Domine*) is ancient, it is found exclusively in the non-Irish MSS, but it is not Ambrosian. *Hosianna* is reported as the reading of the very ancient Vat. *reg.* 11. This spelling, so familiar in Germany since Luther's version, is very rarely met with before the Renaissance. It is unknown in Old Latin MSS and is only reported by Wordsworth and White from Matthew, where it is found only in the Rushworth Gospels (R) and also in the La Cava Bible (C). The references in Sabatier come from texts not yet critically edited, but it is possible that Jerome considered *hosianna* was a more correct spelling than what had been universally current before his day. It is therefore curious to find it in an ancient MS of an ancient Hymn.

The first Christian Hymn-writers, such as Hilary and Ambrose, observed quantity and elision, but both very soon dropped out. The ancient Hymn just mentioned (*Mediae noctis tempus est*, no. xli) is in the metre which Church-writers called 'Ambrosian', though this example shews that the term meant little more than quatrains with eight syllables, long or short, in each line. Mr Walpole's no. 1 is Hilary's well-known *Hymnum dicat turba fratrum*, which was used by Irish

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monks as an early morning hymn at all seasons of the year. The verses, no doubt, were originally written by S. Hilary and with due regard to trochaic metre, but the *Hymnum dicat* as a Hymn was only used (so far as we know) by persons to whom Latin was a foreign language and whose ideas of quantity were vague. It is likely that the unmetrical readings date from the time when Hilary's verses were adapted to monastic singing. In l. 58 a line ends with *ianuis clausis*, whereas (as already Bernard and Atkinson saw) *clausis ianuis* is required : no doubt Hilary wrote *clausis ianuis*, but the monks sang *ianuis clausis*. If this obviously faulty reading was preferred by them they could have cared nothing for quantity, even in rendering an ancient quantitative poem. In l. 29 I should think Hilary may have written *turba discumbente iugem laudem ex omni pertulit* for *t. ex omni d. iu. l. pertulit*, but as a hymn it was probably sung as the MSS have it.[1] Mr Walpole's *immensamque maiestatem* is a great improvement to our ears upon the *maiestatemquē ĭnmensam* of the MSS, but there is a great deal to be said for the theory of Bernard and Atkinson that the end of *Hymnum dicat* is not Hilary's. They would make the genuine lines stop at l. 66 : I venture to suggest that the poem ends at l. 64, and that ll. 65–72 together with the doxology were added when it was turned into a hymn before cock-crow instead of one *post prandium*.

In the Introduction to Ambrose's *Aeterne rerum conditor* (p. 29) Mr Walpole quotes a hymn from Vat. *reg.* 11, which seems to me to carry us back beyond the beginning of Christian metrical Hymns in the days of S. Ambrose. *Aeterne rerum* was appointed by Caesarius to be sung at Lauds in alternation with the unmetrical *Magna et mirabilia*. This (as Walpole remarks), though called a hymn both in the Rule of Caesarius and in Vat. *reg.* 11, is in fact a translation or adaptation of Rev. xv 3 f independent of the Vulgate. It may be added that it is independent of Primasius and Cyprian, but it agrees most closely with Ambrose's own quotations of the verses, so that we may take it to follow the text current at Milan in Ambrose's time. As this hymn or antiphon maintained itself for so long side by side with *Aeterne rerum conditor*, it was probably already established in its liturgical place before S. Ambrose wrote his hymn, and so is one of the oldest known pieces sung by Christians, coeval with *Venite benedicti* in the Roman Missal for Wednesday after Easter.

Mr Walpole's book is very correctly printed : critical Note to i 63 'iunctos d' should be 'iuncto d' (*sic*)' ; in the Notes on lxxiv 1 '69' should be '68', and p. 430, col. 2 (on *natus*) '104^{51}' should be '106^{14}'.

F. C. BURKITT.

[1] In l. 47 read *Anna*, not *Annas*, with the oldest MSS, as the name of the High Priest : so also *r* in John xviii 24.

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RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, October 1925 (Vol. ci, No. 201: S.P.C.K.). VISCOUNT HALIFAX The Church of England: lessons of fifty years—F. C. GRANT The place of miracles in religion—H. MARRIOTT A neglected point in Prayer Book Revision: the openings of Epistles and Gospels—J. O. NASH A South African comment on the School question—C. JENKINS A thirteenth-century register: Odo Archbishop of Rouen—A. RILEY Anglican and Orthodox—A. C. HEADLAM The Four Gospels II—LORD PHILLIMORE Clergy pensions—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, October 1925 (Vol. xxiv, No. 1: Constable & Co.). H. C. TRACY Significant persons—J. A. CAMPBELL Divine craftsmanship: a study in creation, and apprehension—C. D. BROAD The validity of belief in a personal God—G. DAWES HICKS James Ward and his philosophical approach to Theism—T. J. HARDY The present predicament of Christianity—M. D. PETRE Friedrich von Hügel: personal thoughts and reminiscences—C. H. HERFORD Shakespeare and Descartes: a chapter in the intellectual history of Europe—H. ANSON Spiritual Healing—what is it? a reply to the Bishop of Durham—M. BOOTH Woman in rebellion: a psychological study—R. FALCONER Humanism—B. ROWE A defence of advertising—H. C. CORRANCE The roots of Anglo-Catholicism—J. C. CARLILE C. H. Spurgeon and his college—Survey and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, October, November, December 1925 (Ninth Series, Nos. 10, 11, 12: Hodder & Stoughton). THE EDITOR Current issues—J. B. HARFORD Since Wellhausen—J. R. CAMERON Jesus and Art—V. TAYLOR The Lucan authorship of the Third Gospel and the Acts—I. G. SIMPSON The Holy Spirit in the Fourth Gospel—THE EDITOR Literary illustrations of the First Epistle to the Corinthians—W. W. D. GARDNER and O. S. RANKIN An utterance of Solomon—J. OMAN The Apocalypse—Notes and Notices—Reviews.

(2) AMERICAN.

The Princeton Theological Review, October 1925 (Vol. xxiii, No. 4: Princeton University Press). G. JOHNSON The perfection of Scripture—F. D. JENKINS Is Jesus God?—W. B. COOPER William Tindale—O. T. ALLIS Old Testament emphases and modern thought—F. E. HAMILTON The supernatural growth of Christianity—Reviews.

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(3) BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, October 1925 (Vol. xxxvii, No. 4: Abbaye de Maredsous). V. COUCKE Chronologie des rois de Juda et d'Israël—J. CHAPMAN The families of Vulgate MSS in the Pentateuch—G. MORIN Le commentaire sur Nahum du Pseudo-Julien, une œuvre de Richard de Saint-Victor?—D. DE BRUYNE Fragments en onciale des homélies de S. Grégoire sur Ézéchiel — Comptes rendus — Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine.

Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique, July–October 1925 (Vol. xxi, Nos. 3, 4: Louvain, 40 Rue de Namur). PH. GOBILLOT Sur la tonsure chrétienne et ses pretendues origines païennes—P. GUILLOT Abélard et le convent du Paraclet—M. CARREYRE Le jansénisme pendant les premiers mois de la Régence (septembre–décembre 1715)—E. TOBAC Une page d'histoire de l'exégèse—J. LEBON Pour une edition critique des œuvres de S. Athanase—E. SUYS La sentence portée contre Priscillien—P. LEFÈVRE La chapelle Notre-Dame de l'église Sainte-Gudule à Bruxelles et son architecte—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

(4) GERMAN.

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THE EARLY COMMUNITY AT CHRIST CHURCH, CANTERBURY.

THE nature of the early community established by St Augustine at Christ Church, Canterbury, and its history down to the time of Lanfranc's reform have long been the subject of divergent views. The Norman or Normanized historians of the metropolitan church had no patience with any controversy in the matter. They told a simple tale, which they established with appropriate charters, leaving no doubt that St Augustine by Pope Gregory's orders planted monks there as well as at the adjoining abbey of SS. Peter and Paul. In the ninth century a great pestilence carried off all the monks but five, and Archbishop Ceolnoth filled the vacant places from among his clerks that the service of God might be carried on. His successor tried to expel the intruded clerks, but they could not be got rid of until the days of Archbishop Ælfric at the very end of the tenth century. A few monks had always remained, and it had been the rule, to which there were but few exceptions, that the archbishops of Canterbury should always be monks.

History of this kind could not fail to be challenged, when original documents came to be critically studied. Already in 1849, shortly after he had published the six volumes of his *Codex Diplomaticus*, Kemble, in commenting on the tale about Christ Church in the annal for 995 in the Canterbury edition (F) of the Chronicle, wrote: 'Probably it had never been monastic from the very time of Augustine'.[1] Later writers have spoken with more hesitancy, following for the most part the lead of Bishop Stubbs, who thought that an attenuated monasticism may possibly have survived, or that the word *monachus* may

[1] *The Saxons in England* ii 459 (ed. Birch, 1876).

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have gone the way of *monasterium*, and have become applicable to a community of clergy living a more or less common life.[1] On the other hand the late Edmund Bishop, though rejecting the Canterbury legend, was very unwilling to allow that the community had quite ceased to be monastic.[2] But neither on the one side nor on the other had there been any systematic study of the evidence offered by the charters—evidence which here as well as elsewhere has been rendered provokingly contradictory, owing to the way in which monks of a later time dealt with their earliest documents.

The experience gained in the investigation of a somewhat similar problem in connexion with the church of Worcester before the time of St Oswald has emboldened me to attempt the more difficult subject of the early character of the community of Christ Church, Canterbury. The charter evidence is much less in bulk and has suffered much more corruption, and we are faced at the outset by the disputed question as to the meaning of the instructions which St Augustine obtained from St Gregory, and the action which he took as the result of those instructions.[3]

Our authority in the first place must of necessity be the Ecclesiastical History of Bede, completed in the year 731, and mainly based for the period in question on letters of St Gregory which are often quoted in full.

In 596 St Gregory sent from Rome a mission of monks to convert the pagan English: 'Augustine the servant of God and with him many other God-fearing monks'.[4] On reaching Gaul they faltered, and sent Augustine back to beg that they might return. Gregory replied in a firm but kind letter, and told them to go forward: Augustine their *praepositus* he has now made their abbot, and him they must obey.[5]

[1] *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* iii 576.

[2] See a few guarded words on the subject in *The Bosworth Psalter* p. 129.

[3] A recent attempt to treat the subject afresh which will be found in a dissertation by Margaret Deanesly in the volume of *Essays in Mediaeval History* presented to Professor Tout (Manchester, 1925). It is partly because I cannot feel satisfied with the method and the assumptions of this stimulating essay that I have taken up again a topic to which I devoted some attention several years ago.

[4] Bede *H. E.* i 23 'misit servum dei Augustinum et alios plures cum eo monachos timentes dominum praedicare verbum dei genti Anglorum'.

[5] In a letter to Syagrius, bishop of Autun, Gregory speaks of Augustine as having been at the time of his mission 'monasterii mei praepositum', i. e. prior of the monastery of St Andrew on the Caelian Hill: *Epp.* ix 108.

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Thus encouraged 'Augustine, with the servants of Christ who were with him, returned to the work of the Word, and reached Britain'. So there landed in Kent (597) 'the Lord's servant Augustine and his companions, men to the number, as it is said, of about forty'.[1] They had with them by Gregory's orders 'interpreters of the Frankish race', who are afterwards said to have been presbyters.[2]

After a preliminary interview in the island of Thanet, King Ethelbert promised them a hospitable reception and provision for their needs, with leave to preach as they might desire.

> 'He gave them therefore a place of residence in the city of Canterbury (*mansionem in civitate Doruvernensi*), which was the capital of his whole empire, supplying them as he had promised with the necessaries of life, and not withdrawing their leave to preach.'
>
> 'Now when they had entered upon the place of residence granted to them (*datam sibi mansionem*), they began to imitate the apostolic life of the primitive Church: that is to say, serving (God) with continual prayers, watchings, and fastings: preaching the word of life to such as they could; disregarding the things of this world, accepting from those whom they taught only what seemed necessary for their life. . . .'

Thus, living as they taught, they were speedily rewarded by conversions and baptisms. They used the old Roman-British church of St Martin, where the Christian queen Bertha and her Gallican bishop Liuthard worshipped. Presently the king was converted and matters moved more rapidly. The king's baptism was followed by that of many of his subjects, but always without any compulsion.

In gratitude to his teachers the king now gave them 'a place of settlement suitable to their condition (*locum sedis eorum gradui congruum*)', at the same time conferring on them such possessions as they needed of various kinds.

Augustine now went to Arles, and was consecrated bishop, as Gregory had arranged. On his return he sent Lawrence the presbyter and Peter the monk to Rome, to report to Gregory and bring back an answer to certain questions which had arisen in the course of his mission. The first of these questions directly concerns us here.

[1] *H. E.* i 25 'servus domini Augustinus et socii eius, viri ut ferunt ferme XL'.
[2] Greg. *Epp.* vi 58.

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Up to this time Augustine had lived as an abbot with his monks. We do not know if he had any presbyters with him who were not monks, excepting perhaps the interpreters who had been brought over from Gaul. That Lawrence is called the presbyter while Peter is called the monk proves nothing—the higher title is naturally used where it is applicable. Such non-monastic elements as the mission may have contained were necessarily merged for the time being in the common monastic life under the abbot's rule.

But a new situation was inevitable when the mission had justified itself by unexpected success, and a native Church had to be organized with a clergy free from monastic obligations. The abbot was now also a bishop, and more bishops would be needed before long. A bishop must needs gather round him a clergy, dependent in the first instance entirely upon himself, and having pastoral duties to fulfil which were inconsistent with a cloistered monachism. What was to be the personal relation of bishops to their clerks in the new churches of the English? How were they and theirs to be provided for out of the offerings of the faithful?

Here we must set out in full the question and the response:

The first question of the blessed Augustine, bishop of the Church of the Kentishmen.

Concerning bishops, after what manner they should live with their clerks: in particular of things which come to the altar by the offerings of the faithful, into how many portions they should be divided; and in what manner the bishop should act in the Church.

Gregory, Pope of the city of Rome, replied:

Holy Scripture, with which it is certain you are well acquainted, bears witness, and specially the epistles of the blessed Paul to Timothy, wherein he took pains to instruct him how he should behave in the house of God. Now the custom of the Apostolic See is, when bishops are ordained, to charge them that, in every stipend that comes in, four portions must be made: that is to say, one for the bishop and his *familia* for hospitality and entertaining; another for the clergy; the third for the poor; the fourth for repairing churches. But since you, brother, have been trained in the rules of the monastery and must not be separated from your clerks, you must establish in the Church of the English, so lately drawn, thank God, to the faith, that manner of life which our fathers had in the beginning

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of the infant Church: among whom none of them said that aught of the things that they possessed was his own, but they had all things common.

But if there are clerks outside the sacred orders who are unable to contain, they should take wives and receive their stipends apart: for we know that it is written of those same fathers of whom we have spoken, that division was made unto each, according as any had need. For the stipend of these thought must be taken and provision made, and they must be bound by ecclesiastical rule—to live good moral lives, to keep watch for singing of psalms, and by God's help to preserve heart and tongue and body from all that is unlawful.

But for those who are living the common life, why need we say anything at all as to dividing portions or shewing hospitality and fulfilling mercy? when all that remains over is to be expended in causes of piety and religion, as the Lord and Master of all teaches: 'What remains over give in alms, and behold all things are clean unto you.'[1]

Augustine knew well enough how an abbot should live with his monks, though his recent experiences had shewn him that for some of them at least the ordinary rules of the cloister could not be kept. He had seen as he came through Gaul how bishops lived in dioceses long settled. But among the English all was to be built up from the beginning—and that beginning had been made by a mission of monks. Now the work was rapidly extending: new bishops with a new clergy would be forming fresh centres of church life. How then are bishops to live in relation to their clergy? Up to this point all have been living a common life after the apostolic model. Can this continue, and on what terms? Or are precedents familiar elsewhere to be introduced here?

[1] *H.E.* i 27. It will suffice to give the Latin of the more pertinent clauses: 'De episcopis, qualiter cum suis clericis conversentur, vel de his quae fidelium oblationibus accedunt altario, quantae debeant fieri portiones, et qualiter episcopus agere in ecclesia debeat? ... Mos autem sedis apostolicae est ordinatis episcopis praecepta tradere, ut omni stipendio quod accedit quattuor debeant fieri portiones: una videlicet episcopo et familiae propter hospitalitatem atque susceptionem; alia clero; tertia pauperibus; quarta ecclesiis reparandis. Sed quia tua fraternitas, monasterii regulis erudita, seorsum fieri non debet a clericis suis, in ecclesia Anglorum, quae auctore deo nuper adhuc ad fidem perducta est, hanc debet conversationem instituere, quae initio nascentis ecclesiae fuit patribus nostris; in quibus nullus eorum ex his quae possidebant aliquid suum esse dicebat, sed erant eis omnia communia. Si qui vero sunt clerici extra sacros ordines. . . .' (This last phrase refers to those below the rank of subdeacon.)

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Gregory's answer is practically, 'Go on as you have begun: only see that special arrangements are made for clerks in the minor orders who are allowed to marry; these must have stipends apart. The fourfold division of offerings, ordinarily recommended to bishops on their consecration, does not apply here in the first stage of an infant Church. All that is not required for the common life, and the separate stipends just named, will naturally go to religious purposes. You will easily understand such a relation with your clergy as this, for as a monk you are accustomed to the common life.'

It would be hazardous to draw from this plain and straightforward reply any conclusion whatever as to the relative positions of clerks and monks in the first settlement at Canterbury. What stands out is that the bishop and his clergy, of whatever elements they may be composed, are with but the necessary exceptions to live in common; the bishop is not to have a separate portion of the Church's revenue, nor are the clergy; no such division is to be contemplated as was usual in long-established dioceses.

It so happens that we are in a position to know how the historian Bede himself regarded St Gregory's counsel. For in a later part of his work he tells of the appointment of Cuthbert by Abbot Eata, who ruled both Melrose and Lindisfarne, to the office of *praepositus* (or prior) in the latter place, which was at once an abbey and a bishop's seat.[1]

> In the same place from the earliest times there was a bishop living with his clergy and an abbot with his monks, the latter being also under the direct care of the bishop. For Aidan, who was the first bishop of the place, being himself a monk, came with his monks and established therein the monastic manner of life: just as at an earlier period the blessed father Augustine is known to have done in Kent, when the most reverent pontiff Gregory wrote to him, as we have recorded above, and said: 'But since you, brother, have been trained, &c. . . . they had all things common.'

Now this is but a recasting and abbreviation of a less familiar passage in his Life of St Cuthbert, which he had written some ten years before.[2]

[1] *H. E.* iv 25 (27) 'Siquidem a temporibus ibidem antiquis et episcopus cum clero et abbas solebat manere cum monachis, qui tamen et ipsi ad curam episcopi familiariter pertinerent'.

[2] *Vita Cuthb.* c. 16 (Giles iv 257 f) 'Namque una eademque servorum de habitatio utrosque tenet, immo omnes monachos tenet'.

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> Let no one be surprised that in the same small island of Lindisfarne we have mentioned above the place of a bishop and now mention that of an abbot and monks; for such indeed is the case. For one and the same habitation of servants of God contains both together, or rather contains all as monks. For Aidan who was the first bishop of that place was a monk, and was accustomed to lead the monastic life with all his followers. And therefore all the prelates of that place, from him to the present day, exercise the episcopal office in such wise that, while the monastery is ruled by an abbot chosen by themselves with the consent of the brethren, all presbyters, deacons, chanters, lectors and other ranks of ecclesiastical order observe the monastical rule in all respects together with the bishop himself—a mode of life which was greatly pleasing to the blessed Pope Gregory, as he shewed when, in answer to Augustine's question how bishops should live with their clergy, he replied, &c.[1]

We can hardly be wrong in accepting Bede's interpretation of St Gregory's counsel to Augustine. At the outset at any rate, all, whether under the monastic vow or not, were to live the life of monks as far as was practicable together with the bishop himself. As to the further point in Bede's comparison—the choice of an abbot to rule the monastery—that, as we shall see, was soon to come.

Gregory's answer would seem to have been delayed until he was able to send out a substantial reinforcement of the missionary staff. The leader of the new band was Mellitus, whom Gregory speaks of as an abbot; and with him were Justus, Paulinus, and Rufinianus. All these except the last became bishops, as Gregory had no doubt foreseen: Rufinianus is said to have become third abbot of the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, known later as St Augustine's. They brought with them an abundance of materials for the furnishing of churches—vessels and vestments, relics and books.[2]

Bede has next to tell us of an important developement which took place at Canterbury. Augustine took over an old Roman church and re-dedicated it to 'the Holy Saviour Jesus Christ our God and Lord; there he fixed an habitation for himself and

[1] Compare what Bede tells us of St Gregory himself (*H. E.* ii 1) 'maxime quia et pontificali functus officio domum suam monasterium facere curavit'.

[2] *H. E.* i 29 'plures cooperatores ac verbi ministros; in quibus primi et praecipui erant Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, Rufinianus; et per eos generaliter universa quae ad cultum', &c.

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all his successors. But he also made a monastery not far from the city, on the eastern side, wherein at his request Ethelbert built from the foundations a church of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and endowed it with various gifts; where the bodies of Augustine himself and all the bishops of Canterbury might be laid, and likewise the bodies of the kings of Kent.' This was the first church to be newly built; and Augustine did not live to consecrate it. Christ Church, on the other hand, was ready for immediate use. The first abbot of the monastery was that Peter the monk who was one of the original missionaries: he has now been ordained, and is called by Bede 'abbas Petrus presbiter'.[1]

Here was an obvious solution of what might have proved a grave practical difficulty. If Canterbury had been on the same humble scale as Lindisfarne, and if the Roman missionaries had been content with the simple ideals of the Celtic saints, the bishop with his clergy and the abbot with his monks might perchance have gone on happily together as a single family living a monastic life. But the new arrangement of the *habitatio* of the bishop at Christ Church, and the *monasterium* with its abbot hard by on the other side of the city wall, forestalled the possibility of a serious strain between those who were engaged in pastoral work and those who desired to maintain the strictly monastic life of the cloister. It may well be that the plan was already in Augustine's mind when he put the question how he in his *habitatio* should comport himself in relation to his clergy. If so, he would presently interpret the reply as meaning that he and his clergy were to live *regulariter*—to live the apostolic life—that is, as nearly as might be, the same quasi-monastic life as had been natural and necessary in the earliest days of the mission. This would indeed satisfy Gregory's requirement to the full, and the further provision of a monastery close by would certainly have met with his entire approval.

It would be reasonable to suppose that after no long interval the community at Christ Church would become in the natural course of events simply a community of clerks leading what might be called a 'regular' life in common with their bishop. The distinctive characters of the two foundations would be

[1] *H. E.* i 33.

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clearly marked. New professions would only be made under the abbot in the monastery: Christ Church would lose the monastic element of its first beginning, as those of the monks passed away who had devoted themselves at the outset to missionary and pastoral labours.

What befell the 'regular' life of the community at Christ Church is hidden from us. But we have evidence that at the end of the eighth century its members still had a 'common table'; and early in the next century Archbishop Wulfred is found endeavouring to enforce the use both of the refectory and of the dormitory. The investigation of this later stage of the history is an intricate task owing to the unsatisfactory character of many of the Canterbury charters.

After an obscurity of two hundred years fresh light is thrown on the community of Christ Church by the charters of Archbishop Wulfred, who succeeded Æthelhard in 805 and ruled till 832. This remarkable man appears to have had large properties of his own in Kent; but of his early history we know nothing more than that he attests charters of his predecessor with the title of archdeacon—a title which thus appears for the first time in the English Church.

Wulfred was archbishop in the troublous days when the Mercian supremacy was giving way before the rising power of Wessex under Egbert. This supremacy had been built up under Penda (626–655), Peada (655–658), Wulfhere (658–675), and Æthelred (675–704), the last of whom had acquired the overlordship of Kent. It had reached its height in the long reigns of Æthelbald (718–757) and Offa (757–796). Desirous of making Mercia ecclesiastically independent of Canterbury King Offa succeeded in getting Lichfield established as an archbishopric in 787. At the council of Clovesho in 794 Hygbert of Lichfield actually signs a charter before Æthelhard, who had succeeded Jaenbert at Canterbury in the previous year. But there were no more archbishops of Lichfield; for under Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821) this policy was reversed. At the council of Clovesho in 803 the restoration of the rights of Canterbury was formally acknowledged, and it is among the acts of this council that we first find the attestation of 'Wulfred the archdeacon'.

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This particular group of signatures has a peculiar value as shewing who were the clergy accompanying each of the bishops at the council. Thus for Canterbury we have:

Æthelheah abbas	Wernoth presbyter
Feologeld presbyter abbas	Beornmod presbyter
Uulfheard presbyter	Uulfred archdiaconus

Of these we may note that Wulfheard appears in certain later charters concerning Christ Church, Wernoth was abbot of SS. Peter and Paul (i. e. St Augustine's) from 804 to 826, and Beornmod soon became bishop of Rochester.

Wulfred's signature as archdeacon is also attached to a charter of Æthelhard's last days (805: K. C. D. 189; B. C. S. 319), by which the archbishop grants land 'æt Burnan' (Bishopsbourne) to the *familia* of Christ Church. The land, says the archbishop, had originally been given by Aldhun, prefect of the city, 'to our brethren for their table'. This suggests that the *familia* at that time had a common table supported by a fund of their own apart from the general revenues of the see. They had lost this property 'through the rapacity of a certain king'; but the archbishop had recovered it, and he now declares that 'the brethren shall have the profit thereof to themselves in particular for their table (*sibi singulariter ad mensam suam*)'.

The story is given in fuller detail in a charter of 799 (K. C. D. 1020; B. C. S. 239), by which Æthelhard had recovered the property from King Coenwulf. Here we learn that King Egbert had given to Christ Church properties at Charing in Kent and elsewhere, and had also granted the land at Bishopsbourne to Aldhun, who on going abroad had given it 'to the *familia* which dwelt at the same church'. Offa had revoked these grants, as having been made without his authority as overlord. But now, in 799, Coenwulf regranted them at Archbishop Æthelhard's request to Christ Church, with a clause indicating that the land at Bishopsbourne might be assigned 'to the congregation and *familia* of the same', as in the original grant. This clause only took effect in 805, shortly before Æthelhard's death.

Once again the story is told (K. C. D. 195; B. C. S. 332), when in 811 Archbishop Wulfred gave to the *familia* certain lands of his own in exchange for this land at Bishopsbourne,

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which Aldhun—here said to have been a kinsman of Archbishop Jaenbert—had given 'to the *familia*, and for their own in particular to the brethren (*et proprie singulariterque fratribus*)'.

As Archbishop Jaenbert ruled from 766 to 791, the king of Kent who booked the land 'æt Burnan' to Aldhun was doubtless King Egbert II, who reigned from about 765 to 799. Thus we find the *familia* with a small separate endowment at least as early as 799. There does not seem to be earlier evidence for this use of the term *familia* in England, though Gregory's answer to Augustine had used it in some sense of the households of bishops abroad.

Wulfred's charter of 811 is a very elaborate document. It deals with a rearrangement of properties by exchange between three distinct parties—Archbishop Wulfred himself, holding *hereditario iure*; Christ Church (*ecclesia Christi*), i. e. the archbishop holding the properties of the see; and the community of the same church (*familia nostra, fratres nostri*) with their small estate of Bourne, given them by a prefect of the city, torn from them 'by the rapacity of a certain king', recovered by Archbishop Æthelhard, but withheld from them until the last moments of his life; and finally ceded by them to Archbishop Wulfred in exchange for something more than an equivalent at Eastry.

Returning for a moment to Æthelhard's charter of 805, of which the original is preserved in the British Museum, it is instructive to observe the kind of change it undergoes in the Christ Church register, Lambeth 1212. In the first place Æthelhard is styled 'primate of all Britain', instead of 'archbishop of the metropolitan city in Dorobernia'; next, the grant is made not 'to the holy *familia* of Christ Church for their own possession', but 'to the Church of the Saviour and the *familia* there serving God, that is, to the monks of the same church'; and further, Aldhun is said to have given the land in the first instance 'for the victuals of the monks there serving God'.[1]

[1] B. C. S. 320 'primas tocius Britannie . . . concedo ecclesie salvatoris et familie ibidem deo servienti, id est, monachis eiusdem ecclesie . . . ad victum monachorum ibidem deo serviencium'.

That the thirteenth-century scribe of Lamb. 1212 is not primarily responsible for the introduction of monks into the document is shewn by the fact that in one instance he erroneously expands 'mo' (monachi) as 'modo'.

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It will be seen from this how little we need concern ourselves with the references to 'monks' which perpetually occur in the copies of the early charters contained in this register.[1] We are thus relieved, for example, from the necessity of discussing the will of Werhard the presbyter, a kinsman of Wulfred (B. C. S. 402). Werhard had held large properties from the archbishop, whom he survived. He restores all these lands, as Wulfred had directed, 'to the Church of Christ and the monks my brethren who serve God there'. The document (misdated 830) may be an eleventh-century Latin rendering of the original Anglo-Saxon—the language in which it was customary at that time for wills to be written. In any case, when we know the character of Lamb. 1212, we are not surprised to find in it such an expression as *domini mei monachi ecclesiae Christi.*

Archbishop Æthelhard died early in 805; so that the charter which we have been examining was a tardy act of restitution.[2] Wulfred was consecrated in August of that year. He attests as 'Wulfred electus' a grant of Coenwulf and Cuthred (B. C. S. 321), which gives lands in Kent to Wulfhard the presbyter, 'the devoted *famulus* of Archbishop Æthelhard of blessed memory'.[3]

An interesting reference to the community is found in a grant, in Anglo-Saxon (K. C. D. 226; B. C. S. 330), by Oswulf alderman and his wife, of Stanstead to Christ Church—to the holy congregation (*gesomnunege*), accompanied by a petition for 'fellowship with God's servants' and an anniversary. This grant is followed by a confirmation by Archbishop Wulfred, with an arrangement for the anniversary, including a banquet of the community (*higna*): a gift to the poor is to be made 'from the common provisions of the community there at home':

[1] This portion of Lamb. 1212 is written in an early thirteenth-century hand. The modification of the charters which introduced the mention of 'monks' probably goes back to the end of the eleventh century, the period when the stories about monks at Christ Church were inserted into the A.-S. Chron. (F). The 'Evidences of Christ Church' printed by Twysden (*Decem Scriptores* 2207 ff) shew the same modification, and the charters are there further abbreviated: these 'Evidences' form the last part (twelfth century) of MS 189 at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

[2] 'Paulo ante obitum cum persuasione amicorum', as Wulfred's charter says.

[3] Wulfhard 'the presbyter of the late archbishop Athelhard' appears again (K. C. D. 199; B. C. S. 341) as having sold lands at Swarling and elsewhere to Wulfred.

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distribution of the provisions sent in from the estate is to be made by the provost (*reogolward*), as may be advantageous to the community and most efficacious for the souls of the donors. The archbishop adds a gift from the estate of Bourne for doles to the poor; and he asks that he also may be remembered.[1]

We now come to a charter of Wulfred in 813, which is of first-rate importance for our subject (K. C. D. 200; B. C. S. 342). It is strangely ungrammatical, but its general import is plain enough. The archbishop begins by speaking of his work 'in renewing and restoring the holy monastery of the church of Canterbury (*sanctum monasterium Dorovernensis ecclesiae*), with the aid of the presbyters and deacons and all the clergy of the same church serving God together'.

Such language seems almost decisive against the occupation of Christ Church by monks at this period. The word *monasterium* is used here for the first time in this connexion: it was perhaps necessary to explain that this was not a restoration of the church itself.

The rest of the charter we may paraphrase thus:

I concede to the *familia Christi* to have and enjoy the houses (*domos*) which they have constructed for themselves by their own labour[2] . . . to hold them for life, with power to bequeath to whom they will, but only in the same monastery (*in eodem monasterio*), not to any one outside the congregation. And I enjoin on my successors that they maintain this gift unimpaired but on this condition:

That they be more humbly grateful to God for his benefits, and diligently frequent the church of Christ at the canonical hours, praying for the forgiveness of their own and others' sins, and also frequent in common the refectory and dormitory according to the rule of the monastic life (*iuxta regulam monasterialis disciplinae vitae*; i.e. as monks do).

If any of them should assemble guests to eat and drink or to sleep in their cells (*cellulis*), he is to forfeit his own house (*domus*), and the archbishop may give it to whom he will.

[1] Oswulf's grant is assigned to 805–810: see Haddan and Stubbs *Councils* iii 567; and Miss Harmer's *English Historical Documents* p. 69. The property at Bourne came to the archbishop by exchange only in 811: so that his confirmation may be later than the original gift; or, again, he may already have had some property at Bourne.

[2] In Lamb. 1212 (B. C. S. 344) this becomes 'W. archiepiscopus adiecit *monachis* ecclesiae Christi domos suas quas proprio labore *ipse* construere fecit'!

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In the attestation of this document Wernoth, the abbot of SS. Peter and Paul, signs next to the archbishop. The names which follow may perhaps be taken as representing the *familia*. There are eight presbyters, six of whom had attested the Bourne exchange of 811; three deacons, one of whom had so attested; two persons with no distinctive title, and then at the end 'Haehferth praepositus'. The position of the 'praepositus' at the end of the list suggests that he was rather a steward than what was afterwards called a 'prior'.

Another charter of equal significance was granted by Wulfred at the close of his life (K. C. D. 225; B. C. S. 380). No date is attached to it, but the signature 'Ego Wulfred gratia dei archiepiscopus' is followed at once by 'Ego Ciolnoth divina gratia archiepiscopus', and the rest of the signatures agree very closely with those attached to the will of Abba the reeve (K. C. D. 235; B. C. S. 412), which apparently belongs to the year 835. Ceolnoth became archbishop in 833 or earlier. It would seem therefore as if this were a death-bed grant, confirmed a few years later by Wulfred's successor.

Wulfred grants to 'that devoted *familia* which shall serve God in the city of Canterbury' a portion of his hereditary estate, viz. four ploughs at Shelford, near Eastry, together with certain meadows which had previously been transferred to him by the *familia*. They are for ever to remain 'for the needs of that congregation'.

> In return for this gift and all the benefits which I have done them since our common congregation by God's grace was established (*postquam nostra communis congregatio per dei gratiam facta est*), I implore this my *familia* ever to remember me with alms and psalmody and the celebration of masses for the repose of my soul. And I make this condition in giving this land: namely, that all the acts and words before agreed upon by us remain firm and unchanged, and that each shall strive to bring our agreement into full effect.

This shews—what the former charter did not make quite clear—that Wulfred established the *familia* on a new footing of comparative independence, endowing it with estates of its own apart from the general revenues of the Church. The *mensa* had its little endowment already under Æthelhard or earlier; which would suggest that there then was still some lingering trace of

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a common life. But Wulfred created the *communis congregatio*, and enjoined on it the use of the refectory and dormitory after the monastic manner. This was accompanied by a restoration of buildings, but those of the brethren who had built houses of their own were allowed to retain them under conditions.

> Moreover that land which Cynehard the deacon had, and he gave it to me, and to him it had been given for his own inheritance by Kings Egbert and Æthelwulf—that is, 85 crops (*segetes*) with the book of the same field (*agelli*)—to that *familia* aforesaid in Canterbury I will give it after my days for the salvation of the souls of both of us: and on this condition, viz. that always night and morning, when the brethren go to the church of the blessed Peter the Apostle for the accustomed chant in supplication for his soul they should chant the Lord's Prayer *Pater noster*.[1]

Cynehard attests as deacon in 824 and 825 (B. C. S. 381, 384), and as archdeacon in 830 (B. C. S. 390).

> Also that court which Dodda the monk had in the monastery (*illum curtem quem Dodda monachus in monasterio habuit*), and obtained for himself as his own possession, I grant after the passing of my spirit from the world for the salvation of our souls, viz. of mine and Cynehard's and Dodda's, to the same *familia* freely for their own use and enjoyment, to store their own goods therein; or to entertain the citizens when occasion or need may arise; or, if a presbyter or deacon of the *familia* be afflicted with bodily infirmity, that he may honourably rest there. And in return for the convenience of the gift of this property (*istius villae*) I ask of my devoted *familia* that they be faithful rewarders and intercessors for our souls.

Of Dodda the monk we know nothing more: his case is clearly an exceptional one.

The *familia*, thus fairly established under Wulfred, appears in charters now and then after his time as receiving gifts from individuals who desire to be remembered in its prayers. It is strange that the first year of Ceolnoth should have been selected by the Canterbury monk, who wrote the bilingual Chronicle (F) at the end of the eleventh century, as the date of the fabulous

[1] 'Hacque condicione ut semper vesperè matutinoque tempore quando fratres ad ecclesiam beati Petri apostoli ad consuetum canticum ingrediuntur pro supplicatione animae illius illud dominicum orationem *pater noster* decantent.' Possibly the reference is to the ancient church of St Peter not far from Christ Church gate. It may be that Cynehard was buried there.

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introduction of clerks to supply the vacancies created by the death of all the monks but five in an otherwise unrecorded plague.

The same Canterbury writer tells us that Æthelred, Ceolnoth's successor, sought to eject the clerks, but in vain; so that they remained, together with a few monks, until they were finally expelled by Ælfric, after his return from Rome with his pallium in 997, that is, less than ten years after the death of St Dunstan.[1]

The alleged introduction of monks by Ælfric is sometimes challenged on the ground that Florence of Worcester states that they were brought in by his predecessor Sigeric. But that statement is an insertion by a later hand in Cod. A (the C. C. C. Oxon. MS of Florence), and is not found in Cod. B (the Lambeth MS): it may be that the interpolator inserted his gloss under Sigeric through mere carelessness.

If the story of this introduction of monks were pure fiction, we should have expected it to have been connected with the greater name of St Dunstan. Some change must have taken place about the time in question: for there is respectable evidence from charters of the reigns of Cnut, Harold Harefoot, and Edward the Confessor to shew that there were monks at Christ Church in the first part of the eleventh century. Moreover we find at this period mention of a *decanus*, apparently in the sense of the prior of the cathedral church—a use of the title which survived at Worcester to the time of 'Warin the dean', *c.* 1136. Thus the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (E) says that Æthelnoth was *munuc and decanus* at Christ Church before he became archbishop in 1020: and Godric appears as dean in 1044, 1049, 1053 (K. C. D. 773, 789, 799).[2]

It may well be that the change from clerks to monks, whether begun by Sigeric or Ælfric, was, as in the case of Worcester under Oswald, effected gradually and without serious controversy.

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.

[1] See Plummer *Two Saxon Chronicles* i 128 ff and 283 ff for the texts. The same story is told in the spurious charter of King Æthelred of 1006, confirming the monastic properties, which appears in two very different forms, Latin and Anglo-Saxon (K. C. D. 715).

[2] For a list of these deans see Wharton *Anglia Sacra* i 135, where it will be seen how great has been the confusion in this matter.

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NOTES AND STUDIES

FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN HEBREW PROPHECY.[1]

We may assume that there were prophets in all the civilized religions of western Asia; their existence is especially well attested in Phoenicia. Of the international relations of the prophets we hear very little, but the few references that we have are enough to shew that these relations existed. In the time of Ahab the prophets of Yahweh encountered the prophets of Baal whom Jezebel had brought with her from Tyre to Samaria (1 Kings xviii 19). The two soon adopted that open hostility towards one another which inevitably arose from their rivalry; the Israelite prophets felt themselves set aside, supplanted, their very existence threatened, and they did not rest till they had put their opponents to death. It was not without reason that Ahab called Elijah the 'destroyer of Israel' (1 Kings xviii 17); for Elijah, or his pupil Elisha, was partly responsible for the extermination of the Phoenician community in Samaria. By this deed Jehu destroyed the 'brotherhood' between Israel and Phoenicia (Am. i 9). No wonder that the Phoenicians took their revenge. But when Amos later charged the Phoenicians with having forgotten 'brotherhood', he failed to remember that Israel had been the first to do this at the instigation of its prophets. Naturally, however, before the outbreak of this war of extermination there were also friendly relations between the Israelite and the Phoenician prophets. Elijah fled from the famine in Samaria to 'the brook Cherith' (1 Kings xvii 7 ff), that is, probably, to Syria, and then to Sarepta, on Sidonian soil, where he probably had a friendly reception even as an Israelite prophet, though the Saga does not stress this aspect of the story.

We see in the Elisha narratives that the prophets of Yahweh were renowned even amongst the Syrians. Naaman, the commander-in-chief of an unnamed king of Damascus, heard of Elisha through a slave-girl taken in war, was cured by him of leprosy, and then became a proselyte to the religion of Yahweh (2 Kings v). The sick king Benhadad had heard of Elisha before he came to Damascus, and sent Hazael to him merely to procure an oracle (2 Kings viii 7 ff). Elisha took this opportunity, at least indirectly, of inciting Hazael to assassinate his king; a somewhat similar story was also told of Elijah (1 Kings xviii 15). These narratives are the more credible inasmuch as the revolution of Jehu also is to be traced back to the influence of Elijah or of Elisha.

[1] A paper read before the Society for Old Testament Study, in London, Jan. 6, 1926.

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The fact that the outbreaks of revolution in Samaria and in Damascus were approximately simultaneous certainly points to some international association in which the proletariat and the prophets went hand in hand. The decisive factor, however, was neither the social nor the religious ideal, but the selfish aims of Jehu on one side and of Hazael on the other. These men used the proletariat and the prophets simply as welcome means to secure power for themselves. Here the existence of international relations in which the prophets played a part cannot be denied, though the nature of the Sagas makes the relevant details completely obscure to us (1 Kings xix 16, 2 Kings ix 11). Hence we may conjecture the existence of international connexions with the prophets of different countries, probably with Egypt through Phoenicia, and with Assyria and Babylonia through Damascus. We must, then, ask, What do we know of prophets or of prophecy in these two centres of the civilization of the nearer East?

I.

At present it is only from Egypt that we know of any quantity of prophetic literature.[1] In extent, it is true, the sources are comparatively scanty, but they yet suffice to establish the reality and the developement of Egyptian prophecy. We may distinguish the following types :—

1. In the folk-tales sagas and legends of the colloquial literature we sometimes meet with oracles which may be compared with Messianic prophecy. They, however, form only one of a number of *motifs*, and almost entirely disappear amongst the fantastic miracles of the epic imagination. The oldest illustration is *The Story of the Miraculous Birth of the Sons of the Gods* in the Westcar papyrus, which comes from the Hyksos period. It contains a prophecy on the first kings of the fifth dynasty, who are mentioned by name. It is thus a *vaticinium ex eventu*, a spurious oracle which does homage to the new royal family which came to the throne about 2750 B. C. In its present form, then, the story dates from somewhere about 2650.

2. A second group is formed by the prophecy on Ameni, those of the potter and those of the lamb. It is significant that all these are connected with folk-tale; but here the narrative serves only as a frame for the oracle, and even though it may have claimed the reader's greatest interest, there can be no doubt that the author regarded the prophecy as the most important feature. The *Oracle on Ameni* or Amenemhet I (about 1980 B. C.) is now known to us in six forms, and must, therefore, have been a special favourite; our principal source is the Papyrus

[1] Cf. Adolf Erman *Die Literatur der Aegypter*, Leipzig, 1923, pp. 130 ff; Hermann Ranke in Gressmann's *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*², Berlin, 1926, pp. 46 ff.

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Golenischeff. This prophecy, too, is based on earlier historical events; its purpose also is to glorify the reigning king, who liberated Egypt from the chaos which followed the collapse of the old empire, and who may be regarded as the founder of the Middle Kingdom. The *Oracle of the Potter* has come down to us only in papyrus fragments of the second or third century A. D. It claims a potter of King Amenophis as its author, but is apparently a combination of two prophecies. The older of these probably goes back to the period of the New Kingdom, whilst the younger certainly belongs to the Hellenistic age, for in it a patriotic Egyptian announces the coming destruction of the hated Greek city of Alexandria. So we have in this younger prophecy, at any rate, a genuine oracle, and no *vaticinium ex eventu*. The *Lamb Prophecy*, handed down in a demotic papyrus, takes us into the period following the death of Bokchoris, about 700 B. C. It claims to come from the sixth year of his reign, and contains a curse on Egypt, which is to suffer affliction for nine hundred years. Here, again, we have a genuine prophecy which does not correspond to actual fact.

3. To a third group belongs the *Demotic Oracle-Commentary*, formerly (though quite incorrectly) known as the *Demotic Chronicle*, which was compiled at the end of the third century B. C. The text consists of incomprehensible oracular terms, which in turn are followed by the phrase 'that means', and so are applied to the events of the Persian and Greek periods. The spurious prophecy, which clothes the calamities of the recent past in the garb of a vision of the future, finally developes into real prophecy.

4. It is doubtful whether we ought to include here the invectives and the *Admonitions of the Wise Ipuwer* and the allied *Lamentations of Chacheper-re-seneh*, both of which were written somewhere in the twelfth dynasty, about 1900 B. C. Like the prophets of Israel both complain of the calamity which either has already befallen Egypt or is now soon about to do so.

5. If we glance over this oracle literature we are struck by certain peculiarities. In the first place we have *the close connexion between prophecy and folk-lore*. It is not merely that the miracle-working prophets, the magicians, the artisans and beasts are presented as in folk-lore, but the whole framework in which the oracles are usually set is that of folk-lore. As a rule the narratives which form this framework are no merely external additions, but are organically connected with the prophecies. This is especially clear at the end, which either predicts or describes the death of the prophet. Thus the Potter breaks off in the middle of the last sentence and the Lamb dies as soon as his curse is completed, both thus proving that they have spoken the truth. They have to die because they have betrayed a secret of the gods. The

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oracles themselves, too, often bear a fantastic stamp which is impressed even on Nature. So, for example, it is foretold that the Nile shall be dried up and that men shall be able to cross it on foot, or that the sun shall shine no more, and that therefore men shall be unable to tell when it is noon. No great distinction is made between the prophet and the magician as the Old Testament often suggests. He who can foretell the future must also be able to work miracles, and vice versa. So the prophets can give signs, either from heaven or from hell, and make the shadow on the sun-dial go backwards. They charm victory with their arrows, capture souls in their nets, and revive the dead with their staves. Their practices are those of the Shamans; prophecy is a branch of magic. Hence folk-lore, which deals with the magician by preference, cannot overlook the prophet. The Westcar papyrus is the best illustration of this: a magician who brings slaughtered animals to life may be trusted to visualize correctly the future still centuries away. Here the dominant feature is the delight in the variegated material of folk-lore and in its gay adventure. But this soon vanishes, and its place is taken by a concentration on the vision of the future, as it appeals to the political mind. The oracle becomes a specialized activity of that same epic fancy which created folk-lore. Prophetic utterances, the oracle, spurious and genuine, enchain the spirit of the politician and of the poet, ever receptive to external circumstances, and so belong to colloquial literature, even though they gradually lose the stamp of folk-lore, and more and more approximate to a sober description of coming events.

6. A second peculiarity of the Egyptian oracle is the typical *combination of threat and promise.* The order of events is understood and therefore left unstated: first must come calamity, then prosperity; the threat always precedes the promise. Except in details the two parts are antithetic, and they are as truly complementary as the two shells of the mussel. Doubtless the stress is laid on the promises, whilst the threats ultimately serve only as a contrast. There is, however, an unmistakeable distinction: in the genuine oracles, which usually foretell calamity, the prophet feels the need of applying a salve to the wound which he has inflicted; the promise cannot, it is true, annul the threat, but it may make it bearable, for it developes a hope in a coming happiness. Here the threat is the logical *prius*, which must of necessity be followed by the promise, in so far as the prophet loves his country. Exactly the opposite procedure is followed in the spurious oracles, for the promises refer to the glorious present, while the threats, on the contrary, are only intended to recall to memory a past now happily surmounted. Here the promise is the logical *prius*, the threat (earlier in time) is imperatively demanded to heighten the present.

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7. This leads to a third characteristic of the Egyptian oracles: their aim is generally *patriotic*. That always remained the chief consideration for the Egyptian state, even when the prophets announce calamity for a time. The Messiah whom they predict is almost exclusively the Egyptian ideal king, who will fulfil the political hopes and wishes of his people. This must not be exaggerated; there is no lack of a moral and religious point of view. The promise made to Amenemhet will serve as an illustration: 'There shall come from the south a king named Ameni, the son of a Nubian woman, and of a native of Upper Egypt. He shall wear the white crown and the red crown; he shall unite the two mighty (diadems) and delight the two lords (Horus and Set) with that which they love.' The first thought, then, is the reunion of Upper and Lower Egypt under a single sceptre. 'Rejoice, ye men, in his time. The son of an (illustrious) man shall make himself a name for all eternity. They that do deeds of evil and think thoughts of enmity shall no more dare to speak for fear before him. The Asiatics shall fall before his slaughter, and the Libyans before his flame. His enemies fall before his assault, and his rebels before his power. The royal serpent upon his forehead, *that* stills his rebels.' This proclaims the overthrow of all his enemies at home and abroad, especially the Asiatics and the Libyans, but also all those who plan evil against the king. 'The princes' walls shall be built, and never again shall the Asiatics be allowed to enter Egypt. They beg for water, according to their prescribed custom, to give their cattle to drink.' Again the *motif* is that of external politics; an important event of the period was the erection, or rather the restoration, of the princes' walls to the east of the Delta, to keep the Semites at a distance. But at the end it is said, 'Justice shall come to its place, and injustice shall be driven out. Let him be glad that seeth this, and him who then may serve the king.' Even though the ideas of 'justice' or 'truth' and 'injustice' or 'falsehood' here have a patriotic tinge, an ethical note is faintly heard. As in this illustration, the moral note is struck sometimes elsewhere also in the threats and promises of the Egyptian prophets, but it always remains low and scarcely audible.

8. A fourth peculiarity of the Egyptian oracle is the *dynastic interest*, which is closely related to political patriotism. The spurious prophecies were delivered at the court in honour of the reigning king, and therefore they paint the present in shining golden colour, the past in gloomy black. The court poets took their colours from the palette of the court prophets, who ate of the king's table, and had to prophesy to suit him. With the glorification of the reigning dynasty there is sometimes associated an antidynastic point aimed at the royal family which has been overthrown. An example may be seen in the story of the Birth of the

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Divine Children, where the prophecy is obviously directed against the House of Cheops. It not only casts Cheops into deep sorrow, but also charges him with numerous attempts to falsify the oracle. The conclusion of the papyrus is lost, but we may supply the motive of the murder of the children, which meets us again in the Saga of the exposure of Moses—that, too, was originally a royal Saga—and in the murder of the Babes of Bethlehem. The principal features are always the same: the reigning king is disturbed by a Messianic oracle which foretells the overthrow of his dynasty by a child who has just been born; he makes an effort to stave off destiny by having all the children killed, but in vain; Fate is stronger than the will of man, stronger than even the mightiest despot. This antidynastic aim is sharpest in the Proverbs of Ipuwer, where the sage attacks the reigning king, if not exactly with a threat, at least with an invective, and holds him responsible for the disasters of his country. He charges him with incapacity, and calls him 'a slumbering pilot': he expresses the hope that the king himself may taste something of the misery through which Egypt is passing. This is very significant, even though we are dealing with nothing more than a literary fiction. The amazing audacity of the speech of a Nathan to a David is known to us only through the Sagas; however much the stories may modify and edit the facts, they do, nevertheless, accurately represent the sharp opposition between king and prophet. Ipuwer seems to hold up, as a model to his king, Re, the first lord of Egypt, under whom conditions were ideal. This corresponds exactly to the threat against Nefer-rehu which precedes the promise to Ameni: 'What is done is as if it never had been done, and Re can once more begin to lay his foundations', i. e. he can start his creation afresh.[1] The coming doom is comparable to returning Chaos, the coming salvation comparable to returning creation, the coming king comparable to returning Re, the king of Paradise.

9. In spite of the gaps which still exist in our knowledge of the Egyptian oracle, the tradition does allow us to recognize a certain *evolution*. First in the primitive adventure stories of the folk-lore type, which tell of the birth of the Divine Sons, about 2650 B. C., we meet with the *motif* of the ideal king, who is foretold as the unexpected and undesired successor of the reigning lord. Here, as far as we yet know, it is the kings of a new dynasty—the fifth—who are greeted as Messiahs of prophecy. Similar conditions are repeated in the twelfth dynasty, about 2000 B. C., with Amenemhet, the founder of the Middle Kingdom. The same thing happened, certainly often and probably regularly, when a new family claimed the throne for itself; the oracle presents history as accredited by Destiny, in opposition to the fallen dynasty. So

[1] Cf. Erman *Literatur* p. 154 at top.

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prophecy serves the purposes of national and dynastic politics, which take possession of the 'colloquial' literature, in order to push propaganda suitable to themselves and to glorify the new king as God-appointed. It is only in the younger tradition that we find the genuine oracle alongside of the spurious, but the model must, of course, always precede the copy, so that it is only an accident that no genuine oracles of the earlier period have yet reached us. We have as yet no specimen of Messianic prophecy, in the strict sense of the word, which does not apply to a historic king. At the end of the evolution stands the demotic Oracle-Commentary, which has remarkably close affinities with the Book of Daniel. Its author has the same point of view, and handles history in the same apocalyptic style. This remarkable method of clothing history in the form of mysterious oracles has the same object in both cases; it seeks to inspire confidence in the latter part of the text, which contains only visions of the future. The agreement, however, goes farther; in both Daniel and the Oracle-Commentary the same events are often predicted, so that we can place parallel sections side by side, and analyse the documents into apparently independent pamphlets.

It is true that the Egyptian oracle cannot be further compared with the remarkable developement of Israelite prophecy, but it would be quite a mistake to treat the prophecies of the Egyptians as an absolutely unalterable whole which remained unaffected by the passage of centuries. Though the available material must be called scanty compared with the amount which has presumably been lost, yet in spite of all the persistent and unchanging elements certain *lines of progress* may be recognized. In the earlier period the spurious oracles seem to play a larger part than the genuine. The Messianic promises are very early converted into Messianic threats. Originally prophecy is more closely allied to the phantasy of folk-lore; later it is filled, as in Israel, with the apocalyptic spirit. The uniformity of the evolution becomes still clearer when we observe that the same theory of retribution was predominant in later Egypt as in contemporary Judaism. It is, indeed, not in Daniel but in Chronicles that we meet with exactly the same view as in the demotic Oracle-Commentary: if the king prospers, then he is righteous; if he suffers, then he is impious. In both cases the criterion is that he 'follows', or does not 'follow', the law. The Egyptians, like the Jews, had ceased to be a political nation, and had become an 'ecclesiastical sect'.

It can hardly be denied that there were *connexions between Israelite and Egyptian prophecy*. There can be no doubt that, as in Egyptian literature, in the Old Testament the spurious oracles, which hailed a *historical king as the Messiah*, were older than the genuine oracles.

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From the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix 8 ff) and Balaam's spell (Num. xxiv 15 ff) it is clear that even during his lifetime David was glorified as the Messiah. This corresponds exactly to the Egyptian custom of proclaiming the founder of a new royal family as the long promised and divinely appointed lord, so legitimizing the new dynasty. The process is repeated in later Israel once more, in the case of Zerubbabel after the Exile.

In the second place, we can quote the *Messianic threat* in Israel just as in Egypt, as a means whereby the promise of a Messiah is sharply aimed at the reigning dynasty. This is not so easily recognizable in the Saga of the exposure of Moses, but is obvious in the Saga of the slaughter of the Babes of Bethlehem, and in Israel's prophecy of Immanuel (Isa. vii); for it is formally uttered over the unbelieving king Ahaz, whose dynasty is threatened and will be superseded by that of Immanuel.

In the third place, the *connexion between the threat and the promise*, which is just as characteristic of the Egyptian oracle as it is of the Israelite, cannot possibly be understood by itself. Though in many places it is still obvious that threat and promise are necessarily connected and are as complementary as the two shells of the mussel, yet in the Old Testament the connexion between them is already loosening. There are, indeed, scholars who deny the existence of this connexion, though, in my opinion, they are wrong. For the prophetic literature of the Egyptians has preserved this association still more clearly, and we are forced to conclude that it represents an older, more original stage in the evolution.

In the fourth place, the outstanding question is as to whether it is necessary to assume foreign influence in order to explain Israelite prophecy. Could it not have become what it did entirely by itself? Is not the resemblance to Egyptian prophecy simply due to the similarity of the phenomena, which may be explained by reference to similar historical events or to the same type of human temperament? This is improbable, for two reasons: Micah (ch. v) calls *David* ruler 'from of old, from everlasting', and Isaiah (ch. xi) thinks of the returning David 'from the root of Jesse' also as the lord of Paradise, for with him begins afresh the primeval peace of the animal world. That is very remarkable, for the Israelite monarchy was much too young to be carried back into Paradise. In Paradise, according to Israelite belief, they were only two individuals, Adam and Eve, with neither king nor nation. This contrast between the earliest and the last times is most easily explained if we conjecture that *Israel borrowed the motif of a primitive monarchy from elsewhere*, from one of the ancient monarchies of the East, which knew of a king even in Paradise.

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The conception would then be translated into history, and so out of the returning king of Paradise grew the returning David, because David was the first king of Israel. The evolution of eschatology probably consists merely in this, that mythological views are translated into history. So the returning 'Antichrist' becomes the returning Nero or Napoleon, the returning 'Messiah' becomes the returning David or Barbarossa, the returning 'Chaos', with its 'dragon', becomes the destroying Assyrian, Greek, or Roman. This much we can conclude from the Israelite tradition itself—it looks back past itself to oriental predecessors.

Now we have seen, not only that the Egyptians recognized in Re the primeval lord of Paradise, but that in the prophetic lament of Ipuwer this primeval king is held up before the reigning monarch as an ideal. In the same way there are some illustrations of the idea of the return of '*Chaos*' in Egypt. It is true that we have no Messianic text, in the strict sense of the term, from Egypt, but it is possible that the reason for this is that eschatology had no meaning for Egyptian religion. It is just here that it differed from Israelite religion, which, more than any other, reached out into the future and lived in yearning and hope, for Israel's political ideal never had been fulfilled and never could be fulfilled. Nevertheless, it seems to me possible that the Israelites in this matter were *led by Egyptian conceptions to develope their peculiar Messianic belief*—unless better models can be discovered in Babylonia or Assyria, or possibly evidence found for an eschatology which was universal throughout the nearer East.

II.

10. What do we know of Babylonian prophecy? As in dealing with Egypt, so here also we can leave on one side the technical oracles, which were obtained with the help of external means—the observation of heavenly or earthly events, through the inspection of the liver, oil, or the stars. It is, on the other hand, very probable that there were also *inspired oracles*. We may conjecture that maḫḫu or šêḫanu was the name of the prophet who unveiled the future without omens through his god-filled spirit.[1] But what we know of their prophecies through literature is still very little. We have two *collections of oracles*, which should probably be included here.[2] These come from the time of Esarhaddon. Through the mouths of prophets or, more generally, prophetesses, courage is awarded to him and endless years of victory and happiness are promised to him in the name of Ishtar of Arbela.

[1] Meissner *Babylonien* ii p. 243.

[2] Text in Meissner ii p. 281, and in Ebeling in Gressmann's *Texte*[2] pp. 281 ff.

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The other oracles likewise come from Assyria. They are generally concerned with the calamities of the country and announce its salvation or its doom; no connexion of the various sentences is recognizable, and so it seems to me certain that we have here traditional formulas which were applied to occasional omens, though no omens are mentioned. These scanty sources do not enable us to write a history, but nevertheless the bare fact that prophets did appear in Babylon and Assyria is valuable.

11. In the second place we may also add myths to the prophetic literature. There is, first, a small cuneiform fragment which depicts *the coming judgement of Babylon*,[1] a political catastrophe which is to break over the city, whose wealth shall be given to Subartu and Assur. We may probably connect this text with the *Fra-myth*.[2] This recounts how the Plague-god Fra devastates the whole world, including Babylon; though the city is guiltless, she is not spared. It is not clear whether this event is to take place in the immediate future or at the very end. But included in it is an oracle which foretells a general uprising of the peoples: 'Then shall the Sea-country relentlessly slay the Sea-country, Subartu slay Subartu, the Assyrian slay the Assyrian, the Elamite slay the Elamite, the Kassite slay the Kassite, the Sutaean slay the Sutaean, the Qutaean slay the Qutaean, the Lullubaean slay the Lullubaean, one land slay another, one house slay another, one man slay another, one brother slay another. Then shall Akkad arise and shall fell them all, shall fling them all down together.' So out of the world-war shall the Akkadians, i.e. the Babylonians, emerge as conquerors; so shall Babylon be restored, and to her shall world-dominion be assigned. In this passage the name of the poet is inserted in the text—'Kabti-ilani-Marduk, son of Dabibu', and it is added that he has seen these events 'as a vision of the night; when he arose in the morning he omitted not a line, and no single part did he add thereto'. It is patriotism which has inspired him, and we easily understand that because of these verses, which so set their desires, the Babylonians sought to honour the name of the poet and prophet. Thus, though it is not certain, it is yet probable that the Babylonians expected a coming catastrophe. In the tumult of the nations Babylon too will be ruined, but she will rise again to new strength, even to world-dominion. Very striking is the agreement with the so-called 'Prophecies against the Nations' of Isaiah; we might, for example, recall the Ariel prophecy of Isaiah xxix. But as long as the Fra-myth remains isolated, and its significance uncertain, its con-

[1] *CT.* 49; cf. Winckler *OLZ.*, 1907, pp. 347 ff.
[2] Meissner *Babylonien* ii 185 ff.

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nexion with Israelite prophecy also cannot be accurately defined. It is, however, clear that the idea of world-dominion, which can only have arisen in a great nation like the Babylonians, has found eloquent expression in the Fra-myth. Finally, the Adapa-myth[1] should be mentioned. As compensation for the loss of eternal life, the first man receives world-dominion for all time. So the Babylonians, like the Egyptians, recognized a king in Paradise. But no evidence of an eschatological meaning has yet come to light.

12. More important than any external testimony is the internal evidence of the prophetic literature of Israel itself, which points to a foreign origin. It is not easy to discover such traces in the Old Testament, because the vigorous originality of the prophets enables them to transmute all foreign elements into their own spirit. But he who, like myself, is convinced that Israel was linked up with the life of the nearer East, will allow both the question and the attempt to find an answer to it. I beg you to notice that it is only an attempt, a hypothesis which I put forward for discussion.

According to Jeremiah, 'to be a prophet' means 'to have stood in the counsel of God' (xxiii 18). The conception of a *divine Council* goes farther back than Amos, for we meet it first in Micah ben Imlah (1 Kings xxii). We often find it again later in Isaiah, Ezekiel, Zechariah, and Daniel. Where else do we know of such divine assemblies? In Egypt they are completely unknown, but they are quite common in Babylon: we hear of them in the myths, in the hymns, and in the ritual. Let us picture the Babylonian views to ourselves.[2] According to the Creation-myth, Marduk is appointed king of the gods by the bestowal of the tablets of Destiny, and becomes the god of Destiny. Every year, on New Year's Day in *Duku*, a cosmic spot situated 'in the waste of waters', he determines the destinies of heaven and earth at the head of the assembly of the gods, whilst Nabu fulfils the office of Scribe. Later nearly every god became 'arbiter of destiny', and it is especially instructive to notice that the Assyrians too celebrated their national god Assur in the same way. The climax of the New Year festival in Babylon was reached in the ceremony where 'on the eighth and eleventh days (of Nisan) *the king* of the gods of heaven and earth takes his place in the Duku, the place where destinies are fixed, the gods of heaven and earth in awe do homage to him and stand bowed in his presence, while he himself assigns the fortunes of distant days'.

In Israel, too, when Yahweh is enthroned as president of the

[1] Meissner ii 188f; Ebeling, *op. cit.*, pp. 143 ff.
[2] Meissner *Babylonien* ii 97, 124f.

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heavenly Parliament and determines the destiny of the world, he is called 'the King', though the gods have become angels or 'the host of heaven': 'Mine eyes shall behold *the King*, Yahweh Zebaoth' (Isa. lxv). Even the scribe-god or scribe-angel is not entirely absent; he is once clearly described by Ezekiel (ix 2) amongst the six heavenly 'men', as clothed in white linen with the inkhorn at his side, and in the later literature Enoch is called the heavenly scribe. But as a rule—and this is especially true of pre-exilic prophecy, of the time when Monotheism was strongest—Yahweh Himself fulfils the office of scribe. The tablets of Destiny are replaced by the 'Book of Life', which is just as significant in the later prophecy as in the younger Apocalyptic: 'every one who is written down for life in Jerusalem' (Isa. iv 3). We may probably conclude that this happened on New Year's day from Isa. xxix 1 'Add year to year, let the festivals go their round'. נְנִקֹּפוּ is connected with תְּקוּפָה, a specifically astronomical term for the 'circuit' of the sun or of the year.

Isaiah mentions the *Seraphim* amongst Yahweh's *entourage*; he describes only their six wings. According to Philo of Byblos [1] the artist amongst the gods created for Bel-Kronos of Byblos, who also was a 'king' (a melek), 'four eyes in front and behind as tokens of *royal dominion*, (two open) and two closed, and on the shoulders four wings, two spread and two folded. The thought was that Kronos sleeping saw and seeing slept, and so too the wings indicated that he flew while resting and rested while flying.' He had besides 'two wings at his head', so that he had six wings in all, exactly like Isaiah's Seraphs. So, too, is he depicted on coins of Byblos,[2] the oldest city of Phoenicia, which he himself had founded,[3] just as Marduk had founded Babylon. So, too, Marduk, according to the Creation-epic, had four eyes and four ears, which befits the all-seeing god of destiny. Dare we suggest that the Seraphs in Israel also, beside their six wings, had four eyes, and that features which were originally proper to the principal figure are transferred to these subordinate beings? Such a transference is by no means unusual in the history of religion, and is directly demonstrable in the composite form of Aion-Kronos.[4] Is it an accident that *sārāph* is connected with the very verb *sāraph*—'burn', which is used to indicate the offerings of men and children made to Melek-Kronos-Marduk,[5] in short, to the god of destiny?

In Ezekiel the place of the Seraphs is taken by the Cherubs, which,

[1] Eusebius *Praep. Ev.* i 10, 36 f, p. 39 a.
[2] Fig. in Gressmann *Gestirnreligion* (Beiheft zum AO. 5), 1925, Plate IV. 10.
[3] Eusebius, *op. cit.*, p. 37 a.
[4] Gressmann, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
[5] Cf. Baudissin, 'Moloch' *PRE*³. xiii 274 f.

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as the heavenly watchmen of the enthroned God, have four heads, therefore eight eyes, or whose body, according to another account (x 2), is covered with eyes. Zechariah (vii 10) speaks frankly of the 'seven eyes of Yahweh', an expression which is quite comprehensible when applied to the God of heaven and the lord of the planets, as Bel-Marduk was. It is more and more generally recognized that the Cherubs are Babylonian astral beings, whilst their name is proved to be Babylonian. But a supplementary or alternative conception to that to the Lord of the planets is that of the 'Pole'. So, in addition to Ezekiel's Cherubs, we have the wheels which move of themselves, a reflexion of the heavenly spheres. Reitzenstein rightly recalls the figure of Aion in Nonnos (Dionys. 10, 102):

εἰσόκε μίμνῃ
Αὐτομάταις ἀψῖσιν ἕλιξ κυκλούμενος Αἰών.

The heavenly scribe with his inkhorn at his side suits this picture well, and the Adapa-myth forms an admirable parallel to Zechariah iii. Adapa and Joshua, or originally Zerubbabel, both appear in the heavenly court, mourning, clad in filthy garments; both are accused by the Satan, and both receive the advocacy of an angel. Both are transformed into kings. Yahweh's precious stone, on which the name of Zerubbabel is inscribed as that of the Messiah, finds an exact parallel in the diamond of Ishtar: 'I cause the light of the diamond to shine upon Esarhaddon, king of Assyria; I watch over him as over the crown of my head.'[1] Like the king of heaven, the queen of heaven wears a crown, with a diamond on which is engraved the name of the reigning king, as elsewhere on Yahweh's signet-ring.[2] The king of heaven is characterized by 'the seven eyes upon the stone'.

Most clearly does Daniel, ch. vii, the vision of the Son of Man, bring us into the chamber of destiny, which is set (like Marduk's chamber of destiny) 'in the waste of the waters', for the beasts (and the Son of Man) come out of the sea. 'Thrones' are set, the 'Ancient of Days' appears, the 'Judgement' takes place, and 'Books' are opened. The Anunnaki come for judgement before the 'counsellor of the gods'.[3] Even Diodorus knows of the twenty-four star-gods as 'the judges of the Universe'[4]; they are, therefore, those who form the court of judgement. The 'Books', again, correspond to the tablets of destiny, on which the heavenly scribe writes the decisions. The four beasts (the four Diadochi-kings) are deposed, the Son of Man, i. e. 'the Holy One of the Most High', is installed, so we have again a heavenly enthrone-

[1] Meissner ii 281; Ebeling, p. 282.
[2] Gressmann *Gestirnreligion* p. 21.
[3] Meissner ii 124.
[4] *Id.* ii 399.

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ment of the king of the world, the 'Most High God', the god of destiny. And if any still be doubtful, let him read the heathen parallel to Daniel vii, the *poem of Claudian in honour of Stilicho*.[1] He describes the twisted caves made by a serpent for the primeval god, who rules over the 'endless Aion' (*Aevum immensum*). This Time-god is, like the 'Ancient of Days', a venerable old man; he sits and writes eternal laws, while he appoints to the stars their path, and is, therefore, the god of destiny with the book of destiny. Beside him thrones are seen, obviously appropriated to the other gods, the assessors of the divine assembly, and the Ages (*saecula*), distinguished by metals. Then appears the youthful gleaming Sun-god, and takes a piece of gold on which he inscribes the name of Stilicho, who thus becomes king of the golden year. Let this suffice.

13. Let us look back. Pre-exilic prophetic literature does but dimly hint at the Babylonian council of the gods under the presidency of the god of destiny, standing behind the council of the year. Babylonian traces become clearer first in Ezekiel and Zechariah, but are clearest of all in Daniel. This is due to the gradual failure of the originality of Israelite prophecy, which ebbs with the course of time, with the result that foreign elements force their way steadily to the surface. If I have rightly estimated the developement, we must recognize Babylonian influence on one of the central ideas of Israelite prophecy. This, however, in no way detracts from its greatness. That the Assyrians should think of their chief god Assur as a Marduk, and so raise him to the level of a god of destiny, is not surprising in view of their political world-dominion. But the same fact must appear almost as a miracle in Israel. What a giant faith this tiny nation must have possessed, to make their God the king of the world, the Lord of heaven and of earth! The eternal value of Israelite prophecy does not rest on the conceptions which we have mentioned here, but on the nobility and on the spiritual profundity of the ethical religion.

I would not be misunderstood. I do not mean that Isaiah's idea of Yahweh contained any astrological element. But we win a new background for Isaiah's thinking. Henceforth it is quite impossible even to discuss so low a conception of Yahweh as that which was suggested to some scholars of an earlier generation by negro-religion. We can no longer think of Yahweh as a little local god dwelling in Mount Sion. To Isaiah he was the heavenly king who reigns over the whole world, not lower but greater than Marduk. And this is my judgement too.

HUGO GRESSMANN.

[1] *De Consulat. Stilichonis* ii 424 ff.

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THE GOSPEL OF PETER.

It is now some forty years since the French Archaeological Mission discovered the Akhmim Fragment of the Gospel of Peter, and interest in the discovery has waned. The fragment has failed to impress the learned world, and except among scholars there are few who have even heard of it.

No doubt the reason is to be found partly in the demerits of the work, a book so absurd and fantastic seems unworthy of serious attention; but something must also be allowed for the fact that most scholars, particularly in England, have declared that 'Peter' is a poor harmony of the four canonical gospels, containing no original features, and owing its peculiarities to the carelessness and partiality of the writer. This view was put forward by Dr Armitage Robinson and Dr M. R. James who published the text with notes in 1892.[1] These scholars held that 'Peter' shewed clear evidence of his acquaintance with our four gospels, and although Dr Swete, who published his edition in the following year, was somewhat more cautious, he considered that 'investigation established a strong probability that in one form or another the canonical gospels were known to the Petrine writer'.[2] This view found support in Germany, and it has not often been questioned. Quite recently Professor Burkitt wrote 'Thirty years of scrutiny has not established the claim of the Gospel of Peter to be an independent witness or even to preserve any fresh element of historical value',[3] and in 1924 Dr James stated categorically that 'The Gospel of Peter uses all four canonical gospels'.[4]

In view of such a consensus of opinion it may seem presumptuous to question the correctness of this view, but I can only plead that it came as a surprise to me to discover how slender is the evidence on which it is based, and if the commonly accepted verdict is challenged those who have given it the weight of their authority may be induced to re-examine the facts.

The object of this paper is to review those passages in the Gospel of Peter which have been supposed to indicate an acquaintance with the canonical gospels, and to enquire whether the accepted explanation is the most probable which can be given. I will begin with the question of the relationship of 'Peter' to the fourth gospel, since that is generally admitted to be the most open to doubt.

[1] *The Gospel according to Peter and the Revelation to Peter*, two lectures.
[2] Swete, *The Akhmim Fragment* p. xx.
[3] *Christian Beginnings* p. 79.
[4] *The Apocryphal New Testament* p. 90.

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I. '*Peter*' *and the Fourth Gospel.*

Dr Armitage Robinson marked the following passages as indicating an acquaintance with St John :—

1. § 3 'And he delivered him to the people. . . . And taking the Lord they pushed him along as they ran, and said, Let us hale the Son of God, since we have obtained power over him' (ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ).

John xix 10 f 'Dost thou not know that I have power (ἐξουσίαν) to release thee and have power to crucify thee?'

It is just possible that in 'Peter' ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ means 'his authority', i. e. Herod's, αὐτοῦ pointing back to the subject of παρέδωκεν three lines before. But however that may be, the correspondence is very slight, and if the usual translation be accepted the use of ἐξουσία in a different sense does not suggest literary dependence.

2. § 3 'And they set him on a chair of judgement saying, Judge righteously thou King of Israel. And one of them bringing a crown of thorns put it on the Lord's head.'

John xix 13 'Pilate therefore sat upon the judgement seat in a place called The Pavement'.

We cannot trace any reference to the βῆμα on which Pilate sat[1] in the καθέδρα on which, according to 'Peter', the people set Jesus. In John it is the soldiers who crown him with thorns.

3. § 3 'Others pierced him with a reed'.

John xix 34 'One of the soldiers pierced his side with a lance'.

The use of the word νύσσω in a wholly different connexion is a very poor argument for literary dependence.

4. § 4 'And being angered against him (the penitent thief) they commanded that his legs be not broken, so that he might die in torment'.

John xix 31 'They asked Pilate that their legs might be broken and they might be taken away'.

The two accounts have nothing whatever in common except the mention of a common practice. In 'Peter' the thief's legs are not broken in order to lengthen his sufferings, in John the legs of Jesus are not broken because he is dead. If we seek a proof that 'Peter' did not know John surely we have it here.

5. § 5 'And a certain one of them said, Give him to drink gall mingled with vinegar; and having mixed it they gave him to drink and fulfilled all things' (ἐπλήρωσαν πάντα).

John xix 28 'After this Jesus, knowing that all things had now been finished, that the scripture might be fulfilled (ἵνα τελειωθῇ ἡ γραφή),

[1] It is possible that ἐκάθισεν in John xix 13 should be given an active sense, but N. T. usage is against this suggestion.

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saith, I thirst. A vessel full of vinegar stood there. So they put a sponge full of the vinegar upon hyssop and brought it to his mouth. When therefore Jesus took the vinegar he said, It is finished' (τετέλεσται).

The only common feature which calls for notice is the emphasis laid on the fulfilling or finishing of all things. Even here, unless we accept an inferior text of John, the word used is different, and the fulfilling of Psalm lxix 21 was doubtless a favourite point in early Christian apologetics. On the other hand the differences are much more striking. 'Peter' has no mention of the sponge or of the hyssop, and he seems to regard the gall and vinegar as a poison intended to hasten death.

6. § 5 'And many went about with lights (λύχνων) thinking that it was night, and they fell'.

John xviii 3 'Judas cometh there with lanterns and torches (μετὰ φανῶν καὶ λαμπάδων) and weapons'. And xviii 6 'As then he said to them I am he, they went backwards and fell to the ground' (καὶ ἔπεσαν χαμαί).

It is difficult to take seriously the suggestion of literary dependence. 'Peter' says that during the crucifixion it was so dark that some carried lights and fell. What possible connexion has this with John's statement that in Gethsemane some carried torches, and on the confession of Jesus the officers went backward and fell? Even the word for lights is different.

7. § 6 'And then they drew out the nails from the Lord's hands'.

John xx 25 'Unless I see in his hands the print of the nails'.

It is alleged that since John alone mentions the nails, 'Peter' must have read his gospel. I would reply, firstly, that all the gospels imply the use of nails since they were always used in the hands, though not always in the feet[1]; and secondly, that John would not have mentioned them had he not included the story of Thomas. John says nothing about nails in his account of the crucifixion. In 'Peter' 'they drew out the nails' is no more than a 'graphic touch'.

8. § 6 'And he brought him to his own tomb, called Joseph's garden'.

John xix 41 'And there was in the place where he was crucified a garden, and in the garden a new sepulchre'. The use of the term 'garden' (κῆπος) constitutes a more striking resemblance than any we have previously studied. But what does it prove? Only that 'Peter's' source spoke of a garden. We must not make the assumption that at the time when 'Peter' wrote the only account in the world which spoke of a garden was our fourth gospel. The author of the fourth gospel

[1] For references see *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Art. 'Cross'.

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did not invent the garden; even if the detail is unhistorical, it is much more likely that it owes its existence to the pious imagination of the multitude than that John deliberately invented it, and if the tradition existed when John wrote, may not 'Peter' have heard it too? Other indications do not favour the hypothesis of literary dependence. It is Matthew not John who says that the tomb was Joseph's own property —though Matthew does not use the word ἴδιον. John speaks of μνημεῖον, 'Peter' of τάφος. John says that the sepulchre was new, 'Peter' omits this detail, and 'Peter' does not say that the garden was in the place where Jesus was crucified. I submit that a theory of literary dependence cannot be established on the use of a single word the occurrence of which can quite easily be explained otherwise.

9. § 11 'And early on the Lord's day Mary Magdalene, a woman disciple of the Lord (fearing because of the Jews she did not do at the Lord's tomb what women are accustomed to do for their loved ones who are dead), took with her her friends and came to the tomb where he was laid'.

Only John mentions Mary Magdalene by herself. It would seem that the only one of the women mentioned by the synoptists whose personality impressed itself on the Church and whose memory survived was Mary, and before long the others dropped out of the narrative altogether—as in John. 'Peter' reflects an intermediate stage in the growth of the tradition. The other women have not disappeared entirely, but they are mentioned as an afterthought and described vaguely as Mary's friends.

Only a strong determination to find evidences of acquaintance with the fourth gospel could detect the influence of John xix 40 ('as the custom is for the Jews to prepare for burial') in the words of 'Peter', 'She did not do at the Lord's tomb those things which the women are wont to do for those who die and are dear to them'.

10. A little stronger is the evidence of Mary's experiences.

§ 11 'So they went and found the tomb opened; and they came near and peered in there (παρέκυψαν ἐκεῖ), and they see there a certain young man sitting.'

John xx 5 'And the other disciple came first to the sepulchre, and peering in (παρακύψας) he beholdeth the linen cloths'.

Is the verbal similarity enough to counterbalance the dissimilarity in the subject-matter? 'Peter' is describing the visit of Mary, John the visit of the Beloved Disciple; 'Peter' uses τάφος, John writes μνημεῖον; in 'Peter' the women see (ὁρῶσιν) a young man, in John the Beloved Disciple beholds (βλέπει) only the linen cloths. The use of a single common word by 'Peter' and John is not enough to outweigh differences so obvious, and probability inclines strongly to the view

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that 'Peter' had not seen John's narrative. As these stories were repeated the natural tendency would be for the phraseology to become fixed and the same words would be used even in different connexions.

11. Only one other passage is suggested as shewing familiarity with the fourth gospel.

§ 12 'But I Simon Peter and Andrew my brother took our nets, and went away to the sea. And there was with us Levi the son of Alphaeus.'

With this is compared the account of the appearance to the disciples of John xxi 2 ff. Against any hypothesis of literary dependence must be reckoned the difference in the names of the Apostles. John says nothing of Andrew or of Levi the son of Alphaeus, but speaks of Thomas called Didymus, and Nathaniel from Cana, and the sons of Zebedee, and two other disciples. Except on the theory that John was inventing the whole story and that no one had ever heard of it until he wrote there is not a shred of evidence that 'Peter' has read his account; all we can say is that 'Peter' and John both knew a tradition that some incident had occurred when Simon Peter and a few of his companions were engaged in fishing. How great was the degree of verbal similarity between the two versions of the common tradition we do not know, but judging from the few words of 'Peter' which survive it was not very great.

We conclude, therefore, that the attempt to prove that 'Peter' knew the work of St John fails conspicuously. There are points of similarity between the apocryphal gospel and the gospel of St John, but they are not very striking, and against them must be placed the innumerable differences and inconsistencies between the two accounts. Even if we allow that 'Peter' may have used his sources with great freedom, there seems no reason why he should have gone out of his way to contradict the Johannine account. An important point is the impression created by his narrative that 'Peter' had never heard of the 'Jerusalem tradition' of the resurrection appearances. If so, he had never read St John or St Luke.

II. '*Peter*' *and Matthew and Luke.*

If the case for the use by 'Peter' of the Gospel of St John is so weak, we may ask whether it is any stronger for his dependence upon the first and third gospels.

Dr Swete selected three passages which seemed to him to suggest that 'Peter' had read St Matthew, and three which indicated a knowledge of St Luke. We will consider them in order.

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Peter i 'But of the Jews no man washed his hands, neither Herod nor one of his judges. And as they did (not) wish to wash Pilate stood up', &c.

Matthew xxvii 24 'But Pilate seeing that he prevailed nothing, but rather a tumult arose, took water and washed his hands before the multitude.'

'Peter' has evidently just recorded Pilate's washing of his hands, and he tries to emphasize the guilt of the hated Jews by insisting that none of the Jews did likewise. He therefore knew the tradition of which Matthew is otherwise our only witness. But that does not prove that he knew the First Gospel. If he did, why did he not go on to record Pilate's protestation 'I am guiltless of this blood', and the Jews' ready rejoinder 'His blood be upon us and upon our children'? That was just the point on which 'Peter' was anxious to insist, and if he knew the words of the people it is strange that he should have omitted them. The natural inference is that 'Peter' and Matthew are both endeavouring to give expression to the same thought, viz. the peculiar infamy of the Jews, but they do it in different ways, and therefore their accounts are independent. This conclusion is strengthened by 'Peter's' inclusion of Pilate's protest in another connexion. In § x Pilate, on hearing the report of the guard and of the elders, exclaims 'I am clean from the blood of the Son of God; it was you who contrived it'. It is the same tradition in both gospels, but the fact that it appears in a wholly different context in 'Peter' suggests that he was not acquainted with our first gospel.

The second passage which Dr Swete thought rested upon Matthew concerns the earthquake.

Peter vi 'And then they drew the nails from the hands of the Lord and laid him on the ground. And all the ground was shaken and there was great fear.'

Matthew xxvii 50 'And Jesus gave up the spirit. And behold the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom, and the earth was shaken and the rocks were rent,' &c.

The simple fact the two narratives have in common is that the earth was shaken, but whereas in 'Peter' the miracle occurs when the body of Jesus touches the ground,[1] in Matthew the earthquake is one of a series of marvels which mark the moment of the death of Jesus. 'Peter's'

[1] In connexion with the supposed Docetism of this gospel Prof. Bethune-Baker remarks that this incident suggests that 'Peter's' Docetism was not of a very thorough-going character. I should say that 'Peter' was hardly theologian enough to be a heretic; some passages may reflect heretical tendencies in his sources, but 'Peter' was probably unconscious of the fact.

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is decidedly the more sober narrative. Both evangelists knew a story about an earthquake, but tradition was vague as to the exact moment when it had taken place, and each inserted it at what seemed to him the most appropriate point. It happened that their judgement did not agree. It is unfair to 'Peter' to represent him as wilfully muddling the canonical narrative unless there is better evidence that he was acquainted with it. What reason could he have had for making such an alteration as this? It is more probable that he, like the other evangelists, found himself surrounded with a number of vague and contradictory stories, and that he, like the others, did his best to fit them together into a consistent whole. He was less successful than they because he had less ability, but there is no reason why he should be accused of wilful misrepresentation whenever his version differs from that of one or more of the rest.

Peter § viii gives an elaborate account of the request of the Scribes and Pharisees and Elders that Pilate would set a guard at the tomb 'lest at any time his disciples come and steal him, and the people suppose that he is risen from the dead, and they will do us harm'. Pilate grants the request and sends Petronius, the centurion, with soldiers to guard the tomb. The guard, with the elders, seal the tomb and encamp near by. On the sabbath morning a large crowd from Jerusalem come as witnesses to the sealing.

Here in part the correspondence with Matthew is verbal and therefore more important. Matthew xxvii 64 reads 'Lest at any time the disciples come and steal him', exactly the words of 'Peter'. But nearly every other detail is different. Matthew says 'the chief priests and the Pharisees were gathered together'. 'Peter' has 'the scribes and Pharisees and elders being gathered together'. In Matthew the priests remember certain prophecies of Jesus, in 'Peter' their action is the result of a change in the attitude of the people, and there is no mention of prophecies. In Matthew the priests fear that the disciples may say to the people 'He is raised (ἠγέρθη) from the dead'; in 'Peter' the people may suppose (ὑπολάβῃ) that he is risen (ἀνέστη) from the dead. Matthew gives the verbal reply of Pilate, 'Peter' only records the sequel. These are small and unimportant differences, but they make the hypothesis of literary dependence less probable. Once more, all that can be affirmed is that Matthew and 'Peter' both knew a tradition that the Jews asked Pilate for a guard, and in the form familiar to each the words 'lest his disciples come and steal him' occurred, but for the rest the traditions differed widely. That a common phrase should appear in different versions of a tradition is not at all surprising; the Jews must have given some reason for their request, and what other reason could they have

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given than this? It is difficult for two people to tell the same story without using some common words and phrases, but if they differ in matters of fact the probability is that the one is not repeating the narrative of the other.

We now pass to consider those passages in 'Peter' which have been supposed to indicate an acquaintance with our third gospel.

1. First, we have the mention of Herod as participating in the trial and condemnation of Jesus. According to 'Peter' Herod did not wash his hands, Herod commanded Jesus to be taken and abused, and Herod granted the body of Jesus to Pilate, the friend of Joseph. Of the canonical gospels, Luke alone mentions Herod in connexion with the trial; therefore it is argued that Luke's gospel was known to 'Peter'. But how different is the picture presented in the two accounts! In Luke the part played by Herod is a perfectly natural one, and not very important. Pilate sends Jesus to Herod in the hope of escaping from an embarrassing situation: Herod, much gratified, conducts an examination; but, finally, disappointed at the silence of Jesus, he coarsely insults him and sends him back to Pilate. 'Peter' represents Herod as playing a far more important part. It is Herod, the King, who is really responsible for the death of Jesus, and through him the guilt of the crucifixion rests upon the Jews. We do not possess 'Peter's' account of the trial, but the fragment which remains is enough to disclose his purpose; it was to emphasize the guilt of the Jews and to minimize the guilt of Pilate.[1]

This is not, therefore, a case in which the differences of 'Peter' from Luke are strong evidence that 'Peter' had not seen the canonical gospel. Here he had good reason for introducing modifications, for garbling the Lucan narrative. And yet we must not too readily assume that this is what he did. As far as this passage is concerned the evidence of his acquaintance with Luke could hardly be weaker. It amounts to no more than the bare mention of Herod as concerned in the trial of Jesus. If Herod actually did take part in the trial it is not altogether wonderful that 'Peter' should have heard of the fact even though he had never seen the third gospel. Once more we must insist that the gospels are not romances created out of nothing by the evangelists; the gospels are collections of current traditions, and if Luke met a tradition that Herod was concerned in the trial of Jesus, it is not inconceiveable that 'Peter' met it too. He may have learnt it in a different form, and he may have elaborated it in accordance with

[1] We are reminded of John xix 11, where we may probably see the same tendency at work; and of course there is Mt. xxvii 24, 25.

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his own views, but learn it he did, and not necessarily or even probably from the third gospel.

2. The second passage which has been supposed to indicate an acquaintance with Luke is § iv which describes the crucifixion of the two malefactors and the repentance of one of them.

Peter § iv 'And one of those malefactors reviled them saying, We suffer thus because of our evil deeds; but this man, having become the saviour of men, in what did he wrong you? And being angered against him they commanded that his legs should not be broken so that he might die in torment.'

Once more 'Peter' has learnt a tradition which Luke also incorporates to the effect that one malefactor (κακοῦργος so Luke; Mark and Matthew λῃστής) acknowledged his guilt and his sympathy with Jesus. But there the correspondence ends. In Luke the malefactor's protest is addressed to his fellow, in 'Peter' he speaks to the Jews, and although the sense is the same in both accounts the wording is altogether different. We cannot see here any indication of literary dependence.

3. Lastly, it is pointed out that only Luke and 'Peter' mention the remorse of the spectators.

Peter § vii 'Then the Jews and the elders and the priests, knowing how much evil they had done themselves, began to lament and to say, Woe to our sins, the judgement is at hand and the end of Jerusalem.'

Peter § viii 'The Scribes and the others hearing that all the people murmured and beat their breasts, saying, If at his death those mighty signs are come to pass, see how righteous he was!' &c.

It needs a lively imagination to find the source of this passage in Luke xxiii 47 f 'The centurion, seeing what was come to pass, glorified God saying, Truly this was a righteous man. And all the multitudes being come together to see this sight returned beating their breasts.' Luke and 'Peter' have two things in common, (1) a knowledge of the fact that some of the Jews ('Peter' ὁ λαὸς ἅπας) regretted the crucifixion, and (2) the belief that some beat their breasts. But how small is the correspondence! The grief of the Jews in 'Peter' is a fear produced by the very great signs, or in the earlier passage the working of a guilty conscience. In Luke the grief of the spectators is a natural horror at the brutality of the crucifixion. Even in the mention of the beating of their breasts, the two accounts use a different verb (Luke τύπτοντες, 'Peter' κόπτεται τὰ στήθη).

That 'Peter' knew the third gospel must remain a highly questionable supposition.

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III. *'Peter' and Mark.*

So far our examination of the gospel has led us to the conclusion that there is very little evidence in favour of the theory that 'Peter' knew the first, third, and fourth gospels. We must now turn our attention to the further question of 'Peter's' indebtedness to Mark. Professor Turner has affirmed that 'the dependence of our fragment is not questioned' . . . 'the employment of Mark's gospel is admitted on all sides'.[1] Even Harnack thought that '"Peter's" acquaintance with Mark is proved or almost proved'.[2]

I transcribe the list of coincidences contained in Dr Swete's introduction (p. xvii), omitting those which have already been discussed.

(*a*) *The Lord is attired in purple, crowned with thorns, spat upon, buffeted.* Peter iii, Mark xiv 65, xv 16–20. 'Peter' knows of the facts recorded by Mark, but his account differs as much as it is possible for two accounts of the same events to differ from one another.

Mark has two mockings, 'Peter' only one. In Mark it is the soldiers who plait the crown of thorns, in 'Peter' it is 'a certain one' of the people, and the people, not the soldiers, clothe Jesus in purple. In Mark it is apparently some of the Levitical police who spit upon him,[3] in 'Peter' we read 'and others standing by spat in his eyes'. In Mark the same men cover his face and buffet (κολαφίζειν) him, while the soldiers smite him on the head with a reed; in 'Peter' 'others' (of the people) smack his cheeks,[4] and others again prick him with a reed. Mark has nothing to correspond with the scourging by the people recorded by 'Peter'.

If 'Peter' has read Mark, he has certainly forgotten the details, but as far as this passage is concerned it is easier to suppose that his narrative is an independent rendering of tradition.

(*b*) *The Lord is crucified between two malefactors.* Peter iv, Mark xv 27. This point need not detain us. 'Peter' knows the fact, as no doubt every one who had ever heard of the crucifixion knew it, but he uses a different word for 'malefactors' and his account is much nearer to that of Luke. It has no single feature in common with Mark.

(*c*) *The silence of the Lord.* Peter iv, Mark xiv 61. Swete very properly adds 'but under other circumstances'. There is nothing in Peter's 'but he was silent as feeling no pain' remotely reminiscent of Mark's 'but he was silent and answered nothing'. When we remember

[1] *J. T. S.* vol. xiv p. 165.
[2] *Bruchstücke* p. 32 f. Quoted *H. D. B.* v 427.
[3] Mk. xiv 65, 'the people' were not present.
[4] Τὰς σιαγόνας αὐτοῦ ἐράπισαν.

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that in the fourth gospel it is Pilate who observes and protests against the Lord's silence, we realize how fluid tradition was.

(*d*) *A superscription is placed on the cross.* Peter iv, Mark xv 26.

The two statements must be quoted.

Peter 'And when they had set up the cross they placed on it the superscription (ἐπέγραψαν ὅτι), This is the King of Israel.'

Mark 'And the superscription (ἐπιγραφή) of his accusation was written over, The King of the Jews.'

ἐπιγραφή was no doubt a technical term, so that no stress can be laid upon its occurrence in both accounts. More important is 'Peter's' 'of Israel' for 'of the Jews' which occurs in all the canonical gospels. The contrast does not support Zahn's dictum that 'the only sources from which the Gospel of Peter has drawn its materials are our four Gospels'[1]; it is very difficult to imagine the author, familiar with the Marcan form, making this pointless alteration.

(*e*) *The Lord's garments are divided.* Peter iv, Mark xv 24. Both again record the fact, but there the similarity between the accounts ends. Mark and all the canonical gospels use the word ἱμάτια,[2] 'Peter' uses the word ἐνδύματα, and there is nothing in Mark to correspond with 'Peter's' 'setting the garments before him'. Why should Swete remark that '"Peter", after his manner, changes something—ἱμάτια gives place to ἐνδύματα'? Poor 'Peter', he is much maligned!

(*f*) *There is darkness from noon to 3 p.m.* Peter v, Mark xv 33.

Peter 'Now it was midday, and darkness covered all Judaea' (σκότος κατέσχε πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν).

Mark 'And when it was the sixth hour it became dark over all the land until the ninth hour' (σκότος ἐγένετο ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν).

There is no trace of verbal correspondence, only the tradition is known to both. Again the evidence is against literary connexion.

(*g*) *A potion is administered to the Lord shortly before his death.* Peter v, Mark xv 23, 36.

The wording, which is Swete's, conceals a great difference in the presentation of the narrative. In Mark a potion is offered as an act of mercy before the crucifixion, and later, just before the Lord's death, 'one ran, and filling a sponge full of vinegar put it on a reed and gave him to drink'.

In the other gospels numerous changes have been made to secure the fulfilment of Ps. lxix 22. In 'Peter' only one draught is administered, and that is apparently intended to hasten death and allow for the removal of the bodies before the sabbath. 'And they were troubled and distressed lest the sun had set, inasmuch as he was yet

[1] *H. D. B.* v 427.

[2] So the LXX, Ps. xxi 19.

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alive; it is written for them that the sun set not on one that hath died by violence. And one of them said, Give him gall to drink with vinegar; and they mixed and gave him to drink.'

Could anything be farther from Mark? And yet this is one of those passages supposed to prove 'Peter's' indebtedness to the second gospel and the unscrupulous manner in which he dealt with his sources. It is not only more charitable but also more sensible to suppose that he differs from Mark because he had never seen our gospel and was bound to rely upon a different and doubtless an inferior tradition.

(*h*) *The fourth word from the cross.* Peter v, Mark xv 34.

Peter 'And the Lord cried, saying, My power, my power, thou hast left me.'

Mark 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?'

Comment is superfluous. Only those who have already decided that 'Peter' was a heretic wilfully perverting the gospel can argue that this passage indicates his acquaintance with Mark.

(*i*) *The veil of the temple is rent.* Peter v, Mark xv. 38.

Peter, καὶ αὐτῆς ὥρας διεράγη τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰς δύο.

Mark, καὶ τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ ἐσχίσθη εἰς δύο ἀπ' ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω.

Here there are verbal similarities, but there are also verbal dissimilarities, and the latter balance the former. It is easier to account for similarities in two independent narratives of the same event than to explain divergences in two narratives, one of which is derived from the other. It is not necessary to suppose that Peter had read Mark to understand his speaking of 'the veil of the temple', but why if he knew Mark should he change ἐσχίσθη into διεράγη?

(*j*) The burial by Joseph unquestionably belonged to the common tradition of all the churches and was probably well known to the vast majority of Christians before a line of the canonical gospels had been written. It is only necessary to remark that 'Peter's' account is in marked contrast with Mark's. According to 'Peter' the negotiations for the body of Jesus took place before the crucifixion (Peter i), in Mark, Joseph acts in the emergency which arose after the death of Jesus ('since it was the Preparation Joseph came' &c. Mark xv 42). In 'Peter' it is the Jews, or Herod, not Pilate, who grant the body.[1] In 'Peter' the explanation is admiration for the good deeds of Jesus, in Mark it is concern for the near approach of the Sabbath. Critics anxious to establish 'Peter's' dependence upon Mark point to the words εἵλησε σινδόνι (P) and ἐνειλησεν τῇ σινδόνι (M). The corre-

[1] Cf. Peter vi 'The Jews rejoiced and gave his body (σῶμα) to Joseph to bury it'; Mark xv 45 'He [Pilate] granted the corpse (πτῶμα) to Joseph'.

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spondence, buried among contrasts, is not impressive. If 'Peter' had Mark in mind, why did he write 'taking the Lord he washed him' for 'taking him down', and 'he brought him to his own sepulchre (τάφος) called the Garden of Joseph' for 'he laid him in a tomb' (μνῆμα)?

(*k*) We pass to the mention of the great stone rolled to the mouth of the tomb. Of course 'Peter' knows the fact which is variously described in all the synoptic gospels, but how differently he describes it! In Mark, Joseph having laid the body in the tomb rolls a stone against the door, thus completing the burial in the ordinary way. In 'Peter', the Jews are wholly responsible for the stone, the placing and sealing of which is one of the precautions against a possible theft by the disciples (§ viii). Surely there is no positive evidence here of dependence upon Mark or Matthew; the words represent a further elaboration of the tradition which was unknown to Mark, but which Matthew inserted in a simpler form into his narrative. We can easily account for 'Peter's' elaboration by supposing that he desired to rule out any possibility of a fraud, and to emphasize the enormous size of the stone; there is no proof that he knew the canonical gospel. Every divergence from the canonical accounts increases the probability that 'Peter' did not know them.

(*l*) *The appearance of an angel.* Peter xi, Mark xvi. 5.

Peter 'And going away they found the tomb opened. And approaching they looked in there, and they see there a certain young man sitting in the midst of the tomb, fair and clothed in a most splendid robe. And he said unto them, Why are ye come? Whom do ye seek? That crucified one? He is risen and departed. But if ye believe not, look in and see the place where he lay, because he is not (there). For he is risen and gone thither whence he was sent. Then the women were afraid and fled.'

Mark 'And coming to the tomb, they saw a young man sitting on the right side, clothed with a white robe, and they were amazed. And he saith unto them, Be not amazed. Ye seek Jesus the Nazarene the crucified. He is risen; he is not here. Behold the place where they laid him. . . . And going out they fled from the tomb . . . for they feared. . . .'

The correspondence here is remarkable. 'They found the tomb opened' is at least reminiscent of 'They see that the stone has been rolled back'. Mark's description of the young man is only slightly elaborated (much less than in Matthew and Luke). The point of his address is the same, the women are engaged in a fruitless search for Jesus because he is risen, and they are invited to see the place where he had been laid. The women flee in terror. So much for the similarities, but let us observe the differences. 'Peter' speaks of τάφος,

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Mark of μνημεῖον. 'Peter' does not seem to grasp the nature of a Jewish tomb. 'Peter' says that the young man was sitting in the middle of the tomb. Mark places him on the right (outside?). 'Peter' says nothing about the astonishment of the women, or of the young man's reassurance, and his τίνα ζητεῖτε is nearer to Luke than to Mark. 'Peter' uses ἀνέστη of the resurrection, Mark has ἠγέρθη. 'Peter' makes it quite clear that the women are to 'see the place where he lay' in order to convince them, a point which is not so obvious in Mark; and for Mark's 'where they laid him', 'Peter', like Matthew, has 'where he lay'. Mark's account of the instructions to the disciples is wholly omitted. 'Peter' identifies the resurrection with the ascension. He has nothing to correspond with Mark's statement that the women said no word to any man.

Before we attempt to estimate the significance of these facts, it may be well to consider the very remarkable fact that Peter includes this narrative at all. He has already narrated the descent from heaven of two gigantic angels who raise Jesus from the dead (§ ix), and of another angel who enters the tomb and has no other function than to greet the women (§ x). There can hardly be a doubt that here we have what in synoptic criticism is called a doublet. There were two forms of one tradition; according to one (Matthew xxviii 2), a single angel descended from heaven to assist at the resurrection, according to the other (Luke xxiv 4), there were two angels whose business was to announce the resurrection to the women (cf. John xx 12). 'Peter' knows both these traditions, and not recognizing them as variant accounts of the same event, he puts them both into his narrative.

The question for us is, What is the origin of the two traditions? Surely with Mark and 'Peter' before us we can trace them both back to the 'young man' whom the women encountered at the tomb. Mark does not say that he was an angel though he probably implies it, and 'Peter' though still calling him 'a young man'[1] heightens the supernatural character of his appearance. In Matthew we have his angelic nature definitely stated, and in Luke he has been transformed into two supernatural beings. 'Peter' includes all three traditions, or rather the one tradition at three separate stages of its growth! An angel descends from Heaven, two angels descend from Heaven, and 'a certain young man' converses with the women. This is extremely important as establishing 'Peter's' method of writing his gospel. He did not sit down with four finished documents before him and reduce them to a harmony with such original features as suited his heretical opinions or his unaccountable caprice. He collected all the traditions he could find; some were early, some were late; some were

[1] Τινα νεανίσκον.

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valuable, some were worthless; some were sober, some were fantastic; 'Peter' was no critic, and he took them all as he found them, and put them down with little or no attempt to construct a consistent narrative. If, as in this case, an early form of a tradition differed greatly from its later form or forms, he included all the accounts as though they referred to separate events.

Now let us return to the narrative of the visit of the women at the tomb. Everything points to the conclusion that 'Peter' has here incorporated a very early tradition—he has tapped the stream at a point before it reached Matthew or Luke. As time passed stories were elaborated, and as a general rule the simpler the narrative the earlier the date. 'Peter' has become acquainted with the story of the women's visit in a form considerably earlier than that with which Matthew and Luke were familiar. Did he derive his knowledge from Mark? At first sight most critics would say that, judging only by the similarities in this particular narrative, the probability is that he did. But two considerations may be urged against this view. First, as I have already remarked, similarities are easier to explain without a hypothesis of literary dependence than are differences if such a hypothesis be accepted, and although 'Peter' resembles Mark in many particulars, I have drawn up a fairly long list of differences between the two. If 'Peter' used Mark these differences can only be accounted for on the supposition that he treated his source with extraordinary freedom, introducing variations for which no reason can be suggested. From what we can see of 'Peter' and his methods we should rather expect him to follow his sources with unintelligent fidelity than suspect him of launching out into emendations which he had not the ability to make successfully. Secondly, there are definite indications that 'Peter's' account represents tradition in some respects more primitive than that of Mark. The argument depends upon our view of the general course of developement of the tradition relating to the resurrection, but one or two points may be suggested in which intrinsic probability seems to favour the priority of 'Peter'. The form of the young man's greeting in 'Peter' seems more natural than that contained in Mark. If, as a matter of fact, he was a young man and no more he would, on seeing the women, most probably address to them a question, 'Why have ye come? Whom seek ye? That crucified one?' If we are to judge between the canonical and uncanonical accounts I incline to favour the latter on grounds of intrinsic probability.[1]

Again, without any knowledge of the contents of Mark's lost ending,

[1] I am not unmindful of the fact that Mark's Ἰησοῦν ζητεῖτε τὸν Ναζαρηνὸν τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον may be interrogative. But it is most natural to take it as a statement displaying the supernatural insight of the young man.

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we cannot be sure whether he did or did not distinguish between the resurrection and the ascension, but 'Peter' in this passage identifies them unmistakeably, and this is an indication of the very early date of his tradition. More important is the fact that 'Peter' knows nothing of the command of the young man to the women that they should deliver a message to the disciples. As it stands in the text of Mark the command comes in awkwardly. The women receive instructions which, for no stated reason except that they feared, they ignore. But why were they frightened? Surely not at the news of the resurrection, but at the unexpected apparition of the young man. Their fear explains their flight, it does not explain their silence. If we omit Mark xvi 7 ('Go, tell his disciples, . . .'), we have a perfectly consistent narrative, which has been obscured in Mark by the addition of a later tradition. If this be granted, 'Peter's' version gains a new importance. He tells of the young man at the tomb and of his conversation with the women, but he represents an earlier form of the tradition in which the important addition 'Go, tell his disciples', had not yet been introduced. How 'Peter' came across this early version at a time when all kinds of absurdities had already gained currency I have not the least idea, but if the argument is sound, the theory that 'Peter' used the Marcan gospel is finally disposed of. Even in this passage in which the Petrine account corresponds most nearly to that of Mark his source was not our gospel, but an independent tradition in some respects inferior to Mark, but in other respects exhibiting traces of an earlier form of the narrative than that incorporated in the second gospel.

The conclusion to which we seem to be led by the above enquiry is that the strength of the evidence for the dependence of 'Peter' upon the canonical gospels has been greatly overestimated, and on the other hand, not enough has been made of the independent features of the Petrine narrative which are very difficult to explain on the hypothesis of literary dependence. It is my contention that the similarities which exist between the canonical accounts and the apocryphal gospel can be explained on the hypothesis that all the evangelists, including 'Peter', collected the floating traditions with which they were familiar and made of them the best narrative they could. The many divergences of 'Peter' from the canonical gospels are best explained, not by supposing that the author had an inexplicable passion for tampering with his sources, but by supposing that he did not know the work of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. That his account is immeasurably inferior to that of the gospels can hardly be denied; 'Peter' was a man of no great ability, and perhaps he was less fortunate than the canonical writers in the sources on which he relied; but if it be established that 'Peter' with all his faults is an independent witness to the traditions current in

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the early Church, then his gospel gains a new value which all its defects are not sufficient to destroy.

We may now pass on to consider the probable date of this 'Gospel of Peter'.

P. GARDNER-SMITH.

EZEKIEL XVI 4.

ומולדותיך ביום הולדת אותך

'And *as for* thy nativity, in the day thou wast born.'

THE fourth verse of Ezekiel xvi begins with the word

ומולדותיך = *umoldotayikh*

which, having no obvious connexion with the rest of the verse, almost appears to be a dittograph of the similar word

ומלדתיך = *um(o)ld(o)tayikh*

in verse 3 of the same chapter. A.V. and R.V. render verse 3 as 'and thy nativity', and verse 4 'and *as for* thy nativity'. The addition of the words in italics is obviously due to the desire of the translators to make sense of the word in its context.

Ehrlich suggests 'für das in diesem Zusammenhang unpassende ומולדותיך (*umoldotayikh*) ist entschieden zu lesen ותולדותיך (*wetoldotayikh*) = und deine Lebensgeschichte. Dieser Ausdruck bezieht sich seiner Bedeutung nach auf die ganze folgende Darstellung, nicht nur auf das was mit Israel unmittelbar nach seiner Geburt geschehen war'.[1] If that was meant, one would have expected some such expression as

אלה (*'ēlleh*) or ואלה תולדותיך (*we'ēlleh toldotayikh*).[2]

Kent[3] follows E.V., only adding 'when' after 'the day', presumably to make better English. Rothstein[4] questions the correctness of the word, but suggests no alternative. The Vulgate renders *umoldotayikh* in verse 3 'et generatio tua', while the similar word in verse 4, in order apparently to improve the sense, is translated 'et quando nata es'. The LXX makes no distinction, and gives in both instances καὶ ἡ γένεσίς σου, while the Targum is only Midrashic and throws no light on the difficulty.

[1] Arnold B. Ehrlich, *Ezechiel*, in *Randglossen zur Hebräischen Bibel*, vol. v, Leipzig, 1912, p. 51.

[2] Cf., e.g., Gen. ii 4, vi 9, xxv 19, and *passim*.

[3] *Student's O.T.*, 'Epistles and Apocalypses of Israel's Prophets', London, 1910, *ad loc.*, p. 295.

[4] I. W. Rothstein, in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, Lipsiae, 1906, vol. ii, *ad loc.*

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The Syriac[1] ܒܝܘܡ ܝܠܕܬ ܐܘܬܟ in verse 3 and ܒܝܘܡ ܝܠܕܬ ܐܘܬܟ in verse 4, as well as the Arabic rendering *wa-mauliduki* (*bis*), are purely arbitrary and have no support in M.T.

I would venture to suggest that, if *umoldotayikh* in verse 4 is not a mere dittograph of the similar word in verse 3, it is probably the apocopated and syncopated remnants of the phrase

ביום הולדת אותך = *beyom hulledeth otakh*

which in M.T. immediately follows it. In the damaged MS it may have appeared in the following form, the ×'s representing obliterated letters:—

× × ום × ולד × ותך

The *Yod* might be considered a later addition for the purpose of improving the sense. The final *Mem* should present no difficulty, since in early times (and the damaged MS here supposed must have existed in remote antiquity) no distinction was made between middle and final letters.

Meeting in the MS these unintelligible half-words, a clever scribe added probably in the margin the suggestion that they stand for

ביום הולדת אותך

and this marginal note may subsequently have been inserted in the text immediately after the word

ומ־ולד־ותך

formed obviously by bringing close together the remains of the partly-obliterated words. Hence our present text:—

ומולדותיך ביום הולדת אותך

ISRAEL W. SLOTKI.

THE PROHIBITIONS OF THE COUNCIL AT JERUSALEM (ACTS xv 28, 29).

ἔδοξεν γὰρ τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ ἡμῖν μηδὲν πλέον ἐπιτίθεσθαι ὑμῖν βάρος πλὴν τούτων τῶν ἐπάναγκες, ἀπέχεσθαι εἰδωλοθύτων καὶ αἵματος καὶ πνικτῶν καὶ πορνείας· ἐξ ὧν διατηροῦντες ἑαυτοὺς εὖ πράξετε. Ἔρρωσθε. (B)

ἔδοξεν γὰρ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι καὶ ἡμῖν μηδὲν πλέον ἐπιτίθεσθαι ὑμῖν[2] *βάρος πλὴν τούτων ἐπάναγκες, ἀπέχεσθαι εἰδωλοθύτων καὶ αἵματος καὶ πορνείας καὶ*

[1] C. H. Cornill, in his *Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*, Leipzig, 1886, *ad loc.*, refers to the Peshiṭta, rendering the word in verse 4 'et genitrix tua', while he himself, without giving any reason, translates the first 'Herkunft' (verse 3), and the second 'und deine Geburt' (verse 4).

[2] MS ημειν.

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ὅσα μὴ θέλετε ἑαυτοῖς γίνεσθαι ἑτέρῳ μὴ ποιεῖν· ἀφ' ὧν διατηροῦντες ἑαυτοὺς εὖ πράξετε φερόμενοι ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι. Ἔρρωσθε. (D)

The Old Latin Version together with the quotations in Irenaeus[1] and Cyprian support the Bezan text. Tertullian also supports the Bezan text but omits καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέλετε ἑαυτοῖς γίνεσθαι ἑτέρῳ μὴ ποιεῖν.

The easiest solution of the textual problem, therefore, is to follow D in its omission but not in its additions; we then have the text of B except for the words καὶ πνικτῶν which are now deleted.[2]

Many scholars not only accept this text of the prohibitions, thus reduced to three, but follow Resch and Harnack[3] in interpreting them as referring to 'idolatry, bloodshed, unchastity'.[4]

1. It is worth notice that an almost identical threefold prohibition occurs again and again in early rabbinical literature, a prohibition, viz. against עבודה זרה, גילוי עריות, שפיכות דמים: idolatry, the uncovering of nakedness, the shedding of blood.[5]

Probably one of the earliest passages in rabbinical literature in which these three offences are singled out and thrown together is Tos. Shabb. xvi 17.[6] The passage refers to Lev. xviii 5:—

אשר יעשה אותם האדם וחי בהם:

'The man that doeth them shall live by them', ולא שימות בהם—'and shall not die in them'.

ואין לך שעומד בפני פיקוח נפש אלא שלשה דברים עבודה זרה וגילוי עריות ושפיכת דמים:

'There is nothing that stands before the duty of saving life except three things: idolatry, and the uncovering of nakedness, and the shedding of blood.'

The context implies that the Sabbath may be set aside in order to save life, as is explicitly stated in the Mishna—Yoma viii 6 'all uncertainty of life abrogates the Sabbath'.

This precise dictum is repeated in Kethuboth 19 *a*:—

Rabbi Ḥisda said, 'It was the view of R. Meir that if witnesses were threatened with death unless they signed their names to a false document they should die rather than sign': but Rabba said to them, 'If

[1] In the Greek apparently as well as in the Latin: see G. Resch *Das Aposteldecret* (1905) p. 11.

[2] Such an original would easily give rise to *both* the extant forms of the text.

[3] The Acts of the Apostles, Eng. tr. (1909) pp. 248 ff.

[4] So, e.g., Professor C. H. Turner *The Study of the New Testament* p. 30.

[5] This is the common order; cf. the order of the prohibitions in St James's speech Acts xv 20 τῶν ἀλισγημάτων τῶν εἰδώλων καὶ τῆς πορνείας . . . καὶ τοῦ αἵματος.

[6] Ed. Zuckermandel, p. 134.

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they come to us and ask our counsel we decide for them that they should sign and not die': דאמר מר—for the Master[1] said:—

אין לך דבר שעומד בפני פיקוח נפש אלא עבודה זרה וגלוי עריות ושפיכות דמים:

'You have nothing that stands before the duty of saving life, except idolatry, and the uncovering of nakedness, and bloodshed.' The exact words occur again in Yoma 82 *a*.[2]

Here the Mishna runs thus:—

'A pregnant woman who longs for food which she smells should be fed until relieved.[3] An invalid is fed by the direction of persons possessing medical knowledge; if there be none such, he is to be fed at his own desire till he says, "Enough".'

The Gemara follows:—

'The rabbis taught[4]: if a pregnant woman has smelled sacred meat or pork, something should be dipped in the sauce thereof, and presented to her mouth. If she is relieved thereby, good: otherwise, the sauce must be given to her. If this has not satisfied her, the meat itself must be given her.'

שאין לך דבר שעומד בפני פקוח נפש חוץ מעבודה זרה וגילוי עריות ושפיכות דמים:

'Because you have nothing that stands before the duty of saving life, except idolatry, and the uncovering of nakedness, and bloodshed.'

There follows a discussion of each of the three items, a discussion which appears in a slightly longer and clearer version in two other passages.

Of these the first, Pesachim 25 *a* (end), reads thus[5]:—

'When Rabin came he said in the name of R. Johanan, "With all things it is permitted to cure oneself

חוץ מעבודה זרה וגילוי עריות ושפיכות דמים,

except by means of idolatry, and the uncovering of nakedness, and the shedding of blood".'[6]

The second passage, Sanhedrin 74 *a*, is particularly interesting[7]:—

אמר רבי יוחנן משום רבי שמעון בן יהוצדק נימנו וגמרו בעליית בית נתזה

[1] רבא, Goldschmidt, iv p. 515.

[2] Goldschmidt, ii p. 1005; Rodkinson, vi 125.

[3] i. e. even on the Day of Atonement.

[4] תנו רבנן.

[5] Goldschmidt, ii p. 417; Rodkinson, v 36.

[6] For the subsequent discussion which is repeated in Sanhedrin 74 *a* see below.

[7] Goldschmidt, vii p. 316; Rodkinson, vii 219.

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בלוד כל עבירות שבתורה אם אומרין לאדם עבור ואל תהרג יעבור ואל יהרג חוץ מעבודה זרה וגילוי עריות ושפיכות דמים:

'R. Johanan said in the name of R. Simon ben Jehozadak: In the attic of the house of Nithza in Lydda it was voted and decided that as regards all the transgressions comprised in the Torah if a man were ordered "transgress or thou wilt be killed", he should transgress or he would be killed, except in the case of idolatry, and the uncovering of nakedness, and the shedding of blood.'

The decision is then discussed. First an objection is raised in the name of R. Ishmael based on Lev. xviii 5 'He shall live in them'—the Scripture does not say 'die in them'. This objection, however, is met by R. Eliezer, who argues from Deut. vi 5; and the conclusion is finally accepted that if on pain of death a man be ordered to commit idolatry even privately he must not do so. So much with regard to idolatry.

The case of 'the uncovering of nakedness' is now considered. Reference is made to Deut. xxii 26: 'As when a man riseth against his neighbour, and slayeth him, even so is this matter'. It is held that as the assailant of a betrothed damsel is to be killed to prevent her being ravished, the rape of such a damsel[1] is to be regarded as no less serious a crime than murder.

The third case is the case of murder, and this is assumed to be obvious.

The Gemara goes on to introduce a modification of the preceding decision. When R. Dimi came from Palestine, he explained (in the name of R. Johanan) that the decision applied only at a time when there was no general persecution. During an official persecution on the part of the government the lightest commandment must be obeyed down to the fastening of the shoe latchet.

And further, even if no such persecution were taking place it was only in private that the commandments might be transgressed in order to save life, all the commandments, that is, except the three which prohibited idolatry, and the uncovering of nakedness, and the shedding of blood.

The Gemara thus throws some light on the connotation of the expression גילוי עריות: we observe that it is used of the violation of a betrothed damsel. The Gemara also gives an indication of the date at which the discussion took place. What is evidently the same occasion is referred to in the Jerusalem Talmud, Jer. Sanhedrin iii 6, and twice in Jer. Shebiith iv 2,[2] where it is stated in the name of the same rabbis R. Johanan and R. Simon ben Jehozadak, that there was a

[1] נערה המאורסה.

[2] Schwab, ii 356.

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discussion בעליית בית לבוה בלוד in the attic of the house of Lobza[1] in Lud about the Law and the decision already mentioned was arrived at.

Now in Ḳiddushin 40 *b*, and also in Siphre on Deut. xi 13 (§ 41) and the Midrash on Canticles ii 14, another discussion is recorded בעלית בית נתזה בלוד, 'in the attic of the house of Nithza in Lud', upon the question as to which is more important, the study or the practice of the Law. On this occasion we are told that, among others, there were present R. Ṭarphon and R. Aḳiba. If then these discussions[2] about the Law which took place in the attic of Nithza in Lud may be connected with the names of R. Ṭarphon and R. Aḳiba, they may be dated early in the reign of Hadrian.

Most of the passages in the Talmud where the threefold formula occurs give, of course, no clue to the date when it first became current as a formula for the three deadliest sins.

I quote a few more.

In Yoma 9 *b* we find the question asked, 'On what account was the first temple destroyed?' with the answer, 'On account of three things in it—עבודה זרה וגלוי עריות ושפיכות דמים—idolatry, and the uncovering of nakedness, and the shedding of blood'.

A little later in the same passage a similar question is asked, 'But why was the second temple destroyed?' 'Because there was in it שנאת חנם, gratuitous hatred, which teaches you that gratuitous hatred is worse than the three offences עבודה זרה וגלוי עריות ושפיכות דמים, idolatry, and the uncovering of nakedness, and the shedding of blood.'

We may compare Aboth v 9 (14):—

גלות בא לעולם על עבודה זרה ועל גלוי עריות ועל שפיכות דמים ועל השמט הארץ:

'Captivity comes upon the world on account of idolatry, and on account of the uncovering of nakedness, and on account of the shedding of blood, and on account of release to the land.'[3]

And again, Aboth R. Nathan I xl[4]

ע"א וגילוי עריות ושפיכות דמים ולשון הרע יותר מכולם:

'Idolatry, and the uncovering of nakedness, and the shedding of blood, and worse than all of them is slander.'

[1] *Sic*; possibly a scribal error owing to the בל of the next word.

[2] There is an obscure reference to a discussion in the same place in *Pesiḳta Rabbathi* xiii p. 55 a, ed. Friedmann (1880). I have to thank Dr Lukyn Williams for his very kind help in looking up this and some other passages.

[3] Lev. xxv 4–6; Deut. xv 9, xxxi 10: see C. Taylor *Pirḳe Aboth* p. 88; cf. Sand. 81 *a* where shedding of blood, adultery, and idolatry are discussed in connexion with Ezek. xviii 10–13.

[4] Ed. Schechter, p. 120.

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As a last example I quote Ṣemaḥoth ii 9: —

'The man who evades taxation is as bad as one who sheds blood (שופך דמים), and not only sheds blood but commits idolatry (ע"א), and uncovers nakedness (ומגלה עריות), and profanes the Sabbath.'

It is natural to ask whether this formula 'idolatry, unchastity, bloodshed' may not have originated in the rabbinical interpretation of some passage of the Old Testament. In Ezekiel xvi 36 we find Jerusalem under the figure of a courtesan actually charged with these three offences[1]:—

יען השפך נחשתך ותגלה ערותך בתזנותיך על מאהביך ועל כל גלולי תועבותיך וכדמי בניך אשר נתת להם:

Possibly it was this passage which in the first place suggested the formula although the exact phrases do not appear.

In passing it may be noticed that in the LXX ותגלה ערותך is rendered ἐν τῇ πορνείᾳ σου.[2] Translated into Greek the three items of the Jewish formula might well be εἰδωλολατρεία, πορνεία, φόνος.

In the first part of the *Didache* (the Jewish origin of which is generally admitted) we actually find these three offences heading a list of 'sins'. In chapter iii, after a general warning, 'My child, flee from all evil and from all that is like unto it', there follow admonitions against specific offences, and the first three to be mentioned are φόνος, πορνεία, εἰδωλολατρεία.

Similarly in the list of those who are excluded from the Holy City in the Apocalypse—a work in which Jewish elements are undoubtedly recognizable—after 'the dogs and the sorcerers' come οἱ πόρνοι καὶ οἱ φονεῖς καὶ οἱ εἰδωλολάτραι.[3]

On the theory then that in Acts xv 29 εἰδωλόθυτα = εἰδωλολατρεία and

[1] In the LXX: ἀνθ' ὧν ἐξέχεας τὸν χαλκόν σου, καὶ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται ἡ αἰσχύνη σου ἐν τῇ πορνείᾳ σου πρὸς τοὺς ἐραστάς σου καὶ εἰς πάντα τὰ ἐνθυμήματα τῶν ἀνομιῶν σου καὶ ἐν τοῖς αἵμασιν τῶν τέκνων σου ὧν ἔδωκας αὐτοῖς.

[2] Cf. Ezek. xxiii 18 where again the culprit is represented as a married woman. גילוי עריות is in itself no more than 'exposure of pudenda', generally the pudenda of the female; and the expression is commonly used euphemistically of sexual intercourse whether legitimate or illegitimate: but when combined with עבודה זרה (lit. 'strange service', i. e. idolatry) and שפיכות דמים (shedding of blood) it evidently refers to illicit sexual intercourse, and probably has in view the worst kinds, e. g. incest (as in Lev. xviii), or the violation of a betrothed damsel (as in Pesachim 25 *a*, quoted above). πορνεία is also used not infrequently in a wide sense, e. g. Mt. v 32 and xix 9 (of adultery).

[3] Rev. xxii 15. The next to be mentioned are the liars (as also in *Didache* iii). Cf. also φονεῦσι καὶ πόρνοις καὶ φαρμακοῖς καὶ εἰδωλολάτραις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ψευδέσιν (Rev. xxi 8). Cf. also Theophilus *ad Autol.* ii 34 ἐδίδαξαν οἱ προφῆται ὅτι εἷς θεὸς καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀθεμίτου εἰδωλολατρείας καὶ μοιχείας καὶ φόνου καὶ πορνείας κτλ.

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αἷμα = φόνος, as Resch and Harnack suppose, the Christians at Jerusalem seem to be using, in their letter to 'the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia', a Jewish formula for the three deadliest sins; from which, they say, 'if ye keep yourselves, it shall be well with you'. This surely is impossible. It can hardly be that this is what they meant. The decree interpreted in this sense as a purely moral decree is made distinctly more tolerable by the addition which is found in most of the authorities for the Western text, viz. the negative form of the 'Golden rule'. The threefold prohibition against idolatry, bloodshed, and unchastity together with the 'Silver rule' is quite a passable if a somewhat tautological summary of the whole duty of a Gentile Christian.

If then the decree is to be interpreted strictly on an ethical basis with no reference to matters of ritual we must take the longer Western reading as giving us the original text.[1] The shorter reading so interpreted gives too harsh a sense.

It is worth notice that Tertullian who apparently reads the shorter text is aware that αἷμα in the original decree meant 'blood' and not 'murder'. In *De Pudicitia* xii he quotes the Apostolic decree, following the order of St James's speech (Acts xv 20), and continues:—

> 'Sufficit et hic servatum moechiae et fornicationi locum honoris sui inter idololatrium et homicidium. Interdictum enim sanguinis *multo magis* humani intellegemus.'

Tertullian is using an argument *a fortiori*: 'The interdict upon "blood" we shall understand to be *much more* an interdict upon ***human*** blood'.

In view of this passage in *De Pudicitia* it seems probable that the practice of the Christians described in the *Apology* (ix) is also associated in Tertullian's mind with the Apostolic decree although the decree itself is not mentioned. The *Apology* being addressed to non-Christians contains hardly any actual quotations from Scripture.[2] Tertullian's actual words are as follows:—

> 'Erubescat error vester Christianis, qui ne animalium quidem sanguinem in epulis esculentis habemus, qui propterea suffocatis quoque et morticinis abstinemus, ne quo modo sanguine contaminemur vel intra viscera sepulto.'

From these two passages taken together it is natural to infer that Tertullian was conscious that his text of the decree (i.e. the shorter

[1] The argument does not, of course, apply to the Western addition after εὖ πράξετε, viz. φερόμενοι ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι. But these words are found in all the Western authorities, including Tertullian, and there seems to be no reason for excluding them from the archetype of the Western text.

[2] As is pointed out by K. Six, *Das Aposteldecret* (1912) p. 12S.

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Western text), originally referred to blood of all kinds, animal as well as human. If so our conclusion is confirmed, viz. that unless we are prepared to accept the longer Western text as the original text of the Apostolic decree we must not exclude from it a reference to ritual.

2. Further, there can be little doubt that the actual words of the decree are less naturally taken in a purely ethical sense. The ordinary meaning of εἰδωλόθυτα is 'things offered in sacrifice to idols', and this is the sense in which the word is used by St Paul. It has been alleged, e.g., by Professor K. Lake[1] that in 1 Cor. x 14–22 St Paul uses the word to denote acts of idolatry. But in the same chapter *vv.* 23–33, as Lake admits, the word is used in its literal sense in connexion with eating, and this sense fits *v.* 19,[2] and indeed every place in the epistle where the word occurs. In fact neither here nor elsewhere do we find any authority for treating it as a mere synonym for εἰδωλολατρεία, a word which St Paul actually uses when, as here, 1 Cor. x 14, and in Gal. v 20, he wishes to speak of idolatry in general.

αἷμα, again, is not found by itself as equivalent to φόνος. The quotations given by Resch[3] are not convincing. In every case it is some other word in the context like 'human' or 'shedding' which defines the reference to murder, and not αἷμα by itself alone.

Resch's examples are the following:—

Lev. xvii 4—note the clause following: 'he hath *shed blood*'.

Num. xxxv 27—note the words preceding: 'the avenger of blood *slay* the manslayer'.

Ecclus. xxxiv 21—'The bread of the needy is the life of the poor: he that depriveth him thereof is a *man of blood.*
As one that slayeth his neighbour is he that taketh away his living.'

Matt. xxiii 30—'partakers with them in the blood of *the prophets*'.

Rev. vi 10—'*our blood*'.

Rev. xviii 24—'blood *of prophets and saints and of all that have been slain*'.

Plato *Laws* 872 D, E—ὡς ἡ τῶν συγγενῶν αἱμάτων τιμωρὸς δίκη.

Aeschylus *Eumenides* 204—αἷμα is literally 'blood':
κἄπειθ' ὑπέστης αἵματος δέκτωρ νέου.

Similarly in Demosthenes *In Meidiam*[4] 548 and Pausanias v i 6[5] the 'shedding' of human blood is clearly implied in the context.[6]

[1] *The Earlier Epistles of St Paul* p. 51.

[2] St Paul is discussing the Christian's attitude to things offered in sacrifice to idols (*a*) at the time when they are so offered, and (*b*) afterwards (*v.* 28) in the market when all thought of honouring an idol by partaking of them is absent.

[3] *Das Aposteldecret* p. 42.

[4] Note ἄγουσι τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ φόνου a few lines above.

[5] Aetolus convicted on trial of involuntary homicide—ἐφ' αἵματι ἀκουσίῳ.

[6] The example offered by W. L. Knox *St Paul and the Church at Jerusalem*

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But the matter is entirely different when the word αἷμα is set alongside the word εἰδωλόθυτα in a context which contains no reference to violence of any kind. In these circumstances the word tends to recall Lev. xvii 12 (which itself refers back to Gen. ix 3–5).

διὰ τοῦτο εἴρηκα τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραήλ, πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐξ ὑμῶν οὐ φάγεται αἷμα, καὶ ὁ προσήλυτος ὁ προσκείμενος ἐν ὑμῖν οὐ φάγεται αἷμα (Lev. xvii 12).

The Law of Holiness (Lev. xvii–xxvi) contains certain regulations binding upon Israelite and stranger alike on pain of being 'cut off'. They consist of the five prohibitions following:—

(*a*) against the offering of sacrifice anywhere except at the door of the tent of meeting, Lev. xvii 1–9;

(*b*) against the eating of any manner of blood, Lev. xvii 10–14;

(*c*) against incest, Lev. xviii 1–30;

(*d*) against the sacrifice of children to Molech, Lev. xx 1–5;

(*e*) against blaspheming the name of the Lord,[1] Lev. xxiv 16.

Now in view of the fact that St Luke was thoroughly familiar with the Old Testament we can hardly doubt that this section of Scripture was in his mind as he wrote Acts xv.

Of the five prohibitions above, no question could possibly have arisen with regard to (*a*), (*d*), and (*e*); and (*b*) and (*c*) are actually represented in the Apostolic decree by the words αἷμα and πορνεία.[2] It would be natural, therefore, for St Luke to suppose that the Apostolic prohibitions followed the general lines of Lev. xvii and xviii,[3] which had definitely in view the friendly Gentile sojourners who were not absorbed into the congregation of Israel.

It is clear that St Luke took the decision of the Council at least to

p. 234, Wisdom xiv 25, is no more to the point. Here φόνος is actually added to αἷμα (αἷμα καὶ φόνος).

[1] Cf. Num. xv 30.

[2] Note Lev. xvii 7 (LXX) καὶ οὐ θύσουσιν ἔτι τὰς θυσίας αὐτῶν τοῖς ματαίοις, οἷς αὐτοὶ ἐκπορνεύουσιν ὀπίσω αὐτῶν.

[3] We may compare the compilation, no doubt at a later date, of the so-called Noachide precepts. These are generally regarded as seven in number (in Jer. 'Ab. Zarah ii 1 and Ḥullin 92*a*, where the number is stated to be thirty, no attempt is made to enumerate them). In Sanhedrin 56*a* they are given as follows: (1) not to worship idols, (2) not to blaspheme the name of God, (3) to establish courts of justice, (4) not to kill, (5) not to commit adultery, (6) not to rob, (7) not to eat flesh cut from a living animal. In Sanhedrin 56*b* the enumeration is a little different: instead of (2) and (3) we find prohibitions against the castration of animals and against the pairing of animals of different species. Various passages of Scripture are referred to, e. g. Gen. ix 4: and the whole compilation is probably dominated by academic discussion of the Old Testament rather than by the consideration of any actual situation.

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mean that the Gentiles need not become Jews in order to be Christians. As St James allowed (*vv.* 14, 19), Gentiles had already turned to God. They had been gathered in according to the divine purpose foretold by the prophet Amos (*vv.* 15–18). But they had not been gathered in by 'Moses' (*vv.* 1, 5, 21). It must not, therefore, be God's intention to bring them in through 'Moses'. On the other hand 'Moses' was still being read every Sabbath day to those who attended the synagogues. In such a situation Jewish Christians could hardly fail to be influenced by what 'Moses' had actually laid down about friendly Gentiles—now friendlier than ever. It is, therefore, natural to set the regulations of Lev. xvii, xviii in the background of the debate described in Acts xv: and their influence is probably to be recognized chiefly in the prohibition against 'blood'. Even if the eating of blood was not a pressing question at the time it would be one of the first to suggest itself to those who remembered the Old Testament[1]; and it is worth notice in passing that in Gen. ix, the first passage in Scripture where the prohibition against blood is emphasized, the eating of blood is placed in close connexion with murder: a position which may perhaps prepare us a little to find αἷμα joined with πορνεία in the Apostolic decree.

3. The Epistles of St Paul afford abundant evidence that questions with regard to εἰδωλόθυτα and πορνεία were among the burning questions of the day; and it is in this connexion that the two most serious objections to the view here advocated that the Apostolic decree is not to be interpreted on a purely ethical basis arise. They are (1) the scantiness of reference to the decree in early Christian literature, and in particular the silence of St Paul: and (2) the collocation of πορνεία with the comparatively trivial εἰδωλόθυτα and αἷμα.

Professor Burkitt has sufficiently met the first objection, so far as it concerns St Paul, in his *Christian Beginnings* pp. 116 ff. As for later Christian writers, they naturally refer, when dealing with the subject of εἰδωλόθυτα, rather to St Paul's vigorous discussion of the practical situation and his convincing argument from first principles, than to the bare prohibition of the Apostolic letter in Acts xv. At the same time some of them, like Justin Martyr, appear to regard εἰδωλόθυτα as forbidden without any such qualification as that introduced by St Paul: and this attitude we may well trace to the decision of the Apostolic Council even though no reference to that decision is expressly made. In

[1] The actual practice of the Jews with regard to the eating of blood is discussed at length by A. Wiener *Die jüdische Speisegesetze* (1895). Resch seems to misunderstand Wiener's conclusion, as K. Six points out, *op. cit.*, p. 12. Josephus, of course, interprets Gen. ix 4 literally, *Antiq.* I iii 8, III xi 2. Cf. Philo *De Concupiscentia* x.

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an Apology addressed, like Justin Martyr's,[1] to non-Christians such a reference is not unnaturally omitted.

The second objection seems to arise largely from a misconception of the general attitude of the times to the question of *πορνεία*. It is not sufficiently realized that fornication is not only made light of in the comedies[2] but is condoned, with very few exceptions,[3] even by the serious thinkers of the period.

It will be enough to quote the following passages from Cicero, Seneca, Epictetus, Plutarch, and Quintilian.

Cicero *Pro M. Caelio* xx 48.

Cicero is excusing the disorderly life of his client:

'Verum si quis est qui etiam meretriciis amoribus interdictum iuventuti putet, est ille quidem valde severus—negare non possum—sed abhorret non modo ab huius saeculi licentia, verum etiam a maiorum consuetudine atque concessis. Quando enim hoc non factum est, quando reprehensum, quando non permissum? quando denique fuit, ut quod licet non liceret?'[4]

Seneca *Controv.* ii 12 10.

Seneca is defending a young man accused of dissolute habits:

'Nihil peccaverat: amat meretricem; solet fieri; adolescens est; exspecta, emendabitur, ducet uxorem.'

Epictetus *Encheiridion* xxxiii.

περὶ ἀφροδίσια εἰς δύναμιν πρὸ γάμου καθαρευτέον· ἁπτομένῳ δὲ ὧν νόμιμόν ἐστι μεταληπτέον. μὴ μέντοι ἐπαχθὴς γίνου τοῖς χρωμένοις μηδὲ ἐλεγκτικός· μηδὲ πολλαχοῦ τὸ ὅτι αὐτὸς οὐ χρῇ, παράφερε.

Plutarch *De liberis educandis* xviii (13 F).[5]

Advice to a father:

ἐξ ἀγροῦ ποτὲ ζεῦγος ἀφειλετο, ἦλθέ ποτε χθιζῆς μέθης ἀποπνέων, ἀγνοήσον· μύρων ὄζων, σίγησον. οὕτω σκιρτῶσα νεότης πωλοδαμνεῖται.

Quintilian *Inst. Orator.* VIII iii 48.

[1] And similarly the *Apology* of Aristides xv (Syriac). References in early Christian literature to the abstinence of Christians from the eating of blood are few. That in Tertullian's *Apology* has been considered above, p. 278. The words of Biblias in the Epistle of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne (ap. Eusebius *Hist.* v 1 § 26) 'How could those eat children who do not think it lawful to taste the blood even of irrational animals?' are addressed to 'the blasphemers' and again do not include an explicit reference to the Apostolic decree. Cf. Lactantius *Inst.* v 4 (Cyprian is criticized for quoting too much Scripture in his answer to Demetrianus).

[2] e. g. of Terence and Plautus. Even when a father is severe with his son it is on the ground of expense rather than of morals, e. g. Plautus *Trucul.* v 1138.

[3] e. g. Musonius Rufus (see ed. O. Hense (Bibl. Teub.) xii pp. 63 ff).

[4] Cf. Tit. Liv. xxxix 9.

[5] The fact that the authorship of this treatise is disputed matters little for our present purpose. Cf. also *Conjugalia Praecepta* 16 (140B)—advice to a wife.

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Quintilian is discussing certain faults in style:

'Itaque nec parricidam nequam dixeris hominem nec deditum forte meretrici nefarium; quod alterum parum alterum nimium est.'[1]

The last example in particular seems to throw some light on the wording of the Apostolic decree: it is not correct to speak of πορνεία as a very serious matter.

4. The evidence we have been considering points distinctly to the conclusion that, at least in St Luke's view, the decree, whatever its exact text, was not merely ethical in character but imposed upon Gentile Christians certain elementary regulations of a ritual kind. And this conclusion is in accordance with various other features in the narrative of the Acts. Thus, according to St Luke's account, the question of eating was in the forefront of the difficulties raised by the admission of the Gentiles into the Church[2]: and he is at pains to emphasize the conciliatory attitude of St Paul.[3] On both points, it may be added, he has the support of St Paul's own epistles.[4] His account, indeed, is on the whole consistent, both internally and with such other evidence as we possess. No doubt he elevates a mere conference concerned with a comparatively small area into a kind of general council; and a temporary regulation drawn up in order to facilitate intercourse between Jewish and Gentile Christians within that area into a canon of the Church. And yet if regard be had to the importance of the precedent set by the little body of Christians in meeting the critical situation of the moment, we may well hold that the prominence St Luke gives to it is essentially justified.

J. W. HUNKIN.

ADVERSARIA CRITICA: NOTES ON THE ANTI-DONATIST DOSSIER AND ON OPTATUS, BOOKS I, II.

1. *The Letter of Constantine to Aelafius or Ablabius.*

As I am publishing a text of this letter, together with other documents bearing on the Council of Arles (Aug. 1, A. D. 314), in my *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima* (i 372–416), I may perhaps be allowed to intervene in the discussion upon it which has

[1] On the temptations of the streets, &c., see Daremberg et Saglio *Dictionnaire des Antiquités* iii 2, Art. 'Meretrices', especially pp. 1836 ff: and for the low standard of sexual morality generally, see J. Marquardt *La vie privée des Rom.* i p. 82.

[2] Acts xi 3.

[3] Acts xvi 3, xxi 26. Cf. also xviii 18, 22, xx 16.

[4] Gal. ii 12; 1 Cor. ix 20.

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been started in this JOURNAL by Mr Norman Baynes (xxvi 37–44, 404–406) and Prof. Stuart Jones (*ib.* 406–407).

And first, because I think there can be only one solution of this particular problem, about *Urbis Romae episcopi* or *episcopus*.

I am absolutely convinced that nobody ever used such a phrase as 'the bishops of the City of Rome', and that pope Miltiades, and he alone, is referred to by the Latin words cited. Yet for all that I do not (in the ordinary sense) *reject* the reading of the MS, which is not urbis romae episcopi, but urbis romae epī, and that is not the same thing. It is a commonplace of palaeography that abbreviations by suspension (such as n̄ for noster) preceded abbreviations by contraction (nr̄ for noster): and most technical words of common occurrence passed through both stages. Where they were used in connexion with proper names, and the proper name not being abbreviated shewed the number and case of the title attached to the name, the prime ground for replacing suspensions by contractions—namely, the ambiguity involved in the former—ceased to operate, and such suspensions held their ground longer.

Suspensions of this kind are specially characteristic of inscriptions: and I begin therefore by citing (from Grossi Gondi's *Trattato di Epigrafia cristiana* p. 143) the third-century epitaphs of the Roman popes, ΠONTIANOC ЄΠICK·, ANTЄPΩC ЄΠI·, ЄYTYXIANOC ЄΠIC·; and in Latin CORNELIVS EP·. So of presbyters (*ib.* p. 142) Μακεί̄μους Πρ.: and at Brescia (p. 134) FL· LATINO EPISCOPO AN· III M· VII· PRAESB· AN· XV· EXORC· AN· XII—Flavius Latinus, that is, was bishop for three years and a half after being presbyter for fifteen years, and before that exorcist for twelve. But though suspensions are specially characteristic of inscriptions, they are by no means confined to them: they are found sporadically in all pre-Carolingian MSS, and especially in common words denoting office, like episcopus and presbyter. I happen to have collected, in a note appended to the Canons of Sardica (*Eccl. Occid. Mon.* i 534 [unpublished]), the instances of abbreviation by suspension of these two words which I have found in MSS of those canons ranging from the sixth to the ninth century: and I proceed to repeat here the sum of the evidence relating to episcopus.

epī (not gen. sing. or nom. pl.) five times in four MSS.

epīs̄ (not dat. or abl. pl.) twelve times in eight MSS.

episc̄ regularly in two MSS, and occasionally in four others.

epṣ̄ (not nom. sing. or acc. pl.) twelve or thirteen times in eight MSS.

epsc̄ once.

No doubt it is more surprising to find an abbreviation by suspension,

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like epī for episcopus, as late as the eleventh century, the date of the Paris MS which contains the letter to Aelafius. But there can be little doubt that this unique MS of the 'dossier de Donatisme' was copied direct from a very much older MS at parts mutilated or illegible. And I do not feel any hesitation in saying that the hypothesis of the survival of an abbreviation by suspension is infinitely easier than either of the three suggested alternatives, namely,

(*a*) that it means the 'suburbicarian' bishops, i.e. the bishops of the (secular) 'diocese' of the City of Rome;

(*b*) that it means the bishops consecrated in Rome;

(*c*) that it means Miltiades, the actual pope, and Marcus, the next pope but one—on the ground of the superscription of the Greek version of Constantine's letter to pope Miltiades summoning the council at Rome Μιλτιάδῃ ἐπισκόπῳ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Μάρκῳ. I should suggest that Μάρκῳ is a misrendering or corruption of 'Merocli', and that Merocles of Milan, the new capital in North Italy, is the bishop meant. There was to be a small group from Gaul, and larger groups from the spheres of northern Italy, and of central and southern Italy, respectively.

I proceed to submit some other suggestions on points raised in Mr Baynes's most interesting papers.

Sed et septem eiusdem communionis. The real difficulty of these words does not seem to have been detected. The bishops of Gaul and Italy are called in to judge the dispute which had broken out in Africa, precisely because they were not committed to either side. Both Caecilian and his opponents claimed at this stage to be Catholics, and to be recognized as the only true African Catholics by the rest of the Catholic world. These words 'seven of the same communion' [or rather 'of the same bishop's communion'] are meaningless except in relation to the divided communion of Africa. Transpose them therefore a few lines higher up, and read 'ut ad Vrbem Romam tam Caecilianus Carthaginiensis episcopus, contra quem uel maxime uniuersi[1] saepe me conuenerant, *sed et septem eiusdem communionis*, quam etiam aliqui ex his qui ei quaedam obicienda crediderant, praesentiam sui exhiberent'. This makes good sense: and it fills a lacuna that needs filling, for the letter of Constantine to Miltiades says—as we should expect it would say—that Caecilian was to be accompanied from Africa by a group of the bishops who criticized him and by a similar group of his supporters. It is true that the number of each group is fixed in that letter at ten: but it is quite easy to suppose that some modi-

[1] Read 'diuersi' for 'uniuersi', comparing Constantine's letter to Miltiades παρά τινων κολλήγων. I make the converse change in the letter of pope Anastasius to John of Jerusalem (Schwartz *Acta Concil. Oecum.* V i p. 3) where for 'per diuersum orbem' I would read 'per uniuersum orbem'.

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fication of the numbers was made between the dates of the two documents.

Adeo ut istud post iudicium habitum Africam ipsos remeasse prohiberent. I do not know what *istud* is supposed to mean: the MS in fact reads *istum*, and I propose to correct that to *istinc*, 'hence'—this use of istic, &c., is common in the Cyprianic letters—i.e. in this case 'from Rome'. *Prohiberent* is rightly objected to by von Soden, for it is quite out of the question to suppose that bishops at that day claimed or exercised secular jurisdiction: and the correction to *prohiberem* (which is as old as Dupin's edition) is, I think, clearly right.

Prof. Stuart Jones (p. 407) alludes to a 'difficult and corrupt' phrase in the companion document of the Paris MS, the letter of the Council of Arles to pope Silvester, *Placuit etiam antequam ante qui maiores diocheseos tenes per te potissimum omnibus insinuari.* The Council wishes the pope to make its decisions publicly and generally known: so much is clear. But what of the words *antequam ante qui maiores diocheseos tenes*, for which the Cologne MS ccxii (K: written about A.D. 600) has only *antiqui diocisis*? The Paris MS has the better text: but from its *diocheseos* and the Cologne *diocisis* we can at least get so far as to restore *dioceses*. I believe further that *antiqui* of K and *ante quam ante qui* of the Paris MS both represent an original *ante qui*, *ante quam* being a scribe's mistake corrected in the exemplar of the Paris MS to *ante qui*. But before we can deal with *ante qui*, we must go on to consider *dioceses*: and I want to raise the question whether it is even conceiveable that in the year A.D. 314 that word could be used with any but a secular meaning. The 'diocese' was an invention of Diocletian's to denote a group of provinces. The Greek term διοίκησις does indeed occur in the Canons of Constantinople of A.D. 381, but still in the secular sense, and only because at that moment in the East the secular 'diocese' had become more or less represented in the ecclesiastical system: and the Latin versions of those canons generally transliterate 'dioecesis', though they also use 'parrocia', 'gubernatio', 'prouinciae uel regiones'. But I think I could defy any one to produce a fourth-century example of the use of dioecesis in any vernacular Latin document in an ecclesiastical connexion. I am driven therefore to refer 'the greater dioceses' to the secular government, and to conclude that we have here a reference to Constantine. Remember that bishops were in the awkward position of being for the first time in intimate connexion with the civil power. A council had been arranged by, and was being held in dependence on, the Emperor. We cannot wonder, however much we may deplore, that the bishops accepted the situation. But it was not yet an easy thing to say in plain language that the Emperor suggested the method

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by which the decisions of the council should be recommended to general acceptance: and so they expressed their statement of fact in somewhat roundabout language. I believe that we shall not be far wrong if for 'ante qui maiores dioceses tenes' we restore 'an[*nuen*]te qui maiores dioceses tenet'. That gives an intelligible and indeed, I think, excellent sense: and it is very much nearer to the MS tradition than any of the alternative emendations known to me.

I am tempted, having begun to write on this subject, to submit to the judgement of scholars other corrections which I should propose to make whether in Ziwsa's text of Constantine's letter in the appendix to his edition of Optatus (vol. xxvi of the Vienna Corpus of Latin Fathers, A. D. 1893) or in that of the Paris MS.

p. 204 l. 29 illi qui cum hisdem cognoscerent. Read 'alii' for illi.

p. 205 l. 2 in praesentia eorum: Ziwsa wrongly cites the MS as giving in praesententiarum. It has inpraesentiarum, a good if late Latin idiom with which none of the editors appears to have been familiar. But I think Ziwsa changes the MS when it is right, and follows it when it is wrong, more often than either Sirmond[1] or Dupin; while he does not put on record in his apparatus the credit which belongs to them for those of their emendations which he accepts.

l. 9 contentionibus quae aliis hominibus uidebantur subito commotae: so the MS and Ziwsa; Sirmond made the certain improvement 'ab iis' for aliis. In the next line another certain correction of Sirmond's, 'impositus' for impetus of the MS, is adopted by Ziwsa, but without acknowledgement.

l. 11 dictationis tuae scripta. I have no idea what the editors suppose dictatio tua to mean, and I am sure we should read 'Dicationis tuae', comparing two contemporary documents, the report of Anulinus to Constantine, see Aug. *ep.* 88 (ed. Goldbacher 408. 11) and cod. Theodos. XI xxx 1. It means 'Your Excellency'.

l. 12 simulationibus. Read, I think, 'simultatibus'.

l. 24 respondendum aestimauerunt quod enim omnis causa non fuisset audita. Sirmond's 'eorum' for enim may be right.

l. 29 in iudicium eorum qui contra Caecilianum sentiunt. Read perhaps 'indicium' for iudicium, and 'quae' for qui. And in the next line for consensumque debent, which I find untranslateable, the best I can suggest is 'consensum dederint'.

l. 33 Numidiarum. The Laterculus of Verona bears out the two Numidiae of the Paris MS against all other authorities.

[1] Ziwsa (p. xiii of his preface) does not seem even to be aware that Sirmond edited the document in his *Concilia Galliae* (i pp. 1, 593).

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l. 34 et prouintiis singulis MS. Read, I think, 'singulos', and omit et.

p. 206 l. 7 disciplina conpetens habeatur *edd*: disciplinae conpetens habeatur MS. I suggest 'disciplinae conpetens *cura* habeatur'.

2. *Notes on the text of books I and II of St Optatus.*

Having commenced these notes, I should like to go on and offer some critical remarks upon the text of the first two books of Optatus, especially because the editor does not give nearly enough weight to the readings of the earliest of all his MSS, the Corbie-Petrograd MS which he cites as P. No doubt it is not always right, and some of his criticisms on its readings are just: but it is right far more often than he allows.

Book I (Ziwsa p. 1 l. 3) filium dei dominum. Read with P 'filium dei deum'; cf. l. 12 where dei is used without qualification of Christ.

l. 8 christianis nobis omnibus storiam per apostolos pacem dereliquit. Z. cites in support of 'storiam' a passage of Commodian where, as Dombart has shewn, that writer uses 'storias' (= 'storeas', 'mats'), in the sense of 'protective coverings', when paraphrasing Eph. vi 13 'the whole armour of God'. But in this stately opening passage of Optatus, with its panegyric on peace as the parting gift of Christ to His Church, the word and meaning are alike intolerable. P has 'christianis omnibus itoriam pacem per apostolos dereliquid', its late consort G 'uictricem' for itoriam. Combining the data of both MSS, I suggest very tentatively 'uictor iam', which at least makes sense. Alternatively, I should neglect the testimony of G, and, comparing the first words of the next chapter 'quae pax si, ut data erat, sic integra inuiolataque mansisset', read 'integram per apostolos pacem'. But I prefer the first suggestion.

p. 4 l. 8 uelamenta. But 'uelamen' of P G is shewn to be right by l. 12 'uae facientibus uelamen'.

l. 11 per Ezechielem prophetam. Read 'Ezechielum' with P (so too 40. 18, 61. 13): see my *Prolegomena to the* Testimonia *of St Cyprian* II, *J. T. S.* ix 65.

l. 18 ne quis dicat. Read with P G 'ne qui dicat'. In 9. 14 all MSS have 'qui sit peccator', Ziwsa 'quis sit'. In 36. 9 'qui et ubi' P R B for the editor's 'quis et ubi'. In 38. 20 read 'ut aliqui hinc... mitteretur' with P. In 43. 16 read 'qui spiritus esse potest ...?' with P G B: in 62. 9 'tu qui es qui ... iudices' with P B.

p. 9 l. 23 nihil [inter]esset inter fideles et Ziwsa. P is the sole authority for 'inter', which must be right: for fideles it has 'credentes' which is probably, as the rarer word than fideles, right also: cf. 10. 7 'unusquisque credens'.

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p. 10 l. 10 in remissam peccatorum Ziwsa : 'in remissa peccatorum' the MSS, and the neuter plural remissa has good authority in cod. *e* (ἄφεσις does not occur in *k*), in Iren. lat. (Acts ii 38), in Ambrosiaster (Souter *Study of Ambrosiaster* p. 136), and in an early commentary on the Nicene Creed printed in my *Eccl. Occid. Mon. Iur. Ant.* (i 356).

l. 12 demersam. Read 'mersam' with P, comparing l. 14 'ita mersus sit', l. 16 'mersa a te dici non debuit': Ziwsa has accepted mersam from P in 9. 19.

p. 13 l. 15. Correct the editor's punctuation as follows: 'in te enim conuertisti sententiae gladium, dum aestimas quia alteros adpetebas, et non adtendisti inter scismaticos et haereticos quam sit magna distantia'.

l. 20 catholicam facit simplex et uerus intellectus intellegere. I do not wonder that Casaubon, with only this reading before him, doubted whether intellegere should not be expunged. But P offers 'in lege' for intellegere, which is a very different thing, and is certainly right, though Ziwsa has not accepted it. Compare 35. 14 'numquid pagani extralegales [cf. 166. 5] possunt aut cantare deo aut laudare nomen domini, et non sola ecclesia quae in lege est?'

p. 14 l. 22 uobis uero scismaticis, quamuis in catholica non sitis, haec negari non possunt, quia nobiscum uera et communia sacramenta traxistis. I do not know how the editor (or any one else) proposes to translate nobiscum: but all the time he had before him in his apparatus the correct reading, given by P alone, 'uobiscum'. 'Heretics have no true sacraments, as you rightly affirm: but for our part we don't deny that you, schismatics though you be, have them; for when you left the Church you took with you the true sacraments you share with us.'

p. 15 l. 18 quid [commemorem] ministros plurimos? Optatus uses neither subdiaconus nor hypodiaconus, yet subdeacons existed in Africa as far back as St Cyprian[1]; and when we find ministri here between laici on the one side, and deacons, presbyters, bishops on the other, it is impossible not to think that subdeacons are meant. The same four grades, or with the laity five, recur in 48. 19, 49. 3–5 (though in 61. 10 we have only bishops, presbyters, deacons, faithful), and it seems certain that ministri is being used in the precise sense of a single office.

p. 16 l. 19 non sine causa dimissum fuisse nisi quia tradiderat. P adds 'sic' before dimissum, to the improvement of the sentence.

l. 20 iam omnes erecti coeperant murmurare. The editor takes

[1] Cyprian calls them 'hypodiaconi': but they are already 'subdiaconi' in Cirta at the beginning of the fourth century, see the *Gesta apud Zenophilum*, Ziwsa, 187. 2.

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'erecti' in a literal physical sense 'qui surgebant et in alteram partem transibant': see his Index p. 272. This is a great deal to get out of one word. Does it not rather mean 'erecti' as opposed to 'lapsi' —equivalent in fact to Cyprian's use of 'stantes'—'those who had not fallen' in the persecution?

p. 17 ll. 3–7 consulti sunt . . . et sederunt. This is a quotation from the Acts of the Synod of Cirta, and should be marked as such.

p. 18 l. 9 in uno cum fratribus manere. This rather curious use of 'in uno' is borne out by 170. 25 'omnes discipulos suos uoluit in uno esse'.

l. 16 cum correptionem archidiaconi Caeciliani Lucilla ferre non posset. Something is wrong: the sentence is not complete: the nominative Lucilla is not wanted again after l. 13, and is removed by two editors: nor does Optatus use the title 'archidiaconus' elsewhere. I cannot help suspecting that a marginal summary of some early MS has ousted words from the text.

p. 19 l. 2 persecutionis innata tempestas. 'Innata' is very odd, but is borne out by 123. 2 'non leue certamen innatum est', and 63. 14 'tanta fames innata est', though there P has 'nata'.

p. 21 l. 4 Purpurius . . . sic ait: 'exeat huc', quasi inponatur illi manus in episcopatu et quassetur illi caput de paenitentia. The quotation-marks should, as the whole context shews, extend as far as paenitentia: for the mere words 'exeat huc' would not account for Optatus's assertion that this was of a piece with Purpurius's record of murder (16. 3–6). Purpurius, with his usual frank brutality, met Caecilian's offer to submit to a new ordination to the episcopate, by the council of his opponents then sitting in Carthage, with the answer 'Let him leave his friends and come here: we will lay hands on him to make him a bishop and then break his head for a penance'. quasi, I think, has come in by error from the line before 'quasi et Caecilianus'.

l. 12 Cyprianus [Carpophorius] Lucianus et ceteri. An important indication of names of successors of Cyprian in the see of Carthage, thus given in P 'Cyprianus, Carpoforius, Lucilianus et ceteri'. The testimony of the oldest and best MS should be followed.

l. 23 in ordinatorem Caeciliani deriuandum: i. e. 'to be turned aside into a fresh channel'.

p. 23 l. 3 caecus caecum si duxerit, utrique in foueam cadunt. A palmary example of the results of neglecting P, which has 'caecus caecum ducens uterque in foueam cadunt'. Cyprian has twice 'caecus caecum ducens' (*eccl. unit.* 17 [225. 23], *ep.* 43. 5 [594. 13]); and so (with a variant) *Auctor de promissionibus* according to Sabatier *ad loc.*, who also quotes 'uterque in foueam cadunt' from ff_1: uterque with the third person plural has plenty of authority in Latin, Cicero excepted.

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l. 12 haec tria iussio diuina prohibuit: non occides, non ibis post deos alienos, et in capitibus mandatorum: non facies scisma. Now P omits 'et in capitibus mandatorum', and the run of the sentence almost demands that Optatus should have put his three statements one after the other under the common heading 'iussio diuina prohibuit'. So I think that the reading of P is original, and that an editor (whether Optatus himself or another) or glossator inserted the authority for 'non facies scisma' as the 'capita mandatorum'. Ziwsa can only say 'cf. 1 Cor. i 10', which is unsatisfying in itself, and does not account for the 'capita mandatorum'. The words οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσμα are found in *Didache* iv 3 and in Barnabas xix 12, and Optatus may have taken all three statements, or at any rate the third, from some form of the 'Two Ways' known as 'Mandata'.

l. 15 (cf. 24. 10) parricidium. The application of parricidium to fratricide was by the fourth century quite regular.

p. 24 l. 1 aaron. P aharon, and similarly 60. 7: the same form is found in Lucifer also. See *Prolegomena to the* Testimonia *of St Cyprian* II, *J. T. S.* ix 69.

p. 25 ll. 3–5 prima peccata ad exemplum praesens poena conpressit, secunda iudicio reseruabit. P rightly 'reseruauit'. After the perfect tense 'conpressit', 'reseruabit' would be needlessly harsh.

l. 11 quae cum ueritate confibulent. So rightly Ziwsa, following P alone: confabulent the other MSS, confabulentur the early editors. The genius of Casaubon nearly anticipated the reading of P with 'confibulentur'.

ll. 15, 16 si nota est nosse reges, uos tota perfundit inuidia. P, much more pointedly, 'si nota est nosse reges, uos nota ista perfundit'. If acquaintance with monarchs is a mark of shame, you are covered with it from top to toe.

p. 26 l. 7 petitis a me in saeculo iudicium cum ego ipse Christi iudicium expectem. But in P 'petitis a me episcopi iudicium et ego ipse Christi iudicium expectem' [I suspect P really has expecto], and that is much more like Constantine's style; we have in fact his paraphrase of his own words (209. 22) 'meum iudicium postulant qui ipse iudicium Christi expecto'.

p. 27 ll. 4–6 a singulis in Donatum sunt hae sententiae latae: quod confessus sit se rebaptizasse et episcopis lapsis manum inposuisse. P has 'a singulis in Donatum sunt dictae sententiae, quod ...' Optatus uses both 'dicere' and 'ferre' sententiam: but it is difficult to see any meaning in the 'hae sententiae' of the ordinary text.

l. 15 retinendum merito esse censeo. P omits merito, and the omission at least improves the rhythm.

p. 28 ll. 1, 2 eodem tempore idem Donatus petiit ut ei reuerti licuisset

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. . . ad Carthaginem accederet. There is no lacuna in the MSS: P gives 'reuerti licuisset et nec ad Carthaginem accederet', and we take our start from P. What would Donatus want? He would want to go back to his own see, and to retain his nominee in, and keep Caecilian out of, the see of Carthage. All runs smoothly if we can read 'petiit ut ei reuerti licuisset et ne C[aecilianus] ad Carthaginem accederet': though Augustine *Brev. coll.* 38 omits 'nec' altogether.

ll. 4–7 tunc duo episcopi ad Africam missi sunt . . . ut remotis binis unum ordinarent. uenerunt et apud Carthaginem fuerunt per dies quadraginta, ut pronuntiarent ubi esset catholica. A difficult passage, P having 'binis singulos', the other MSS 'duobus unum'. The fundamental point is that the two bishops' mission was not to consecrate a new bishop of Carthage, but to decide which of the existing bishops was the Catholic one. We are safe, I think, in rejecting unum, and in turning P's singulos into 'singula': the emissaries were to 'settle things' in the absence of both claimants. binis is odd for ambobus, but duobus would be worse: 'duo' does not mean 'the two of them'. P G have also 'ut pronuntiaretur', which seems more likely than 'ut pronuntiarent'.

l. 10 Eunomii et Olympii. P 'Eunomi' and 'Olympi'.

l. 16 cum haec fierent. P, more simply, has 'inter haec' only.

p. 29 l. 21–p. 30 l. 9. A quotation from the *Acta purgationis Felicis* as found in the *dossier* of the Paris codex (Ziwsa, p. 204, ll. 4–12), and the superiority of P here stands out clearly. It is far closer than the other MSS of Optatus to the text of the original document.

p. 30 ll. 11–14 iamdudum opinionis incertae et inter caligines, quas liuor et inuidia exhalauerat, latere ueritas uidebatur. sed etiam omnis scriptura memorata et actorum uoluminibus et epistulis commemoratis aut lectis reuelata est. I do not know how the editor proposed to translate his own text: it is beyond me. I turn first to the apparatus, and I find that P reads iam for etiam—a good start, and with altered punctuation and the change of one letter, e for i, sense can be restored: 'iamdudum opiniones incertae, et inter caligines quas liuor et inuidia exhalauerat latere ueritas uidebatur, sed iam omnis [or rather omni] scriptura memorata et . . . reuelata est'.

I must be briefer in my notes on the second book: I have said enough to shew that normally the reading of P is to be followed against the rest.

p. 34 ll. 20–22 [After citing Ps. xlix 1 'God . . . called the earth from the rising of the sun to its setting'] uocata est ergo terra, ut caro fieret, et sicut legitur, facta est, et debet laudes deo creatori suo. The allusion in 'sicut legitur' is clearly to Genesis i and to the recurrent phrase καὶ ἐγένετο: and the particular passage bearing on the creation

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of earth is *vv.* 9, 10 καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν, καὶ ὀφθήτω ἡ ξηρά· καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως . . . καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν ξηρὰν γῆν. There is here nothing about God's calling the earth to become flesh, which indeed would be nonsense: but there is repeated mention of ξηρά 'arida'. For 'ut caro fieret' read therefore 'ut arefieret'.

p. 36 l. 13 in urbe Roma Petro primo cathedram episcopalem esse conlatam. P 'conlocatam', and that is proved to be right by l. 18 'qui contra singularem cathedram alteram conlocaret'. The meaning then is You must know, as every one else does, that this bishop's 'cathedra', the first mark of the Church, was set up by Peter first, and set up in Rome.

l. 17 sibi quisque defenderent. P 'quique', in the plural.

l. 21–p. 37 l. 11. This is not the place to discuss the papal list, or even to consider in what proportion its blunders are due to Optatus himself and in what proportion to his MSS. But at least one may say that the editor should have followed his MSS in reading Sotero for Soteri and Callistus for the barbarous Calixtus.

p. 39 l. 8 Claudianus Luciano, Lucianus Macrobio, Macrobius Encolpio, Encolpius Bonifatio, Bonifatius Victori successisse uidentur. In this list of the Donatist succession at Rome P omits the first two bishops; rightly, for 37. 18–38. 7 shews that Macrobius was their bishop when Optatus wrote. The addition of Claudian and Lucian indicates that the other MSS derive from a recension of Optatus made, say, twenty-five or thirty years after the original edition.

l. 19 uestris praesumptionibus et audaci sacrilegio. I am inclined to suggest 'uesanis' for 'uestris', though I admit that the word, according to Ziwsa's admirably full index, does not appear to be used by Optatus.

p. 40 l. 2 apostolus Paulus. P rightly omits 'Paulus': apostolus, 'the apostle', was the name under which the early Christian writers habitually cited St Paul. So 38. 3 'contra apostolum faciens, qui ait' [Rom. xii 13 is cited], immediately after a mention of St Peter: 180. 7. Addition of 'Paulus' by scribes is much more likely than its omission.

l. 10 posuerunt. P 'posuerant', rightly, with the pluperfects potuissent, deseruerant, potuissent of ll. 9, 11. So in l. 18 'possitis' P (possetis Ziwsa) with defenditis and uoluistis, and in 41. 2 peccauerant P (peccauerunt Ziwsa) with displiceret and redderent.

ll. 12, 13 diuerte . . . et persequere [Ps. xxxiii 15]. P 'deuerte . . . et sequere', with Sabatier's texts *ad loc.* The other MSS follow the Vulgate.

l. 14 sederunt etiam in cathedra pestilentiae. P 'sederunt etiam cathedram', and this is Optatus's habitual construction elsewhere, e.g. 36. 20.

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p. 41 l. 2 de admissu suo. P 'admisso': admissus, admissūs, appears to be a *vox nihili*.

p. 42 l. 3 quis enim in tot prouinciis quibus nati estis audiuit? P has 'qui' for 'quibus', G 'quia'. The relative clause obviously indicates what it was they heard, and has nothing to do with the preceding prouinciis. Hence 'quibus' would be very misleading: and I think Optatus wrote 'quia nati estis', 'heard of your very existence'.

l. 9 esse separatos. P omits 'esse': and the word destroys the grammar of the sentence.

l. 14 uno intellectu suo in corpore ut in manu digiti. A comma is insistently needed after 'corpore': suo in corpore refers to the intimate coherence of all the 'dotes' in the body of the Church.

p. 43 ll. 1, 2 unde uobis angelum, qui apud uos possit fontem mouere? It does not seem to have been noticed that we have here a clear allusion to the interpolated text of Jo. v 4, the moving of the water by the angel. Optatus therefore is to be added to the few Latin fathers who cite the interpolation. On the other hand 68. 23–69. 1, where Ziwsa gives a reference to Jo. v 4, has nothing whatever to do with any text but Isa. xxii 9.

l. 11 nam spiritus deus est. P 'nam deus spiritus est', with which compare Tertullian *de orat.* 28 'deus enim spiritus est'.

ubi uult aspirat et uocem eius audis et nescis unde ueniat et quo eat. There seems no patristic authority for aspirat, and none save Hilary and Ambrosiaster for eat: but *e* has eat, and 'ire' for 'uadere' is a mark of Cyprian's bible.

p. 44 l. 6 inportune a te hoc dictum esse aestimo, quod te iam forte huius dicti paeniteat. P has 'est' for 'esse', and so allows a better punctuation. 'inportune a te hoc dictum est: aestimo quod te iam forte huius dicti paeniteat.'

l. 16 umbilicus tuus ut crater tornatilis [Cant. vii 2]. P has 'ornatus', and its late consort G 'tornatus'. All authorities in Sabatier give 'tornatilis' for the Greek τορευτός; but I do not doubt that the variant 'tornatus' is right here.

p. 47 l. 17 quid offers pro tota, qui non es in tota? P 'offeres': the forms taken by this word are always worth noting.

p. 49 l. 7 quem a nobis persecutum esse aut dicere poteris aut probare? quia tibi unitas displicet, hoc si crimen putas *etc.* Must we not assume a lacuna between these two sentences, for the two contexts are not *in pari materia*?

p. 50 ll. 12, 13 [diabolus] illo tempore sub imperatore christiano desertus in idolis tamquam inclusus latebat in templis. Optatus is not a first-rate stylist, but the sentence is intolerably harsh and indeed as it stands untranslateable. The simplest change would perhaps be

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'desertis idolis': but comparing 116. 17 'cum clamet deus se desertum esse', it is clear that 'desertus' can mean by itself 'deserted of his worshippers', and I should prefer to write 'in idoliis', and omit 'in templis' as originally a marginal gloss on 'in idoliis'. Idolium for an idol-temple does not appear to occur in Optatus, but it is quoted by Koffmane *Geschichte des Kirchenlateins* p. 17 from Tertullian, Jerome, Prudentius, and Sulpicius Severus, besides D_2 Orig-lat. at 1 Cor. viii 10.

ll. 15, 16 nec paganis licebat exercere sacrilegia. For the last word P has 'sacra sacrilega', a phrase found also in 90. 19, 91. 13, 146. 17. I do not doubt that it should be read here.

l. 19 alius imperator. P has 'alter', a very favourite word with Optatus; the editor accepts it on the authority of P alone in 43. 24, 56. 25 ('unus pharisaeus et alter publicanus', in which P agrees with cod. V of Cyprian *dom. or.* 6), and he should have done so here.

p. 52 l. 4 (and l. 18) diaconi, but P 'diacones'. The latter is the older form, as shewn by Cyprian's usage, and should be restored wherever there is manuscript authority for it.

l. 10 Thenestinam of the text is presumably a misprint, for not only do the MSS practically agree on Theuestinam, but Thebeste is a well-known town in Numidia and is the form given in Ziwsa's index.

p. 53 ll. 3, 4 Formensis . . . Idicrensis. For these two Numidian sees P has 'Forensis . . . Dierensis'.

l. 13 ubi est, quod uulgo dicitur, memoriam custodem habere esse mendacis? P 'debere' for 'habere', surely better. The meaning seems to be 'If you tell a lie, you should stick to it'.

p. 54 ll. 18–20 inter crimina sua et facinora nefanda ab eo conprehensa puella . . . nefarie incestare minime dubitauit. P has 'conpressa' for 'conprehensa'. Two things are clear: 'puella' must be emended to 'puellam', and 'conprehensa' or 'conpressa' goes with 'facinora'. Possibly we ought to read 'conprensa'.

p. 55. 3–p. 56. 20. P has lost a leaf, and the readings of its companion MS G, late though it no doubt is, have to be considered. Many of them are probably right: one of them is, whether right or (more probably) wrong, of singular importance, 'imperfecti sumus' for 'semiperfecti sumus', 55. 19.

p. 57 l. 21 (and 59. 8) exorcizastis. P 'exorcidiastis', an old spelling (like baptidiare), the converse of zabulus for diabulus (so 50. 17 zabolus P), and probably right.

p. 58 l. 5 sagittas de pharetra pectoris uestri seductionibus praemisistis. For the two last words P has only 'sumsistis'—a simpler reading, and in better accord with the 'parauerunt sagittas' of the quotation following.

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l. 8 intenderunt arcum, parauerunt sagittas in pharetra. P has 'tetenderunt' and 'in pharetram', and both changes, especially the first, have good O.L. authority.

l. 10 quid a uobis minus factum est uestris consiliis? sagittati sunt innocentes . . . 'Vestris consiliis' should be transferred to the next sentence (cf. 58. 3), and the interrogation placed after 'factum est'.

p. 59 l. 8 qui iniqua egerit benedicetur [Ps. ix 24]. P has 'gerit' and 'benedicitur': both in accord with the LXX ὁ ἀδικῶν ἐνευλογεῖται, and the former with all, the latter with some, of Sabatier's authorities *ad loc.* 'Gerit' is further guaranteed by l. 3 'iniqua uos gerentes'.

l. 20 quid a uestro populo diabolus potuit amplius facere? i. e. 'what more could the devil do than your people have done?', as 160. 18 'sine dubio dicerent se nihil amplius fecisse a Moyse legis latore'.

p. 61 ll. 16–20. The text has three clauses, each beginning with 'inuenistis', each ending with 'agnoscite uos animas euertisse': the three deal respectively with 'pueros', with 'fideles antiquos', and with 'diaconos presbyteros episcopos'. P G add a fourth 'inuenistis fideles nouos, fecistis cathecuminos: agnoscite uos animas euertisse'. It is a good general rule that, where the omission of a doubtful clause can be explained by homoeoteleuton, that clause is genuine: so I should suppose here, though the proper place of the new clause seems to be before, not after, the last two clauses in the printed text.

p. 62 l. 13 denique uel cum deo iubente uel euentu procurante una eos spelunca concluderet, uenerat in potestatem pueri Dauid Saul qui peccauerat. P has 'et' for the first 'uel': an obvious improvement.

l. 22 poterat bellum per conpendium remittere in caedem: et pueri eius et occasio suadebant. All the MSS have 'mittere' without 'in' for 'remittere in': change the punctuation, and their reading gives sense and rhythm, 'poterat bellum per conpendium mittere: caedem et pueri eius et occasio suadebant'. 'Mittere' is used in the sense 'to get rid of'.

p. 63 l. 5 uolebat hostem uincere. P 'uolebam', and in both the sentence preceding and the sentence following the first person is used.

C. H. TURNER.

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REVIEWS

The Fourth Evangelist: his place in the development of religious thought, by C. F. NOLLOTH, D.Litt. (Murray, 1925.)

A LARGE part of this book is a restatement of the evidence in favour of the traditional view of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel. The chapters on Johannine philosophy and theology are more popular in character. Dr Nolloth has, of course, competent knowledge of the subject, and is well read in the literature. He puts before us once more the main facts of evidence, external and internal, with adequate knowledge both of the subject and of his opponent's views. But the evidence is always measured by his own point of view and interpreted accordingly. To the present writer it often seems doubtful whether the reasonableness of other points of view is adequately recognized. 'Authorship and genuineness', Dr Nolloth tells us, 'are in most cases too closely connected to allow us to be indifferent as to whose hand we owe the writings in question.' As a general statement this is no doubt true. But in what sense does the question of genuineness affect the problem of the Fourth Gospel? It nowhere claims to be the work of the Apostle John, or indeed of any particular person. A statement is found in the appendix that the Beloved Disciple is witness and author, but even if that is to be regarded as an integral part of the book, no name is given. It is dangerous to approach the question of authorship in the case of this Gospel from the point of view that if the book is not the work of the Apostle John it is not genuine.

A sentence farther on is puzzling: 'a certainty there may be, if not the highest, yet sufficient for all practical purposes'. We could understand a high degree of probability, but what about 'certainty'? But more serious objection must be taken to the following statement: 'With one exception (the Alogi) the whole Church in every quarter *down to the death of Origen*[1] regarded the Johannine writings as the work of the younger son of Zebedee, the Apostle John. No other claimant to the authorship had either appeared or been suggested. Every one concurred in assigning them to a primitive apostle who was still living when Trajan mounted the throne. This agreement is the more remarkable from the fact that it was not immediately arrived at: people who had not been in contact with the author hesitated.' What are we to make of this? The whole Church down to the death of Origen regarded all five books as the work of the son of Zebedee. But at some time or

[1] The italics in all cases are my own.

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other, apparently in that period, 'people who had not been in contact with the author hesitated' about the Gospel, as Dr Nolloth's next sentence shews.

The truth, of course, is that until the time of Origen, or thereabouts, we are ignorant of Christian opinion about the authorship of the Fourth Gospel by the son of Zebedee. Even Theophilus, the first writer who states that the Gospel was written by a John, does not state that he was the son of Zebedee, whatever he may have thought about the matter. Polycrates's account of John, the Beloved Disciple, does not give him the precedence we should expect to find accorded to the son of Zebedee. We can, of course, interpret the silence of earlier years in the light of the clear evidence of the last quarter of the second century. If we do so we must also give full weight to the indications, well known to all students of early Christian literature, that the hesitation which Dr Nolloth mentions has more serious significance than his general argument allows. Fullness of later, coupled with absence of earlier, evidence does not *prove* that the view held later was held continuously from the beginning.

One sentence at least (found on p. 198) suggests a want of care in dealing with other writers' statements against which a reviewer is bound to protest, though it should not be taken as typical of Dr Nolloth's way with opponents. 'What are we to say of the contention that *accuracy of detail* is the mark of legendary, apocryphal, writing rather than of actual knowledge? Can bias appear more plainly?' A note gives a reference to Bacon *Fourth Gospel* p. 337. On referring to that passage we find, as we should expect, that the point at issue is '*the introduction of names and details*', which Drummond had stated to be 'quite in accordance with the usage of apocryphal composition'. The 'introduction of details' is *not* the same thing as 'accuracy of detail'. A few sentences later on (p. 199) Dr Nolloth continues: 'a theory has been formed. The contents of the Gospel, if they are to pass muster, must accord with it. There is no question of shaping the theory to the facts. The theory is the criterion of judgement. It is so much the worse for the Gospel narrative if it does not conform to it.' Are Dr Nolloth's own methods of handling disputed questions entirely free from the faults of which he here accuses his critical opponents?

But his book, though it will probably convince no one who is not already of his way of thinking, is useful as a reminder that critical as well as orthodox tradition needs constant revision in the progress of the quest of the Historical Jesus.

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Évangile selon Saint Jean, par le P. M. J. LAGRANGE. (Victor Lecoffre, Paris, 1925.)

THIS volume is the third of a series of Commentaries on the Gospels by Père Lagrange which have appeared in recent years. Those on St Luke and St Matthew are known to N.T. scholars as specimens of the best Roman Catholic work: and the present volume is a worthy successor. In his Introduction (p. vii) the writer meets the objection that his work 'can only be the work of an Apologist, as for him the question of authorship is fixed by ecclesiastical tradition', and that he is thus 'tied to a thesis which he can only defend' by claiming that as he respects the good faith of others he has a right to expect similar treatment from them. At least he is not bound to write or publish anything on the subject. All scholars will, of course, comply with his demand. His work is the outcome 'd'une conviction raisonnée' and a most important contribution to the literature of the subject.

The Introduction begins with a chapter of fifty-six pages on 'the author'. All the evidence is examined, and the difficulties are not shirked: though some students may not find the explanations offered satisfactory. Two points may be mentioned. Père Lagrange holds that the book itself points clearly to the authorship of John, the son of Zebedee. To some of us it appears truer to say that certain indications may very plausibly be thus interpreted: while others, especially xix 35, whether ἐκεῖνος refers to the witness or to Jesus, are most naturally interpreted as pointing the other way. Another instance may be taken from the writer's treatment of the evidence of the Muratorian Fragment. The apologetic character of the long notice about the Fourth Gospel is fully recognized. It is accounted for by the fact that at Rome, where the document was written, Caius and the Alogi had raised serious controversy. Again, many students may find this explanation not wholly satisfactory, in the light of all the other indications in the literature of the period that has come down to us of hesitation about the Fourth Gospel, or its need of defence. But the point is fairly dealt with and the explanation, so far as it goes, very much to the point.

The Introduction also contains chapters on historical criticism, and on literary criticism, with a valuable section on the style and language of the Gospel, and another on 'John the Theologian'. On every point which he touches the writer has always something to say which must be taken into account, whether or not his conclusions are accepted. The Commentary is equally full and thorough. Many students will feel that it is written from the point of view of later Nicene theology, rather than with the aim of determining St John's meaning; but it is always suggestive and useful. It may be doubted whether the attempt

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to explain the relation of what St John records to the actual words of our Lord, by suggesting three classes of content, (1) teaching addressed to the multitudes, (2) a few passages *intended* by the Evangelist to be his own comment and not the Lord's words, (3) the more intimate teaching given to His disciples, can be so clearly established as to convince us that with the exception of class (2) the author's modification of Christ's words hardly goes beyond the necessary changes involved in translation from one language to another, and, as regards expression, 'une nuance propre qui venait de sa manière'.

But in the determination of the actual words as they stand no student can fail to find this Commentary instructive and helpful. There is as much help to get here from the one side as from M. Loisy's Commentary on the other in getting at the mind of the author, and through him to the mind of the Christ.

All of us will wish to remember the last words of the *avant-propos* (p. ii), with the notice of date and place.

'Demandons tout simplement à Notre-Seigneur la grâce de mettre en pratique son commandement promulgué par saint Jean: Aimons-nous les uns les autres.

Jérusalem,
en la fête du Sacré-Cœur de Jésus,
27 Juin 1924.'

Handbuch zum Neuen Testament: Das Markusevangelium, von E. KLOSTERMANN. (Mohr, Tübingen, 1926.)

THE first edition of Klostermann's St Mark appeared in 1907 and was sold out before the war. Arrangements were made, he tells us, for a second edition in 1912, but the war prevented their completion. Between 1907 and 1925 much has been written about the Marcan Gospel. The Commentaries of Wohlenberg (in Zahn's series), of Loisy and Lagrange in 1911, and Allen in 1915, the work of Wendland, Nicolardot, Schmidt, and Bultmann on Synoptic questions, and many books of a more general character, especially Strack and Billerbeck's illustrations from Talmud and Midrash, and Meyer's *Ursprung u. Anfänge*, afford much new material for condensation. As in other numbers of the *Handbuch* the work of redaction is admirably carried out, and has provided a compendium which, if no one could read through, no student of the subject could possibly neglect. The work is indispensable, as a book of reference, of course, rather than as an original contribution to the literature of the subject. Dr Klostermann reminds us that 'we have not yet reached the end of fought-out scientific controversy', and 'we have no Biblical Commission' to deter-

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mine what is approved. In the next edition perhaps the work of Streeter, Bacon, and Rawlinson may receive notice, and possibly the name of Stanton might be added as an omission for the period covered by this second edition, rightly described as '*völlig neubearbeitete*'. Students will, however, be well advised not to wait for the third, but obtain their own copies of this second edition. A comparison of the first with a Library copy of the second may hardly meet the case.

In view of Bacon's ingenious, or over-ingenious, deduction from the use of the masculine (ἑστηκότα) in Mk. xiii 14 that the Gospel must be later than the destruction of Jerusalem, it may be of interest to compare the English and German treatment of this chapter. Both are inclined to support the hypothesis of the 'Little Apocalypse'. It is perhaps not without significance that Rawlinson refers to it as 'first suggested by Colani in 1864', while Klostermann speaks of the 'latest' researches of Wendling, Loisy, and Bultmann. The English suggestion as to content is the more simple, *vv.* 7, 8, 14–20, 24–27, but substantially much the same as Klostermann's more elaborate '7–8, 12, 13^{b}, 14–22, 24–27 (30? 31? 32^{a}?)'. The English scholar leans to the view that it is a Jewish Christian rather than a Jewish document, or part of it, that has been incorporated. Both writers find the explanation of the 'masculine' in *v.* 14 in St Mark's interpretation of the 'abomination' as Anti-Christ: not in his attempt to meet the difficulty of the non-fulfilled Danielic prophecy of the profanation of the Temple. The general judgements passed on the whole chapter are characteristic. The German commentator quotes with approval Ed. Meyer's dictum 'mit dem historischen Jesus nichts zu tun'. Rawlinson is prepared to say (p. 180) 'It is likely enough that the substance of much of Mk. xiii may in one way or another go back to the historical mind of our Lord'.

The Gospel according to S. Mark, edited by A. E. J. Rawlinson, Westminster Commentaries. (Methuen, 1925.)

From the point of view of critical scholarship Dr Rawlinson's Commentary on St Mark in the Westminster series is a great advance on the two other commentaries on the Gospels, both of them excellent in their way, which have appeared in this series. As the General Editor points out, it deals more fully with textual and critical problems. 'It attempts to get behind the Gospel as written to the Gospel as first preached.' It will 'help to interpret the meaning' of the book 'in the light of modern knowledge to a wider circle of English readers', including scholars, and students who are by no means at the beginning of their studies.

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The author's own position is clearly stated in the Introduction (p. xxii), 'No form of Christianity which denies the affirmation made in A.D. 325 at Nicaea, viz.: that the historical person, Jesus of Nazareth, is in His essential being eternally one with the Eternal Father, has any future before it'. To this, he holds, the faith of the earliest generation led by an inevitable process. But it originated in facts. And the records of the facts must be interpreted 'with a hearty recognition of critical principles'. The criticism has been made that there is a discrepancy between the Introduction and the Notes: the concessions in the latter to the results of modern criticism do not leave material out of which the later view could have been developed. A careful consideration of the notes as a whole leaves the impression that this criticism is hardly just. One of the most important features of the commentary is its honest, and on the whole successful, attempt to discover the permanent and reject the transitory in the contribution of each writer on St Mark, and each theory about its content to the subject under discussion. His dealing with the theories of Wendling and Wrede, and the work of Werner on the 'Paulinism' of St Mark are good instances of this.

The other most prominent characteristic of Dr Rawlinson's work is his attempt to interpret the present form of each narrative and record in the Gospel in the light of the history of the time in which it was written, which he believes to be towards the close of the Neronian persecution. We may or may not feel that this view of the date of composition is satisfactory. It leaves us with a view of St Mark working very rapidly in prison, beginning his Gospel after the death of St Peter in that 'persecution', and just not finishing it, before he himself was hurried off to suffer for the Faith. But the reflexion in this Gospel of a time and conditions of persecution, as worked out by Dr Rawlinson, is an important contribution to the literature of the subject.

One criticism may be permitted to a reviewer who is not a member of the University of Oxford. Is it quite true to say (p. xxxv n. 1) that the 'three fundamental works' in determining 'the precise mutual relations of the three 'Synoptic' Gospels are 'Sir J. C. Hawkins *Horae Synopticae*, Oxford *Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (1911), and B. H. Streeter's *The Four Gospels* (1924)'? Some of us might have added at least Holtzmann and Loisy, to say nothing of Burkitt and Stanton. But the author has a scholar's knowledge of all the literature, even if he does not regard any of the rest as attaining to the level of the first three! Oxford is to be congratulated on a most useful help to the study of the Marcan Gospel.

A. E. BROOKE.

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St Paul and the Church of Jerusalem, by W. L. KNOX. (Cambridge University Press, 1925.)

MR. KNOX deals with topics on which much has been written in recent years, and he makes careful use of the labours of other investigators in the same field. But his work is marked by critical ability and originality, and he has produced a book which is a real contribution to the literature of the subject. As interpreted by him, his theme covers an enormous variety of topics, and on most of these he has something to say which is worth hearing. This encyclopaedic character of the book does not make it easy to read, and the method adopted, of connected narrative followed by notes and appendices, makes the reader's task still more difficult.

Mr. Knox's treatment of isolated points may be illustrated by some of his notes :

'The manner in which the term κύριος is introduced in Acts x 36 suggests that S. Luke is aware that the use of the term was a developement of Christian practice, which was not entirely acceptable to certain elements of Hebrew Christianity, and that he wishes to point out that its use was not due to S. Paul.'

'In Gal. i 22 the term "the churches" is apparently used to describe the authorized rulers or representatives of the local communities, who are responsible for their management, and are more or less identified with them. Thus the churches here are the rulers of the Churches, i. e. the rest of the Twelve, whom S. Paul had never met.'

On Rom. xi 17 f 'If . . . the original preaching of Christianity had taken place at the synagogue of the Olive, and the Gentile converts whom S. Paul is here addressing had claimed in the past, and were possibly still claiming, to be the synagogue of the Olive, the whole passage assumes a reasonable appearance'.

His method of interpreting his sources and reconstructing the course of events may be illustrated by collecting some of his references to the Christian Pharisees in Jerusalem.

At the close of the year A.D. 35 the disciples 'included in their number at least one or two persons who were actually themselves Pharisees in their devotion to the Jewish system as well as Christians'. A reorganization of the church followed the missionary activities of the scattered Hellenists: 'as the need arose, the Twelve normally working in couples, left the city to supervise the growth of the new communities', and to spread the gospel in regions still untouched. The result was an increase of Pharisaic influence in the church at Jerusalem, which hitherto the presence of the Twelve had kept in check, for they had inherited

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from Christ his opposition to the later developement of Pharisaism. James, who 'like Jesus had been brought up in the earlier traditions of Pharisaic piety', and still remained a strict Pharisee, succeeded to the government of the Church. His position ensured that his followers at least would be protected by the Pharisaic section of the Sanhedrin. But after Caligula's project had failed, 'popular sentiment clamoured for a . . . dramatic vindication of the honour of the Temple', and the Sadducees seized their opportunity. Nevertheless the most they could do was to secure the arrest of the Galileans, James the son of Zebedee and Peter (present at Jerusalem for Passover), and the execution of the former. It was again the part played by the Christian Pharisees at the Council of Jerusalem that finally determined the decision in regard to Gentile converts. 'They saw no value in demanding their circumcision, if it was merely to involve the lax observance of the Law prevalent in Palestine, and still more among the Jews and proselytes of the Dispersion. Such a method of keeping the Law was worthless'. They accordingly demanded not merely circumcision, but the observance of 'the whole Mosaic system as interpreted by the Pharisees'. This demand censured not only the Hebrew Christians generally, but the Apostles themselves, save James and Paul (for Paul 'did not deny that the Jewish nation itself was still bound to keep the Law; indeed he himself kept it with all the rigour of a Pharisee'). Finally James intervened. 'He had for long been accustomed to accept that far less rigid observance of the Law customary among his fellow-Christians.' He proposes a compromise: 'the issue of a formal statement ordering them to abstain from idolatry and the sins which accompanied it, and also from the use of meats prohibited by the Law. The use of such meats at the common meals of the Church would cause great difficulties.'

Enough has been said to give some idea of the character of the book. The author's statement that it has been composed for the most part in the intervals of parochial work in London must not suggest that he offers us no more than a *réchauffé* of other people's opinions. His views are often new and challenging. It is unlikely that all of these, at any rate, will win acceptance; but the reader, even when disagreeing with the conclusions arrived at, will be grateful for the stimulus to thought the book provides.

B. T. D. SMITH.

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The Approach to Christianity, by EDWARD GORDON SELWYN, B.D. (Longmans, 1925.)

IN an introductory chapter Mr Selwyn analyses the present situation. The 'Edwardian' Age had closed the war of Victorian times between Science and Theology, and had assumed that both systems of thought could be harmonized under the idea of evolutionary progress. The war shattered this too hasty solution, and we must now recognize a fundamental distinction which the Edwardians had ignored—the distinction between Nature and Super-nature. This thought underlies the book. Theology is the science of the supernatural, not unrelated to, but distinct from, other sciences: 'Just as biology has made good its independence from the shackles in which physico-chemical materialism would have bound it, and has convinced the world that the phenomena of life, though rooted in the physico-chemical field, yet need also fresh categories to describe them, so too theology has to assert a similar claim to-day.' Religion is the experience of the supernatural, and Theology organizes and formulates the *data*. As in all other fields of experience, authority—'the free consensus of those best able to judge'—has its rightful place. The Bible is a unique record of religious experience. This experience is formulated and mediated by dogma through the Church, and verified in the lives of the saints. Mr Selwyn is alive to the dangers of subjectivism in religion, when theology is approached from the side of 'experience', and his next chapter—on History and Revelation—is an exceedingly effective study of the implications of the religious experience of the Hebrew prophets. 'In Scripture the immediate form of revelation is the contemporary course of events.' 'Historical experience has this characteristic, that it is peculiarly common experience, available to all. As between the false prophets and the canonical prophets in the Old Testament there is no dispute as to the facts . . . disputes came as to the meaning of the facts and their relative importance.' The following chapters deal with the person and work of Jesus Christ and the supernatural basis of the Christian character. A penal interpretation of Christ's death for sin is justified, but the dominant categories remain Nature and Super-nature. In a concluding chapter on Anglican Theology and English Religion, Anglicanism is shewn to rest upon a just combination of the three elements of tradition, experience, and reason.

The reader of this book feels himself in touch with a sensitive and deeply religious mind. Mr Selwyn is perhaps at his best in interpreting a document of the religious life. The pages on John Bunyan's *Grace Abounding* and on the book of Jonah are examples of his skilful and sympathetic exposition. The general effect of the book, however, is

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impaired by curious jumps in the argument, and by some highly controversial assumptions. The conception of dogma as 'resting at bottom not on a process of deduction but on intuition into experience' is clearly central to Mr Selwyn's argument, and he claims that this conception is indicated by a proviso which, he says, attaches to all dogmatic formulations, viz. 'that the preambles which give the reasons for the decisions reached are not themselves, as the decisions are, authoritative'. Where may this proviso be found? And does it mean that any doctrinal decision which has once been accepted remains itself valid for ever, even though we may find out that the grounds on which it was accepted were inadequate or mistaken? Mr Selwyn adds a further test of validity: 'dogma does not become finally binding, until it has proved itself able to mediate experience as well as to explain it'. 'Obviously', he adds, 'the value of this certificate depends on the freedom of the consensus by which it is given—a point which gives a special authority to such dogma as was accepted before the age of Justinian'. This seems a curious generalization!

'The genuine Anglican', wrote Mark Pattison, 'omits the eighteenth century from the history of the Church altogether.' This cannot be said of Mr Selwyn. He pays due homage to the lonely figure of the great Butler, and, in his own way, he is sympathetic to Methodism, which, he thinks, might have been retained within the Church had the non-Juring schism been averted; but the real weakness of his position seems to me to lie in his failure to come to terms with the characteristic thought of the eighteenth century. Mr Selwyn does not like Whigs; and he omits to form an estimate of the rationalistic movement in theology in its relation to the confessional orthodoxies of the seventeenth century. That the theology of rationalism soon became jejune and commonplace is true enough; it is not less true that it has permanently affected the conception of theological science. Mr Selwyn is far too scholarly and far too sensitive to contemporary ideas to have escaped its influences himself—witness his critical appreciation of the books of Scripture. 'Catholic' theology in his hands bears unmistakeably the marks of the critical movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Indeed it seems only reasonable that a 'catholic' theology should be thus open to the general movement of ideas. But Mr Selwyn wishes his theology to be 'catholic' in another sense as well. It is difficult to grasp the exact meaning which he attaches to the term, but we have already seen that, in Mr Selwyn's mind, an especial authority attaches to dogmatic decisions prior to Justinian. Similarly in matters of practice. This is not the place to discuss the regulations as to Worship and so on, which he would like to see promulgated on the basis of the principle that 'the Church of England is bound to hold in

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respect customs of œcumenical authority'. It is only necessary to point out that here, as in the case of dogma, 'Catholic' authority is intended to be understood in a somewhat technical sense. The trouble is that Whigs and rationalists *et hoc genus omne* have made authority in this sense remote and unconvincing, while historians leave us in doubt what, if anything, can justly claim to be oecumenical.

Considerations such as these appear to weaken the force of Mr Selwyn's argument, when taken as a whole, but they need not interfere with the reader's appreciation of the intrinsic value of many parts of his book.

J. M. CREED.

Jesus and the Greeks or Early Christianity in the tideway of Hellenism, by WILLIAM FAIRWEATHER. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1924.)

DR FAIRWEATHER has set himself 'to exhibit, however inadequately, the relation of Christianity to Hellenism, with a view to reaching a definite conclusion concerning one main part of the question at issue', the question being the independence of the former. The task is a heavy one, and it would be unreasonable to reproach any who attempt it with having failed to follow it in all its ramifications or to read all that modern critics have written on the subject. Nevertheless, the present book seems to me not to formulate or to meet the problems involved at all adequately. The author is probably right in maintaining (p. v) 'the essential independence of Christianity'; but if that independence is to be upheld it must be by careful examination of the more important facts or theories which have been adduced in favour of other views: it should not be forgotten that much criticism which has failed to carry conviction in respect of its conclusions has incidentally thrown a flood of light on the early history of the Church and its pagan surroundings. The whole subject is at the moment in a condition far from static: quite recently a new journal ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ has been begun at Leipzig to deal solely with Christian origins. A good English handbook would therefore be of service: but it must be stated regretfully that the present work, though written in a fresh, attractive, and unpretentious style, does not fill the gap.

A. D. NOCK.

Essays in Early Christian History, by ELMER TRUESDELL MERRILL, Professor of Latin in the University of Chicago. (Macmillan, 1924.)

IT is always interesting when a scholar who has won his skill and reputation in one field of study turns aside to a different though contiguous one, and brings to bear upon its problems a method

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acquired and tools polished elsewhere. Professor Merrill is a classical scholar of eminence who has turned in this way to the study of early Church History. He sets himself to the investigation of a number of important matters in which he believes that Church historians have as a rule followed a false tradition. And those who study his book must be prepared to defend a number of positions the security of which has been taken for granted.

For this we are prepared by the introductory chapter on 'Materials and Methods'. After commenting on the very exiguous character of the genuine historical sources prior to Eusebius he exposes the fallacy of grouping evidence drawn from Eusebius's successors as a 'unanimous and unassailable ancient tradition', inasmuch as these were but 'patently copying Eusebius'. A second introductory chapter deals with the attitude of Rome to religion and religious cults, and is followed by a valuable exposition of the distinction between a *collegium licitum* and a *collegium illicitum* according to which the latter was not so much 'illicit' or forbidden, as unprivileged, the two differing much as in the United States an incorporated society differs from one unincorporated. This leads to an examination of the way in which a Roman governor would take action against a *collegium illicitum*, not on the ground of an ancient decree but because of alleged breaches of common law.

The ground is thus cleared for a critical examination of the 'Persecutions' under Nero, Domitian ('there is no evidence of any persecution of the Christian Church in Rome by Domitian', p. 241), Trajan, and Hadrian. Here Dr Merrill is treading ground which was pioneered by Professor Gwatkin forty years ago: and though he goes beyond the late Dixie Professor at many points, an acknowledgement of his work would have been a gracious counterpoise to the rather sharp correction of an oversight of which he convicts his forerunner (p. 69). He successfully defends the narrative of Tacitus against the criticism based on the silence of Dion Cassius, but does not find satisfactory evidence for a persecution under Nero which extended to the provinces (*pace* the allusions in the Apocalypse). The victims in Rome were charged with and convicted of arson; and the effect of this was not a general outlawry of Christians *qua* Christians (the *Institutum Neronianum* has been misunderstood), but such widespread popular prejudice and presumption of criminal practices as exposed them to spasmodic harrying in different parts of the Empire.

In general it may be said that Dr Merrill's arguments will call for careful consideration on the part of subsequent historians. And that remains true, at least in part, when he comes to deal with Clement of Rome. Here he would reopen the whole problem both as to the

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person who wrote the First Epistle and as to the date of its writing. He might carry us with him when he shews the inadequate character of the evidence for identifying the writer either with Flavius Clemens or with the putative Bishop of Rome; but he seems to sin against his own canon in maintaining (p. 231) that 'if the letter to the Church in Corinth was indeed actually written by a Clement, he must be identified with the Clement mentioned by Hermas'. For the argument by which he comes to this conclusion is drawn entirely from the absence in the *Shepherd* of any allusion to the Epistle of Clement (pp. 224, 249). But if, as Dr Merrill argues, there is no objection to a late date for Clement's Epistle on the ground of its silence as to Gnosticism (p. 238), why should the silence of the *Shepherd* about the First Epistle be an argument for their being practically contemporary documents? Both the *genre* of the *Shepherd* and the mentality of its author are such as to preclude any such alleged necessity for his alluding to the Epistle. Neither do the other arguments in favour of a late date for the Epistle appear more cogent. The absence of 'all trace of rivalry and quarrel . . . between Jewish and Gentile Christians' and the presence of a restless spirit of indiscipline at Corinth are every bit as likely to be characteristic of A.D. 96 as of 140. And a few months would suffice to bring the news of the Corinthian troubles to Rome and elicit this dignified remonstrance. It is true, as Dr Merrill shews, that the phrase 'our own generation' has been pressed too literally, but on the other hand the absence of 'indication in the letter of any distinction in title or rank between episcopate and presbyterate' (p. 238) is *not* equally intelligible whether we assign the document to 96 or to 140. Indeed it is not easy to harmonize with the situation in Rome at the later date.

In the closing chapter on St Peter at Rome Dr Merrill's chief effort is to remove the enormous *praeiudicium* in favour of the Apostle's sojourn in the capital. After that he makes rather short work of the historical evidence. He fails to note that the equation 'Babylon'= Rome in 1 Peter may be illustrated not only from the Apocalypse but from 4 Esra and the Sibylline Oracles. The evidence from Josephus and Philo as to the presence of a large community of Jews in Babylon refers strictly to the first century B.C.; and the altered situation reflected in Josephus *Antiq.* xviii 9 should not have been ignored. The exegesis of the passage in Ignatius is far from convincing. The parallels quoted from the Ephesian and Trallian Epistles, so far from proving his point, immediately raise the question, why in writing to the Romans and to them alone did Ignatius make this specific reference to Peter and Paul?

It will be seen that Dr Merrill has issued a very wholesome warning

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as to the necessity of more rigorous method in investigating the filiation of what looks like cumulative evidence, and has shewn reason for the serious re-examination of several accepted judgements. At the same time, not all his conclusions can be said to rest upon a satisfactory application of the method he inculcates.

The Early Church and the World, by CECIL JOHN CADOUX, D.D. (Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1925.)

DR CADOUX has chosen a subject of great importance, one also which was waiting for thorough treatment, at least in English. He has laid under contribution the whole Christian literature of the first three centuries. And he has arranged his material according to a clear and simple scheme. He divides the whole period down to Constantine into seven sections, beginning with 'Jesus', 'The Earlier Apostolic Age' and 'The Later'. And under each section, after a brief but useful literary introduction, he gathers what evidence the literature affords on such subjects as the Attitude of Christians to the State, Property, War, the Family, and Slavery. We thus get a very well-documented history of the Christian attitude to Pagan Society and the State down to the conversion of Constantine.

It is not easy to suppose that the author has overlooked anything relevant to his purpose; yet we could desire a somewhat fuller treatment of some of the topics. A closer analysis of the question of Usury, for example, would have been welcome. Did the term cover, and at all times, all lending of money, or was it unreasonable interest only that was forbidden? Similarly, more consideration and space might have been given to the struggle and success of Christianity in the matter of sex-relations. The subject is not an easy one to handle; but there is probably no part of the field in which the power of the Gospel is more conspicuously illustrated as a Divine Force unto salvation.

Dr Cadoux is least successful in his handling of the question of War. It is difficult to resist the impression that he approaches this with a *parti pris*. Not that he shews any bias in selecting or in stating the evidence. In that he is scrupulously fair. But when, as is often the case, the evidence is capable of two interpretations, he consistently chooses the one which favours pacifist opinion. And he fails to perceive what is the really striking fact, viz. that there is so little evidence even of interest in the subject, and no evidence that the right attitude for Christians was at any time inferred from the teaching or the attitude of Jesus. Such meagre evidence as the post-canonical literature provides points to a divided opinion such as marked the later

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history. The rare cases of refusal of military service, being capable of explanation as due to reluctance to fulfil military duties other than fighting, prove nothing as to the general attitude of the Church or its official teaching.

The least satisfactory section of the work is the opening one where the writer strives to extract from the Gospels the teaching of Jesus on War and kindred subjects. Here the reader cannot but detect forced exegesis in support of the conclusion that 'Jesus regarded the duty of neighbourly love as forbidding not merely the indulgence of personal resentment but also the infliction of judicial penalties'. The assertion that 'Jesus preferred to die rather than declare a Messianic war' (p. 614) not only infers a pitifully narrow interpretation of His consciousness, but is made to bear a weight of conclusion under which it crumbles. The truth is that what can be gathered from the Gospels on this and similar subjects is so meagre, so indirect, and so uncertain in its bearing that it would be far wiser to recognize and acknowledge frankly that not from them are we to ascertain 'the mind of Christ'. The greatest triumphs of Christianity in the field of ethics, the condemnation of polygamy and the condemnation of slavery, have been gained not ἐν γράμματι but ἐν πνεύματι, not because men could quote any definite teaching of Jesus on the matter, but because His Spirit led them into the truth. There is in these desperate attempts to find in the Gospels what is not there a subtle depreciation of the Spirit in favour of the written code and an ultimate narrowing of the application given to the mind of Christ. For that has reference also to the application of force other than physical. The force exercised by sustained scorn, contempt, organized public opinion (illustrated in certain quarters of the labour world to-day), is even more cruel and tyrannical, destructive of real personality, than the physical force with which Dr Cadoux and those for whom he speaks appear to be exclusively concerned.

The author (also the publisher) has been generous with quotations from both ancient and modern writers (both pro and con). This adds greatly to the value and interest of the work.

Kirchengeschichte, by KARL MÜLLER: Erster Band, Erste Lieferung: zweite völlig neubearbeitete Auflage. (Mohr, Tübingen, 1924.)

TEACHERS of Church History and also students who have a command of German will welcome the publication by Karl Müller of a new edition of his well-known *Grundriss*. In the thirty years since it first appeared it has been many times reprinted: this, though it is called a second

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edition, is really a new work. Little of the original material has been reproduced, little even of the original arrangement. The whole treatment is on a definitely larger scale with the result that this edition is about a third longer than the first. Subjects connected with worship are treated with new and welcome fullness. The section on the Eucharist and its connexion with developement of the Episcopate deserves special attention. 'Paul remained all along a Jew.' For Marcion Harnack is the sole authority cited. There is an excellent section (23) on the relation of Christians to the World, the State, and to various occupations. Not all the writer's judgements will approve themselves, especially in the terse and sometimes epigrammatic form in which they are expressed. But it is work which has behind it a lifetime of scholarly and open-minded labour.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

The Ascetic Works of Saint Basil: translated into English with Introduction and Notes, by W. K. L. CLARKE, D.D. (S.P.C.K., London, 1925.)

DOM CUTHBERT BUTLER has taught us that 'St Benedict owed more of the ground-ideas of his Rule to St Basil than to any other monastic legislator'; and in similar terms it may be claimed that students of St Basil are more deeply in debt to Dr Lowther Clarke than to any other monastic investigator. He began his course with what Dom Butler acknowledges to be 'an admirable monograph' in 1913. The series of translations of Christian literature—itself not the least monument of his arduous labours for S.P.C.K.—contains excellent editions from his pen of the Lausiac History and of St Gregory Nyssen's Life of St Macrina. And now comes this careful and important rendering of the *Ascetica*, which his university has rightly rewarded by a doctorate, as if recognizing that such fidelity to one theme of study is all too rare.

Gwatkin, I remember, used to shake his head as to the historical reality of St Antony though he is understood to have conquered his doubts. No one has doubts about St Basil; but Dr Clarke has applied a careful literary and historical criticism to his various documents, and his treatment of their authenticity is a model of compression and is not likely to be seriously challenged.

The point of greatest interest in Dr Clarke's discussions is the relation of St Benedict as a drafter of rules to St Basil as a drafter of rules. He takes us farther than Dom Butler—from 'ground-ideas' back to identities of thought and language; and he raises the interesting question of St Benedict's knowledge of Basilian arrangements independently

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of what he would derive from Rufinus. The parallels which Dr Clarke prints on pp. 31–35 are informing and in not a few cases convincing. But there are later questions which need clearing up, about which neither St Basil nor St Benedict helps us much. One of these is the right relation of the monasteries to the episcopate. The Basilian language is vague. Dr Clarke suggests that circumlocutions such as 'those who are entrusted with the gift of teaching' or 'with the ministry of the word' point to the episcopate (*Shorter Rules*, 413 A). We must bring in, says Basil, τοὺς προεστῶτας τῆς ἐκκλησίας as witnesses of professions of virginity, another vague phrase for the episcopate, specially designed, as Dr Clarke hints, to avoid naming the bishop of the diocese (*Longer Rules*, 357 B, C). St Benedict, on the other hand, has no scruple about using 'episcopus'; but he brings the bishop in rather as a policeman or a detective. 'Saepe ammonitus si non correxerit, etiam episcopus adhibeatur in testimonio' (*Regula*, ed. Butler, lxii 19): this in the case of a refractory priest. In the case of an unworthy election to the headship, it may be that the faults of the elect are 'in notitia episcopi ad cuius diocesim pertinet locus ipse' (*ibid.* lxiv 11). St Basil sees a rather gentler use for the bishop. If a monk has money from his family, it had better be handed over to the bishop as if he were a diocesan board of finance, duly incorporated (*Shorter Rules*, 478 E). Perhaps, if St Basil had remained a priest, the general question might have been settled at an early date. As it is, it remains.

ERNEST WORCESTER.

The Dominican Order in England before the Reformation, by BERYL E. R. FORMOY, M.A. (London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1925.)

IN recent years there has been a widespread, if rather superficial, interest in St Francis, but St Dominic has suffered comparative neglect. St Dominic lacked some of the picturesque qualities that make it easy to represent the life of St Francis as an idyll; and this has had results not entirely deplorable, for the literature concerning him, though scanty, is at least free from the sentimentality of many Franciscan studies. Miss Formoy has written a valuable book of the sane and balanced temper that the tradition of Dominican studies makes appropriate. There was need for such a book; it is impossible to name another account of the ordinary life and work of the Order in mediaeval England so clear and impartial and concise.

Miss Formoy complains with reason of the scarcity of material for English Dominican history: 'conventual and provincial records have

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vanished'. The main sources of information remaining are the official records of the General Chapters and the Masters-General, English state and episcopal records, and the indirect evidence of contemporary literature. On all these Miss Formoy has drawn skilfully, though her praiseworthy caution in the use of the last named source has unnecessarily impoverished her picture. She says truly, for example, of a typical satire on the mendicants, 'Such condemnation is cheap, easy, and superficially effective. It is the underlying facts, rather than the interpretation put on these facts by the writer of the poem, that must speak for themselves.' But this is to state the problem, not to solve it; and it is likely that a more searching examination of contemporary literature would reveal many other 'underlying facts'.

Beginning with an account of the origin of the Order and its general organization (an account which for clearness leaves something to be desired) Miss Formoy devotes sections of her book to the several sides of its English activities: its relations with the Papacy, with bishops and the secular clergy, with other religious Orders, and with the Lollards; the educational and political work of the Dominicans and their daily life. Two concluding chapters of special interest discuss the Second Order and the history of the only house of that Order in England, the Dominican sisters at Dartford. It is useful to have a concise account of the struggle of the friars for preaching, penitentiary, and burial rights in the parishes, though Miss Formoy has little that is new to say about these much discussed questions. On the other hand her detailed description of the part played by Dominicans in politics and scholarship, with biographical notes on some of the more prominent figures, gives a definite meaning to the familiar generalizations concerning the importance of the Order in these matters. Of particular value is the account of the effort of the English province to achieve greater independence of the Master-General at the end of the thirteenth century. If Miss Formoy had pursued and established her suggestion that 'the fact that Lollardy obtained no lasting hold in England was due largely to the friars' activities', the common judgement of their work in the fifteenth century would need revision; but her study of the relations between the Friars and the Lollards is not very precise.

Miss Formoy follows her authorities very closely and is at times too content merely to reproduce their statements without attempting to give them a place in the general history of the times. The arrangement of the book is topical, not chronological, and this increases the difficulty of perceiving the lines on which the Order was developing and the extent to which its influence on public opinion was growing or shrinking during the three and a half centuries. There is no sense of the passage of time; it does not appear from anything that

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Miss Formoy says, for instance, that there was more reason for the dissolution of the convents at the time when it came than there might have been two centuries earlier; but one cannot be sure that this is the considered opinion that she wishes to commend.

A little more care in proof reading would have eliminated some elementary blunders in the text and in the well-chosen appendix of documents, e. g. *humanorum* for *humanarum* (p. 99), *parishes* for *dioceses* (p. 124), *Blessed Mary of St Margaret* for *Blessed Mary and St Margaret* (p. 126); the date 1340 on page 117 is suspect, for it seems to conflict with what is said on the preceding page. On pages 32 and 37 the reader might suppose that *Jacke Upland* and the Latin poem quoted had special reference to the Dominicans, whereas the poems themselves make it quite clear that the particular reference is to the Franciscans. Not infrequently Miss Formoy approaches too near to colloquial slang, and on pages 20 and 94 there are foot-notes needlessly naïve. Page 122 provides a sentence without a principal verb. But these are small matters; the notice should end as it began—this book, especially if it is read with Father Bede Jarrett's *Life of St Dominic* published last year, is a trustworthy and attractive guide to a field hitherto not very accessible to English readers.

B. L. MANNING.

Luther and the Reformation, by JAMES MACKINNON. Vol. i. (Longmans, Green & Co., 1925.)

THE first twenty-five or thirty years of a man's life are the formative period, and till lately we had but little information on this stage in the career of Luther. During the last forty years document after document has been brought to light, and to-day we know the early Luther as he has never been known before. In 1885 his first course on the Psalms, given from 1513 to 1515, was found in the Royal Library, Dresden. In the winter of 1889 Buchwald discovered in the Municipal Library of Zwickau the notes the reformer had made in the margin of the works of St Augustine and Peter Lombard, of St Anselm and Tauler. These notes go back to 1509 when Luther was only a man of twenty-five. The notes of his 1516 lectures on the Epistle to the Galatians and a few of his early sermons have also been recovered. In 1899 Vopel found in the Vatican Library a manuscript copy of the lectures on the Epistle to the Romans, delivered in 1515 and 1516, and a student's notebook of those on the Epistle to the Hebrews given in 1517. In 1908 Ficker published the lectures on the Epistle to the Romans from the original manuscript which was found in the Royal Library, Berlin.

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Determined to utilize these discoveries, Dr Mackinnon has published the first volume of what promises to be an important work, and in it he brings Luther's career down to 1517. On the childhood of the reformer we receive no fresh information. His father was straitened in circumstance and his mother possessed a narrow outlook. At home the lad missed that tender affection which so rapidly expands the heart and the brain. For the least fault he was flogged till the blood flowed. Religion terrified him. Did he not hear of the judgements of the Almighty? In later life he entertained a lively recollection of the beatings he had received, and of the terrors he had experienced. Nor were these lasting impressions of childhood obliterated by his school at Magdeburg, where he was with the Brothers of the Common Life. There, too, he was lonely, and this lonely condition continued to 1501 when he entered the University of Erfurt. Dr Mackinnon provides us with a careful account of the state of this University, and he helps us to re-create the conditions under which the undergraduate lived. Luther at last found friends like Lang, Spalatin, and Rubianus, and to them he shewed that great humanity which characterized him. The death of a friend who passed away suddenly gave his thoughts a serious turn, and on July 17, 1505, he entered the Augustinian monastery at Erfurt.

To the classics Luther thought that he owed little, confessing more than once, 'I am only a barbarian'. His debt, however, was greater than he imagined. He knew well the Latin poets and orators, placing Virgil first in his regards. Greek he knew nothing of till he began to study it with Philip Melanchthon, and he was never familiar with it. Melanchthon failed to give his friend that love of Greek which meant so much to him, for Luther to the last day he lived preferred the Vulgate to the Greek New Testament. He possessed a bowing acquaintance with the *Phaedo* of Plato: the *Ethics* and the *Physics* of Aristotle he knew, though he knew both in a Latin dress. In fact the only book he was familiar with in the original was the *Iliad*. The Promethean philosophy of rebellion was obviously not in his thoughts. In his writings he makes quotations from the classical writers. There were then, as now, convenient works of reference, and he used the *Margarita Philosophica* of Reisch and the *Repertory* of Jodocus Windsheim. A quotation does not, therefore, necessarily prove intimacy, or indeed any first-hand knowledge of the writer, and indeed one of Dr Mackinnon's difficulties lies in the difficulty in ascertaining what Luther derived from original and what from non-original sources.

Dr Mackinnon emphasizes the enormous debt Luther owes to St Augustine, and among his most valuable pages are those that set out this debt. Since the twelfth century the influence of the African Father had been eclipsed until Luther infused fresh life into it. There was

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a new edition of his works in 1489, and another published at Bâle in 1509. To Luther St Augustine is the very first of the Fathers. For one thing the African doctor emancipated him from the influence of the angelic doctor, St Thomas Aquinas, and from the sophisms of scholasticism. For another he demonstrated to the student that God was an irresponsible sovereign. With St Augustine Luther realized the utter weakness of man's nature, the all-powerful action of grace, the significance of penitence, and the regeneration wrought by faith. Luther's theology, even in 1517, is more life than learning, more creed than comprehension, more narrow light than broad liberty. In truth, Dr Mackinnon enables us to realize that the early Luther is in essentials the late Luther.

ROBERT H. MURRAY.

Science, Religion, and Reality, edited by JOSEPH NEEDHAM, M.A. (Sheldon Press, London, 1925.)

THIS book, consisting of ten essays by various hands, has already attracted considerable and deserved attention. Its subject is one of perennial interest, and it achieves the by no means easy distinction of making what I take to be a genuinely significant pronouncement. It is fortunate in being introduced by Lord Balfour who 'sets the problem' with great clearness. The rest of the book falls naturally into two parts, the first three essays being historical, and the last six devoted to an exposition of the respective spheres and claims of science and religion.

Dr Malinowski opens the discussion with a valuable essay on Magic, Science, and Religion, drawing his material chiefly from a first-hand study of native life in Melanesia. He points out that magic, science, and religion each play a distinct part in the life of primitive man. Scientific knowledge is definite though limited; and it is never confused with a belief in magic, which is invoked only when knowledge fails. 'It is most significant that in the lagoon fishing, where man can rely completely upon his knowledge and skill, magic does not exist, while in the open-sea fishing, full of danger and uncertainty, there is extensive magical ritual to secure safety and good results' (p. 32). In Dr Malinowski's view, religion is necessarily, though not primarily, public, and yet the 'social' and the 'religious' are not to be confused as so many anthropologists have done. It is never found in conflict with science. Magic is 'a practical art consisting of acts which are only means to a definite end to follow later on; religion [is] a body of self-contained acts being themselves the fulfilment of their purpose'

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(p. 81). Dr Singer writes with his usual learning on the history of science in its relations with the various religions and ecclesiastical powers from the great age of Greece to the end of the eighteenth century. And Professor Aliotta of Padua, in what is in some respects a rather confused essay, treats of the final stages of the struggle in the nineteenth century. It is never quite clear to the reader whether he is speaking of 'naturalism' or of 'science', and modern pragmatism is repeatedly taken as offering a critique of the scientific method, whereas it usually represents itself as a theory of knowledge—a very different thing.

Professor Eddington, writing on the Domain of Physical Science, gives an altogether admirable account of the method and aim of modern physics, which is applicable in principle to all the sciences. The scientific conception of the universe is the most abstract of all conceptions, it is of a universe consisting solely of physically measureable relationships, and physical science is a closed system created for the study of those relationships. Comparing this essay with Prof. Hobson's Gifford Lectures we may note a marked agreement in the main outlines of the picture. Dr Needham's essay on Mechanistic Biology and the Religious Consciousness is in part a criticism of the neo-vitalist theory of biological life and in part a historical survey of the various theories of life and their relationship with religious and ecclesiastical opinion. He himself, with the majority of biologists (though there are distinguished exceptions), is a mechanist. The interest in the historical part lies chiefly in his thesis that in the past religious minds have shewn an instinctive attraction for some sort of vitalistic theory of life, but that, on the whole, it should be doubted if 'even from a narrowly apologetic point of view, it [is] wise to nail the colours of religion to the precarious mast of neo-vitalism' (p. 235). I would suggest that religion is not scientifically required to nail its colours to *any* biological mast. This essay seems to confuse, in its various 'philosophical' arguments, the main point that the so-called mechanistic and vitalistic theories of life are purely methodological hypotheses applied only to an abstracted aspect of organic phenomena, and not theories of the nature of life at all. Things can be mechanically described which cannot be defined in terms of mechanism. Science does not set out to give such a definition; and it is a matter of method to be decided among biologists (on purely biological grounds, not in any sense 'philosophical') whether the vitalistic or the mechanistic hypothesis is the more pragmatically useful and productive (cf. p. 17).

Dr Oman's contribution on the Sphere of Religion contains the exposition of his view of the nature of religion which his contributions

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to this JOURNAL have indicated.[1] Religion can be understood fully only by the religious (p. 262), and the failing of many of the theories of religion hitherto put forward is that they have been formulated, often on sound enough logical principles, but without any true conception of the nature of the subject in hand (p. 265). Religion deals with environment in a practical and not a theoretical manner, 'by way of feeling and value' (p. 283). It stands in its own right, resting upon the sense of the Holy, which is stirred only by what is valued as 'sacred'—the 'sacred' meaning a valuation of absolute worth which cannot be expressed in, or reduced to, any less absolute terms (p. 289). Religion and Psychology are dealt with by Dr William Brown, who reviews and appreciates various psychological theories chiefly relating to mystical experience. He distinguishes between the philosophical and the psychological treatment of religion, and recognizes that the latter is not required to, and cannot, do justice to questions of validity. Professor Webb's essay on Science, Christianity, and Modern Civilization, shorter than the others, grapples with the difficult question of the 'philosophy' of Christianity. It has much to say of interest, but there is missing from it any consideration of the most pressing feature of our theological thought, noted by Aliotta (p. 155), viz. the exact bearing upon Christianity of the modern historical criticism of the New Testament.

The Conclusion by the Dean of St Paul's is first a judicial summing up of the foregoing essays, and secondly an unequivocal statement of his own views on the relationship of Science and Religion. The conflict, he says, still exists, but is not inherently necessary in the subjects. 'A religion which does not touch science, and a science which does not touch religion, are mutilated and barren. Not that religion can ever be a science, or science a religion; but we may hope for a time when the science of a religious man will be scientific, and the religion of a scientific man religious' (p. 348).

The title 'Science, Religion, and Reality' embodies the only serious defect of the book. The ultimate relation between any human activities is, as Lord Balfour says (p. 16), a question of metaphysics; and, while the importation of the 'Reality' into the title suggests that we are to be offered a treatment of the ultimate nature of the relation between science and religion, the contents of the book are, wisely enough, largely confined to a historical, scientific, and theological discussion, and philosophy enters only by the back-door of biology.

M. J. OAKESHOTT.

[1] Cf. *J.T.S.* 1924 xxv 275.

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Old Testament Legends: from a Greek poem on Genesis and Exodus, by Georgios Chumnos. Edited with Introduction, Metrical Translation, Notes, and Glossary, from a manuscript in the British Museum, by F. H. MARSHALL, M.A., Birkbeck College, Reader in Classics, University of London. (Cambridge University Press, 1925.)

MR MARSHALL'S very pleasing text is taken from the British Museum, MS. Add. 40724, formerly Sir Thomas Brooke's, and before that the property of the monastery of Mount Sinai. The poem is of about the year 1500, in rhyming verse, of course accentual, which Mr Marshall has rendered very skilfully into an analogous English metre. Both Greek and English run in a very facile way. The MS is illustrated with 375 coloured drawings of which a good selection is given here. These pictures do not seem to owe much to the Byzantine 'Guide to Painters'. They are very fresh and amusing.

The matter of the text which, as Mr Marshall shews, is influenced by the *Palaea* (*Interpretata* as well as *Historica*), is not unfamiliar to students of the pseudepigrapha, or of such writings as the Western *Historia Scholastica* and the *Cursor Mundi*. Chumnos tells the stories very well: perhaps the best sections are those on the expedition of Seth to Paradise, on the story of Melchizedek, and on the sale of Joseph. The vision of the weeping babe which is shewn to Seth seems to be a non-Byzantine detail. I find it not only in *Cursor Mundi* but also in the sculptures which surround the choir of Toledo Cathedral; these are of the end of the fourteenth century.

Linguistically the portions of the text here published seem to me likely to make neo-Greek scholars ask for more. They are full of puzzles, not all of which have been solved by Mr Marshall, as he admits. This would be a good book to put into the hands of one who was beginning on modern Greek; the run of the lines would quickly get him into the way of valuing the accents, which are a stumbling-block to students of the older tongue.

M. R. JAMES.

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CHRONICLE

THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS.

Of the books that come up for consideration in this Chronicle the first place must certainly be given to the fine volume on the comparative study of religions by M. Pinard de la Boullaye wherein he discusses different types of research, and sets forth the entire methodology of the subject. It will, however, be more convenient to place it last in the list when our survey of various works differing in scope and method will have enabled us the better to estimate its most distinctive features.

The *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* (Scholl, Leipzig) proposes to furnish a selection of typical illustrations of the great religions. Edited by Dr. Hans Haas, Professor of the History of Religion in Leipzig, two parts lie before us: German religion, by Eugen Mogk, and Egyptian religion, by Hans Bonnet. Though intended to form a companion volume to the same publisher's *Textbuch zur Religionsgeschichte*, they have their own descriptive matter, the Egyptian part, for example (three parts in one, 6·80 m.), with 166 illustrations and several introductory pages, forming an independent work of itself. This part deals with the gods, the cult of the dead, and is an attractive and useful compilation. The illustrations are well selected, and the paper, too, is better than that used in the part dealing with German religion. Here are fifty-four miscellaneous illustrations ranging over bronze age rock pictures, runic monuments, remains of the Viking period, 'Jupiter pillars', and other monuments of the Roman age, and old MSS of the Edda, &c. The series as planned should meet with success: the illustrations frequently bring interesting problems of their own, and they make the old religions live in a way that a text-book alone can never succeed in doing.

Primarily archaeological is also a monograph by Dr G. Contenau, *La Glyptique Syro-Hittite* (Paris 1922), an admirable treatment of what is rapidly becoming a new field of enquiry. The author is an authority on Oriental Archaeology, in particular on the Cappadocian and Hittite problems, and the area lying between W. Asia Minor and the Aegean, Mesopotamia, and Syria, which is opening out many interesting questions. Dr Contenau finds that Cappadocia, roughly, was the centre of a specific cultural area with points of contact with both the Aegean (in dress, weapons, &c.) and with the East. It is probable

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that a Sumerian-Elamite influence was exercised upon the Aegean at a remote date, to be followed by a repercussion; we have to conceive of an extensive fairly homogeneous area over which flowed and ebbed specific waves of influence. The conflict between West and East, the two most conspicuous phases of which are seen in 'Hellenism' and the subsequent flow of Orientalism westwards, was an age-long one, and such a monograph as this is only one of others which warn us that the ultimate problems of influence are far more complex than are dreamt of by the modern exponents of facile theories of some prehistoric Egyptian origin of civilization or of chess-board movements of culture-bearing tribes over the ancient world.

Dr Contenau divides the seals into three main periods: (1) Archaic, 2400–1550 B.C., (2) Egypto-Aegean, 1550–1100, and (3) the Age of Decadence, eleventh–sixth centuries. The dates are, to be sure, somewhat provisional: experts differ seriously in many cases; for isolated objects are as difficult to date as isolated beliefs and practices. The analysis of styles and *motifs* supplies the best criteria, and it is possible to observe certain lines of developement—'evolution' we may bravely say—as religion becomes less theriomorphic and more anthropomorphic. In any event, proceeding on broad lines we can recognize an Egypto-Aegean phase (roughly that of the 'Amarna' age), which is preceded by one less easy to dissect, and followed by what is virtually a 'dark period', though it is the period (after the collapse of Hittite, Egyptian, and other powers) which saw the rise of the Assyrian empire, and the stages which led up (in the Persian age) to the new interconnexion between the different peoples of the ancient Near East. Thus does the study of seals and cylinders make its contribution to the vaster history which more nearly concerns biblical research.

In *Tutankhamen and Egyptology* (Mowbray, London) Prof. Samuel Mercer of Toronto furnishes a lucid and concise account of the historical and religious environment of the Pharaoh whose tomb still continues to attract popular attention. He outlines the elements of Egyptian culture and religion, he gives a list of Egyptian technical terms, with chronological, bibliographical, and other material which the layman will appreciate. To ordinary readers this booklet will prove a serviceable introduction to more comprehensive treatises, and they will observe, *inter alia*, that, with the best will in the world, even the most 'moderate' of scholars find it increasingly difficult to co-ordinate the biblical account of the Exodus with archaeology and the monuments. In a few pages devoted to this problem Prof. Mercer suggests that the event did not take place all at once: tribes left Egypt whenever occasion offered, there was, perhaps, '*an* exodus' in the reign of Tutankhamen (*c.* 1350 B.C.), though the great Pharaohs of the Op-

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pression and of the Exodus lived more than a century later. Readers who are attracted by such solutions should carefully consider the amount of reshaping or rewriting of tradition which even so reasonable a compromise would imply.

M. Charles-F. Jean, who is already known in these pages (*J. T. S.* xxv p. 102), devotes a monograph to *Le Péché chez les Babyloniens et les Assyriens* (Geuthner, Paris, 1925). With the works of Hehn and Morgenstern on this subject behind him he enters upon a fresh inductive enquiry, not the least value of which lies in his very copious quotations from the original sources. Without going very deeply into the ancient ideas of sin he gives an account of the main features of the old religion and of Babylonian mentality, and the book serves rather as a prelude to a more historical treatment of the religion, an introduction to the type of mind wherein ideas of sin had not necessarily the same connotation as among ourselves. He well shews how the religion was monarchical, with its priestly or sacred king (pp. 79, 93), but *historically* we have to take into account certain more priestly phases. Again, however 'religious' the old codes were (p. 83 sq.), there is a certain 'secular' phase in the Code of Hammurabi which deserves more consideration. Things, it is true, must be 'set apart' for the gods (p. 171), and this is important for some early sexual ideas (chastity, licentiousness), but one feels that the treatment (e. g. p. 118 sq.) is too incidental, and does not go deeply enough. M. Jean has many good observations upon early attitudes to sin, on the undifferentiated stage where 'sin' and 'evil' are one, on the avenging demons as causes of all hurt, &c., and a fuller study from his pen would be welcome.

Mr. A. Le Marchant, in *Greek Religion to the Time of Hesiod* (Sherratt & Hughes, Manchester), gives so thoughtful and interesting an account that one deplores his failure to provide his innumerable and important quotations with a translation. Why in these days no care was taken to minister to the infirmities of those who read Homer or Hesiod in the original with difficulty—or not at all—passes comprehension. The most attractive feature is the frequent comparison between Greece and Israel, and the attention to the profounder questions which arise from a more philosophical study of the facts.

Alike the progress and the failure of Greek religion stir us; and whether or no it be true to say that 'England is as Athens, the North Sea as the Mediterranean', at all events 'the same things recur from the same causes', and Mr Marchant sets us asking whether 'the history of religion in England is in part the history of lost opportunities' (Preface, p. ii). The history of religion in Greece and Israel has a meaning for ourselves, and in spite of the serious drawback to which

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reference has been made, the book well illustrates the fact that such is the relation between the most inductive of studies of early religions and modern living problems that the methodology of the subject is of supreme importance. Both Greece and Israel had prophets: as Mr Marchant says, 'we have taken the word from one language but its meaning from the other' (p. 181). For moral equipment and purity of life the advantage lies with the Greek—how little of Homer might a child not safely read (p. 182). The Semite was elemental, therein lay his strength and weakness, and there is that in Semitic psychology which warns us against making too simple a contrast between Greek and Semite. But the fact remains that the fall of Greece led to no new organism, as did the fall of the old monarchical Yahwism; and while the Greek's past did not save him from degradation (p. 183), the Jew gave the world its conviction of the high ideals from which it had lapsed and of a broken covenant which should be restored. The splendour, beauty, and promise of Greek religion, as sketched by Mr Marchant, can only strengthen the conviction that clear ideas of their actual history are fundamental for the theoretical study of religions in order to check the conclusions based upon mere comparison.

Both Greek and Egyptian religion are illustrated in the *Journal* of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society, No. xi (1924). Among his 'Notes on Anatolian Religion', Mr W. M. Calder shews how the Greek Perseus replaced Mēn, who in turn supplanted Attis, the youthful beardless companion of the still earlier Mother-goddess.

The area held by Perseus in coin-types roughly coincides with that of Plato in legend, and the legendary Plato, with a reputation as a magician, has a role in the plain of Konia similar to that of Herakles elsewhere. Mr Calder also notes that villages belonging to estates of the gods in Asia Minor were often called after the deity in question (e.g. Attionkome, after Attio); later, when the Roman divine emperor succeeded to the rights of the god on the temple estates, villages would be called *θεία κώμη*, Sebastokhorion, &c. In each case the continuity is interesting. More speculatively, Mr John Lewis writes on the Mother-worship in Egypt, mainly to the effect that the preservation and reproduction of life are the two main fundamental instincts. The 'comparative' method is, however, forced *ad nauseam* when the undoubted reference to the 'hand' in sexual ideas and usages in Egypt is applied far and wide in an absurd manner: and one is tempted to say that such methods are as helpful as the fabulous pins which saved the boy's life—by his not swallowing them.

Of outstanding interest is the invaluable study by Prof. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, of the Paris School of Modern Oriental Languages,

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Le Pèlerinage à la Mekke (Musée Guimet, Geuthner, Paris). It is a detailed description (340 pp.) of the sacred area (the *ḥarām*), the mosque and its doors, the surrounding buildings, the black stone of the kaaba, the pilgrimage itself, the *maḥmal*, the various rites whereby the pilgrims become 'sacred' and are afterwards 'desacralized', the visits to the sacred place, the circumambulation, and so forth. The writer is in touch both with all that has been written on the subject and with the study of religion (e. g. the true nature of 'sacred' sites). It is the best account of the *ḥajj*, and so full of material that the absence of an index of any sort is much to be regretted. There is curious information on the semi-ritual cohabitation before and after the ceremony, on the traces of rain-charms and sympathetic magic, on the obsolete communal drinking, and on much else which goes back to pre-Islamic times and takes us to much earlier and pre-Christian days. Illustrating as it does the many different feelings that can go to form a complex rite, and uniting within itself the new religion of Islam together with so much that came from outside, the *ḥajj* affords an example of characteristic processes which can be usefully compared and contrasted with other religions. Moreover, the pilgrimage to Mecca is so truly one of the phenomena of the religious world, and Islam so powerful a factor in religion and politics, that this authoritative volume deserves to be widely known. So remarkable a fusion of zeal and fanaticism, where much that seems crude comes under the single category of religion, may naturally arouse mingled feelings in western minds; but students of religion are accustomed to recognize that 'not everything offering itself as religious ought to be admirable'[1]; and while tolerant men of the world do well to respect the religious freedom of others, it is permissible to bear in mind the words of Robertson Smith apropos of the slave-traffic at Mecca: 'it is well to respect the religious freedom of Moslems; but it is too much to suffer this freedom to be used as a cloak for crime'.[2]

To Prof. Gaudefroy-Demombynes we also owe *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks* (Geuthner, Paris): it is the third volume of the Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, of the French Administration of Syria and Lebanon. What has already been done by Mr Guy Le Strange in *Palestine under the Moslems* and the *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* is extended by the translation of other native sources, in particular of Ḳalḳashandi (died 1418) and Omarī. A full geographical description is followed by a full and extremely useful account of the administration furnishing a fine picture of Mameluke

[1] It is appropriate to cite Dr Oman's words in *Science, Religion, and Reality* (ed. Needham) p. 268.

[2] *Lectures and Essays* p. 597.

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rule. A third section deals with the different officials and their areas of jurisdiction, and appended notes give us interesting information on the horse and pigeon posts, and on fire-signalling. An account of the way in which the North Syrian pasture grounds would be burnt in order to prevent Mongol invaders from feeding on the districts refers to the practice of tying torches to the tails of foxes (p. 262 sq.). We hear also of the conveyance of snow by camel or ship to the luxury-loving Egyptians (p. 255); an alleged case of ritual human sacrifice comes up for discussion (p. 127 sq.); and, in one way and another, a good deal of light is thrown upon Syria of about A.D. 1400, and the administration of an old land by new masters.

Dr W. O. E. Oesterley's *The Sacred Dance: A Study in Comparative Folk-lore* (Cambridge) is a typical example of the 'comparative' method. It deals with the origin and purpose of dancing, the biblical evidence, processional, circumambulatory, and ecstatic dances, festival and ceremonial dances, and dancing in marriage and funeral rites. Much curious and interesting material is collected and classified—Israelite and Semitic, Greek and Roman, uncultured races—and the points of resemblance and difference between Israel and her neighbours far and wide are carefully noted. The comparative method thus throws a flood of light upon the people, area, or religion under discussion, and everywhere it raises questions which demand an answer. Those who are impatient with the method usually have in mind extreme or aberrational tendencies, or, it may be, particular conclusions; but everywhere a difference must invariably be drawn between the fact that some resemblance is traced between two data and the particular conclusion we draw from it. Dr Oesterley is concerned mainly with marshalling the data, for the subject naturally lends itself to a fuller treatment than he could give it, and involves questions too profound and too fundamental for so compact and eminently readable a book as this is. A more psychological treatment might have been desired, but this would have meant a much more extensive survey; and we may prefer an array of data to a psychological treatise whose strength might, as is sometimes the case, lie in its technical ability rather than in a wide knowledge of the data themselves. Of course the difficulty here is to distinguish between dancing as an instinctive self-expression, a *joie de vivre*, sportive, an undifferentiated emotional non-rationalized manifestation, and, on the other hand, more conscious dancing for some fairly definite purpose. One hesitates to find the 'origin' of the dance in man's *desire* to imitate trees, &c. (p. 15): 'origins' had far better be eschewed; and when one talks of the 'sacred' as the origin, it is perhaps better to recognize that definite 'religious' impulses (whatever the 'religion' connoted) have directed, regularized, or shaped types of

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activity which were retained with or without necessary modification when they were taken over and adapted to 'secular' purposes—like the 'sacred' origin of the bull-roarer or of a mimic display. Nor is it very helpful, when continence in warfare is discussed, to say with Sir James Frazer that it was 'based on a superstitious, not a rational motive' (p. 175). Is this an 'either—or'? 'Rational' in the popular sense it may not be, but 'superstitious' is a term that explains nothing. What seems really to be needed is, first, the recognition that not unworthy feelings where the sex-life is concerned can be noticed even among savages, and second, that much more care must be taken as to what is meant by 'rational' and 'religious', and how far the one may cover the other.

The age is determining its vocabulary and rewriting its dictionaries. Religion is inextricably bound up with what the western mind would sever from religion, and sooner or later the question arises whether one must not start with the recognition that the varying relations between the religious and the non-religious forms of all comparable data—from a dance to a philosophy—is the fundamental problem of any methodology that claims to be truly philosophical.

The study of religion is a study of the growth of human behaviour, human mentality—of how men come to act and think as they do. Thus, many of our ideas of heaven and earth and of a supramundane existence take us back to very fundamentary beginnings and it is not without profit, therefore, to read a survey of some of them in the monograph by P. Ildefonse de Vuippens *Le Paradis Terrestre au Troisième Ciel* (Paris and Fribourg). It is a painstaking collection of the conceptions that prevailed among the early Christians and their Jewish and Babylonian forerunners. Out of a vast medley of beliefs he proceeds to weave a few strands, simplifying them by bringing out their essential features, and distinguishing between borrowing or inheritance, modification and originality. It is difficult to avoid reading earlier references in the light of the later, and the work of comparison is uncommonly delicate though exceedingly important. Thus it becomes possible that Plato's 'archetypes of things' is the rationalizing restatement by a Greek genius of a motion which had long been familiar in ideas of pre-existence, and of the heavenly origin of the earthly (cf. G. Buchanan Gray *Sacrifice* p. 151 sq.). What is said of the widespread belief in a Paradise past and future (pp. 38 sqq., cf. 87 sqq.) brings us at once into the midst of problems which divide scholars; and if we take the author's theory that the stories go back to the pre-dispersion stage of mankind and have remained untouched, in spite of the creative power of popular imagination, we thereby imply that they are, psychologically, of surpassing interest and value for the normal

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individual, they answer a deep need; and indeed they evidently hold so significant a place in normal human nature that the theory of common origin is really unnecessary. It would be quite as reasonable to argue that the ideas gradually spread after a dispersion stage during the hundreds or thousands of years that we may propose to ascribe to their antiquity; and in fact it would be quite as, if not more, reasonable to allow with M. de la Boullaye and others that ideas of this sort spring up naturally, independently, and stand in no need of any theory of external influence. However that may be, the 'third heaven' of St Paul proves to be neither Palestinian nor Babylonian. Jewish writers knew of seven heavens, and if we follow the old theory of seven concentric spheres with the earth in the centre, then, according as we proceed *from* the earth or *to* the earth, the third sphere would be Venus or Mars, though the writer thinks (p. 144) that the latter reckoning has the preference. Here it may be added that it is left for Dr Albert Gruhn, *Der Schlüssel zur Mythologie* (Schöneiche, Berlin), to urge that the biblical Paradise should be sought at the North Pole. After all, do not the coal seams of Spitzbergen point to an earlier equable climate? America is the Homoroka of Berossus (p. 38), and Labrador is composed of the article *la* + *brad* (= Phrath, Euphrates, firth, forth, fjord, &c.) + *or* (cf. Arabic *bahr* sea); Brussels is boreas-polis, though, we are told, 'whether Paris also belongs here is questionable' (p. 28).

A new edition of the Mishna with text, critical apparatus, translation, extensive notes and introduction, has already made some progress; and *Baba Mezia* by W. Windfuhr and *Schabbat* by Nowack lie before us (Töpelmann, Giessen). Carefully prepared and well printed, they are distinguished by their valuable notes and comments, which are fuller than was possible in Strack's smaller editions. The former of the two tractates deals with loans, contracts, and of course is of extreme interest for the economic life of the Jews. There is much of more popular interest, e. g. the cases where a landlord may not give his tenant notice (p. 94), or where the greedy labourer who eats too much of the farm produce 'shuts the door in his own face', viz. the door of a possible employer (p. 83). Points of contact with Roman law are noted. A more extended comparison with Semitic law would be useful, since the relative fullness (*a*) of Talmudic law, and of Babylonian, Assyrian, and Hittite codes, and (*b*) as implied by the Elephantine papyri, makes the relative scantiness of the 'Mosaic Legislation' stand in extraordinary contrast to what the busy life of the traders of Palestine must have required. Some pages have been torn out, and what we have in the O.T. is the beginning of a new chapter. Prof. Nowack's edition of *Sabbath* is distinguished by its important introduction which is intended

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to shew how the tractate is the last stage in a long developement, the earlier stages of which it is difficult to recover from the O.T. Was the Sabbath, as he thinks, the Full Moon? At all events the aim was *later* to set Israel apart from other peoples, and it became one of the chief characteristic features of Judaism. If this explains the remarkable meticulous discussions as to what was and what was not legitimate on the Sabbath, it is as unreasonable for us to comment adversely upon what may strike us as casuistry as it would be to criticize the time, mental energy, and money spent upon important legal disputes of to-day which may strike us as hair-splitting, though great principles—from a legal point of view—may be at stake. Of course there were concessions, legal fictions, and the like, but such an utterance as 'the Sabbath is given over to you but you are not given over to it' (p. 24, second century A. D.) did not leave its mark. Prof. Nowack naturally contrasts Jewish meticulousness with Mk. ii 27 and the 'prophetic' or Deuteronomic spirit (Deut. v 14). Yet it is not unfair to say that in the history of religion there is always a difference between the broad, generous principles of the founder, reformer, or seer and the 'Fence' which every organized and systematized religion erects about its own Law to preserve it. The essays of a Schechter and an Abrahams have been necessary reminders of what the Sabbath, with all its restrictions, could be to the Jews; and many of us doubtless treasure memories of a meticulousness as regards the Christian Sabbath which forbid us to throw stones.

Les Religions païennes et la Religion juive comparées (pp. lii + 438, Plon, Paris), by Prof. Albert Dufourcq of Bordeaux, now in the sixth edition, has already been noticed in these pages (for the third edition, see *J. T. S.* 1909, p. 626). It covers the Egyptian, Semitic, Indo-European (Persian, Greek, Roman), and Israelite religions, and is a fine achievement for a single writer. The volume now contains about a hundred additional pages of invaluable bibliographical information, wherein little of importance is overlooked. Even on this account alone the new edition will always be worth consulting, and we willingly ignore the extraordinary and deliberate anti-English effusion in the Preface (p. iv sq.) which comes strangely in a work part of a great series dealing with the past and future of Christianity.

The fourth edition of the well-known *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* (2 vols., Mohr, Tübingen) has several characteristic features. The founder, Chantepie de la Saussaye, who died in 1920, had already entrusted Prof. Edvard Lehmann of Lund with the task; and Prof. Alfred Bertholet who was associated with him afterwards became the chief editor. Prof. Lehmann leads off with a brief sketch of the study of the history of religions (22 pp.); the prominent part played by this

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country (Max Müller, &c.) is naturally recognized. But while notice is taken of the effect upon the study of researches in the lengthy and continuous history of Indian religion, too little is said of the influence of biblical or Semitic interests, and the resultant work of such scholars as Robertson Smith, Lagrange, or G. F. Moore. To the same writer is due an excellent account of the data of religion and the chief religious ideas (108 pp.). It is a valuable condensed survey, though whether the reader can gain a synoptic view of the whole field through it, is more doubtful. Among the good remarks upon the function of Sacred Writings something could have been said on the part played by the Bible in the philosophy of history, and in fact we expect more in this section on religious philosophy, or the religious *weltanschauung*, than we find. Prof. Ankermann (Berlin) deals concisely with the religions of the lower culture (62 pp.): it is entirely symptomatic of present-day writers that totemism is under a cloud and the religious-historical importance of totemism is said to be quite small. The present reviewer is distinctly in a minority! Dr Franke (Berlin) handles, also shortly, the Chinese (69 pp.), paying due attention to some of the important concepts, like *Li*, *Tao* (with which the Logos can in some respects be compared, i 203), &c. Chinese Buddhism is here included, though the rise of Buddhism in India is reserved for the chapter on India. Japanese religions (Shinto and Buddhism) are handled by Dr Florenz (Hamburg) at much greater length (161 pp.); one cannot but wish that China had been treated with corresponding generosity. Dr Lange (Copenhagen) writes on Egypt (73 pp.); he includes a novel and useful section on the various modern views of Egyptian religion; but we miss here and elsewhere notice of Alan Gardiner's important work. The 'Semites of the Near East' are from the pen of Dr Fr. Jeremias (151 pp.), who in his account of Babylonia and Assyria (110 pp.) introduces the reader to the 'astral' theory and method of interpretation. His treatment of Canaan, Syria, and Phoenicia is relatively scanty (Biblical religion, the religion of Israel, and Christianity are excluded from the scope of the volumes). Islam is by the well-known Arabic scholar Prof. Snouck-Hurgonje of Leiden (108 pp.). Prof. Sten Konow (Christiania) gives an admirable survey of the religions of India (198 pp.), and Persia (Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, 81 pp.) is handled by Prof. Lehmann who, by the way, is of those who date Zoroaster about 1000 B.C. (ii p. 207). Of no little individuality is the account by Prof. Martin P. Nilsson (also of Lund) of Greek religion (138 pp.). Prof. Deubner (Freiburg i. Br.) deals adequately with the Roman religion, including the late Oriental cults (88 pp.). It may be observed that here and elsewhere cross-references are, we believe, wanting, and readers must discover for themselves the light already thrown upon these cults by Prof. Jeremias. Prof. Brückner

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(Berlin) handles the Slavs and Letts (34 pp.), Prof. Grönbech (Copenhagen) the Germans (61 pp.), and Canon MacCulloch—the only writer from the farther west—the Celts (35 pp.). The whole makes an imposing result, and much though we miss cross-references and other editorial helps, Prof. Bertholet's remarkably good index (97 3-column pp.) considerably enhances the value of the work. The work is what it claims to be—the history of religion—there is a certain amount of overlapping and repetition (e.g. the fresh explanation of magic and tabu, ii 294), but those who will take the trouble carefully to compare the different chapters and correlate the leading ideas (e. g. the Egyptian *ka* and the Roman *genius*) will gain an admirable conception of the progress of the Science of Religion.

It is not too late to draw attention to the closely packed volume, of nearly 500 pages, of the *Semaine d'Ethnologie Religieuse*, at Tilbourg, September 6–14, 1922 (Enghien, Belgium, 1923). With such prominent Roman Catholic scholars as Pater Wilhelm Schmidt, Albert Carnoy, Capart, Junker, Pinard de la Boullaye, not to mention others, a fruitful session was to be expected, and the many and diverse papers here collected repay careful study. The conference was devoted partly to general introductory questions, and partly to special papers on (1) sacrifice, (2) rites of initiation. As a whole the papers are characterized by their repudiation of 'evolutionism' and their enthusiastic support of the current ethnological method of pursuing anthropology and comparative religion. While very rightly rejecting Morgan's theory of a primitive promiscuity and while opposing rigid mechanical ideas of a continuous upward developement, there was a tendency to rather over-elaborate theories of cultural cycles (e. g. the table, p. 477), which strike the unprejudiced reader as no less rigid and mechanical. And one's mistrust grows when this cultural key to human progress is stained with notions of solar and lunar stages of mythological thought (p. 353). There was also a tendency to over-emphasize the importance of the widespread belief, even among very primitive peoples, in a 'Supreme Being'. If Andrew Lang had right on his side and if his opponents were wrong, one now perceives that the data deserve a more measured treatment than is given them here. The belief is found among tribes who are on an excessively low stage of material culture, e. g. the Yagans, whom Darwin knew (pp. 316 sqq.), and among the Marinds of New Guinea, where the predominance of beliefs and usages of a crude sexual character is not less than remarkable (p. 389). The ethical and social *function* of the belief in a Supreme Being is vital for our study, and from the recent small though thoughtful brochure by Dr Paul Radin on *Monotheism among Primitive People* we can see that the consciousness of some elemental ultimate reality is neither more nor less significant

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than the conviction that death is not the end of all things, a conviction which may be associated with gross human sacrifice. More attention should certainly be paid to these 'Supreme Beings', but the facts do not warrant the particular emphasis often laid upon them. There was also a tendency at the Conference to decry the Comparative Method, and no doubt it often deserves it; but when we are asked to regard only 'real' points of resemblance or relation (e. g. p. 461), what is to be our criterion? For the present the exponents of the ethnological method are to the fore, and we must gladly admit that every new method that leads to the collecting and testing of facts is to be welcomed. But the method is ethnological and cultural; that it has anything directly to contribute to the study of religion is not always so evident. An analysis of material objects or of usages, for example, will lead to theories of different migrations, invasions, or waves of influence. Cultures are found to be of complex origin—are there any *pure* cultures anywhere?—and the theories which are formed to explain the points of contact are in their way not more reasonable than the old-time myths which satisfied the curious Greeks. It is significant that it is conspicuously the non-Egyptologists who find in Egypt the key to the history of human culture; and perhaps biblical students would be prepared to agree that, knowing what we do of actual migrations, invasions, and waves of influence, the great problems of religion still remain, and facts or theories of an ethnological character do not solve our problems. It is not unjust, therefore, to be more than a little sceptical when writers, in dealing with conditions less well known, on the strength of differences in culture, put forward easy and often sweeping theories of an ethnological type that can hardly be either proved or disproved.

All the tendencies just referred to reappear in M. Pinard de la Boullaye's second volume of his *L'Étude Comparée des Religions* (522 pp., Beauchesne, Paris), the first volume of which covered the history of the discipline (see *J.T.S.* xxv 108 sq.). In breadth and learning the new volume is as impressive as the first, and the detailed exposition of methods and principles is as opportune as it is unrivalled. The author considers the various introductory questions such as the distinction between Method and Doctrine; he surveys at length the different methods (comparative, historical, philological, the older and the newer anthropological—the difference is vital for him—and the psychological), he discusses their possibilities, limitations, and failures, and summarizes the results. Extended appendices deal with proof by convergence, and the difference between empirical and philosophical history. The work as a whole is characterized by its lucidity, fullness of reference, and abundance of quotation; it has a thoroughness and completeness sometimes bordering on the prolix, and, as a mine of erudition, its easy use

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is facilitated by admirably complete indexes (pp. 445–520). It goes carefully into questions which come naturally to a Roman Catholic writer, but they are questions which those who differ from him cannot overlook; and his criticisms of those who study religion as something pathological and abnormal are trenchant and not unfair. It is a conspicuous contribution, though like every other work on the subject it is to be read with discrimination. Taken in connexion with the *Semaine d'Ethnologie Religieuse* (above) it represents a general attitude which cannot be ignored. To say that serious students of religion cannot afford to neglect this work is one thing, but it is difficult to believe that it points the direction in which the study should move. Though it may readily be granted that there is an absence of order in the study as at present conducted, the aim should be towards a *scientific* or *critical* study of religions, even though the possibility of a science be sometimes denied (as on p. 12); for after all we have to deal with what have been or are accepted as ultimate facts, and the data of the world's religions, and also of the world's theologies and philosophies, surely admit of being handled with adequate sympathy and impartiality. On the other hand, M. de la Boullaye would argue that the last word rests with philosophy: though we start empirically, objectively, sooner or later the philosophers and not the historians, or the rest, must pronounce upon our evidence (pp. 19, 207, 275, 281, 407). This is to forget that the comparative study of philosophies is already a going concern, and is not confined to the school of Dilthey. It is of course true that the study of religions leads one to views of grave significance for one's religion, and these views may be valid or otherwise; but one's religious or other presuppositions may also consciously or unconsciously influence one's research, and these, too, may be of a sort helpful or detrimental. The distinction between Method and Doctrine then is of extreme importance, and here the learned author does not take us to the root of the problem.[1] Of course it is easy enough to enlarge upon the 'vicious circle' (e. g. pp. 88 sq., 430), and this always provokes a *tu quoque*; but we meet with the vicious circle everywhere, even in science—witness Prof. Eddington in *Science, Religion, and Reality* p. 205. To say that the study of religion leads us, *inter alia*, to the study of the 'vicious circle' is as true as the fact that it has repeatedly led to the recognition of much which, strictly speaking, lies outside religion proper and concerns logic and psychology. After all, the study of gods and demons is not rarely that of primitive theories of causation, the study of multiple 'souls' proves to be that of primitive psychology, the deeper knowledge of Divine Personality and that of Human Personality grows, as it were, side by side, and the greatest problems of religion are bound up with

[1] I may refer to Hastings *ERE*, Art. 'Religion' §§ 16 (iii), 17 (n. 1).

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the non-religious. M. de la Boullaye has some fine pages on originality and wherein originality lies (pp. 70 sqq.); but when it comes to the comparison of Christianity with other religions, there is a resort to the different 'nuances', which is convincing only to those who share his presuppositions. By appropriate emphasis upon the 'nuances' (p. 60) the most harmless comparison could be repudiated, but the author does not reject the method (cf. p. 275). On the contrary he has excellent remarks on the way in which comparative philology helps us to check the principles of comparison; and if the reader will correlate the different principles in the different methods he will greatly strengthen his weapons. For example, the cultural resemblances upon which the new anthropological school lay such stress *might* well be due to parallel, or converging developements (cf. pp. 122, 161), and the peculiarly individualistic traits which, one imagines, could hardly have been invented twice over, and are therefore ascribed to ethnical movements, *might*, like identical readings in a couple of otherwise unrelated manuscripts, be entirely without further significance. At all events, the 'comparative' study of the comparative and other methods is an invaluable training, and we are glad to see that the author admits that Bastian has some right on his side (pp. 61, 65, 270). Similarly, it is essentially the *évolutionnisme rigide*—and there is merit in the adjective—to which he objects; and with this all scholars would undoubtedly agree. After all, Neo-Thomism can scarcely repudiate a mode of thought which was so tellingly employed by St Thomas Aquinas—after his own manner, and in a way which was often not a little rigid.[1] And here, too, M. de la Boullaye shews himself wiser than many of the anti-evolutionists. His fine volumes, in particular his detailed study of method, are throughout stimulating, thought provoking, and challenging, but *the* book that is needed, though not less searching, must be wider in its scope, and we venture to think that a more powerful grasp of the nature, or, one may say, of the whole theory of religion, can be gained only by a more appreciative recognition of the interrelation between totemic and other rudimentary cults, at one end of the scale, and, at the other end, a readiness—the 'originality' of Christianity being freely and clearly apprehended—to apply the different methods of enquiry to its doctrines and history.

STANLEY A. COOK.

[1] e.g. Étienne Gilson *Le Thomisme* (tr. Bullough), on the principle of continuity, the principle of perfection, angelic hierarchies arranged according to degree of illumination, and so forth (pp. 156 sq., 273, and Index, *s.v.* Hierarchy).

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RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, January 1926 (Vol. ci, No. 202: S.P.C.K.). A. NAIRNE The Cambridge Platonists—J. C. DU BUISSON Missionary motives and methods: a discursive sketch—W. PERRY George Hay Forbes, Liturgist and Theologian—A. CRESPI An Italian philosophy of absolute immanence—C. JENKINS Sir Francis Walsingham —V. A. DEMANT Idolatry: its place and influence in religious history— R. HANSON A map of a mind—The Cambridge Ancient History vol. iii —Mediaeval and Tudor studies—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, January 1926 (Vol. xxiv, No. 2: Constable & Co.). J. S. MACKENZIE God as Love, Wisdom, and Creative Power— A. S. PRINGLE-PATTISON Prayer and Sacrifice as a commentary on man's ideas of God—J. BAILLIE The idea of Orthodoxy—A. CRESPI 'Actual Idealism': an exposition of Gentile's philosophy and of its practical effects—E. WILLIAMS The religious bearing of Bergson's philosophy—M. STOCKS The economic family and the economic man— R. F. RYND The social gospel—G. G. COULTON The stigmatization of St Francis: a reply to Dr Seton—M. B. WHITING 'A burning bush': a new light on the relations between William Cowper and John Newton —H. A. GARNETT A layman's second plea for the separation of the Creeds from Worship—E. HOLMES Tyrrell on 'the Church'—G. M. SARGEAUNT Dance and design in Greek life—J. M. C. CRUM The document 'Q'—W. D. HAMBLY The significance of corporal marking—Survey and Signed Reviews.

(2) BELGIAN.

Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique, January 1926 (Vol. xxii, No. 1: Louvain, 40 Rue de Namur). A. D'ALÈS Le schisme mélétien d'Égypte —E. DE MOREAU La plus ancienne biographie de S. Amand—CH. MARTIN Note sur l'homélie εἰς τὸν τετραήμερον Λάζαρον attribuée à S. Hippolyte de Rome—Comptes rendus—A la mémoire de S. É. le Card. Mercier—Chronique—Bibliographie.

Analecta Bollandiana, 1926 (Vol. xliv, Nos. 1 & 2): Brussels, 24 Boulevard Saint-Michel). H. DELEHEYE Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum bibliothecae Scholae Theologicae in Chalce insula—H. DELEHEYE La personnalité historique de S. Paul de Thèbes —R. P. BLAKE and P. PEETERS La passion géorgienne des SS. Theo-

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dore, Julien, Eubulus, Malcamon, Mocimus et Salamanes—M. COENS La Vie ancienne de sainte Godelive de Ghistelles par Drogon de Bergues—Bulletin des publications hagiographiques.

(3) AMERICAN.

The Princeton Theological Review, January 1926 (Vol. xxiv, No. 1: Princeton University Press). R. D. WILSON The headings of the Psalms—J. G. MACHEN The relation of Religion to Science and Philosophy—F. D. JENKINS Is Jesus God?—F. E. HAMILTON The rational argument for immortality—Notes and Notices—Reviews.

The Harvard Theological Review, January 1926 (Vol. xix, No. 1: Harvard University Press). H. WINDISCH Literature on the New Testament, 1921–1924.

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The Journal
of
Theological Studies

JULY, 1926

DOCUMENTS

EASTER SERMONS OF ST AUGUSTINE

SOME NEW TEXTS.

SCHOLARS who have studied the manuscript collections of St Augustine's sermons are aware that some rather large groups of discourses recur about the main liturgical feasts, that is, Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, and Pentecost. And, generally, the group is composed of authentic writings, although one may be obliged sometimes to disentangle it carefully from a few casual additions.

It is, indeed, somewhat difficult at this date to imagine the process by which the first collections of sermons have been developed and transmitted to us from the days of St Augustine's disciple and biographer, Possidius. We possess a great number of manuscripts, every one of which should be described, scrutinized, and compared with the others. At present, the best explanation seems to be that Caesarius of Arles, in the sixth century, played the foremost part in the preservation of African discourses. But, in fact, the whole question is still obscure and as yet practically untouched. It requires many diligent workers, and, more especially, skilled and cautious searchers in the continental libraries. The Benedictine editors of the seventeenth century have left us a precious concrete standard, owing to the intimate knowledge they had acquired of the thought and style of the doctor. But it now remains to recover and control the whole mass of manuscript material.

These theoretic reflexions are in place in presenting a new manuscript, and at first sight an unimportant one, which proves however to contain a group of authentic and still unpublished Easter sermons of St Augustine. I feel sure that no student acquainted with St Augustine's works will suspect for one moment the genuineness of these discourses. To read them or even to glance over them is quite enough. But it is possible to gather, either from the Biblical quotations or from the recurrent ideas and expressions, several arguments strong enough (I venture to think) to convince a fastidious doubter. For this purpose, I have added some observations immediately after the text of each sermon, but of course without pretending at all to exhaust the subject.

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It is rather a matter of stray examples. Lengthy comments would be quite out of proportion with these short sermons, and no more effective to convince an obdurate unbeliever.

In view of the main literary issue, apart from the question of authenticity, it will be convenient, first, to describe the MS and the relation of its contents to those of other similar documents, and then after the text of the sermons with the annotations already mentioned to survey the principal collections of the Easter sermons which have been preserved among the remaining works of St Augustine, and edited by the Maurists or others.

I.

The homiliary numbered 155 (formerly 133) in the town library of Orleans is a small volume of mean appearance, a good deal spoilt by damp, which came from the ancient monastery of Fleury-sur-Loire (or Saint-Benoît) and was probably written towards the end of the tenth century, except for a few later additions.[1] It now contains 237 pages (24 × 17); some others are wanting,[2] but the whole is sufficiently complete and clear.

Evidently, this scanty collection was designed to be used for the night offices of Christmas and Eastertide. At the very beginning, the traditional lessons from Isaiah for Christmas Day and the feast of the Epiphany are given, I believe according to the large homiliary of Paul the Deacon, where they are habitually present; three lessons that is, for each day.[3] Similarly about the middle of the book, we find lessons

[1] Namely: (1) After the initial lessons, a homily for the octave of the Epiphany on the text 'Venit Iesus a Galilaea' (Mt. iii 13): *In hac sancti euangelii lectione magna nobis domini saluatoris et beati Ioannis baptistae commendatur—et crucem subire non recusauit dominus ac saluator noster Iesus Christus dei filius q. c. p.* . . . This discourse originally belongs to the homiletic collection of the Auxerre scholars Haimo-Remigius; more precisely, it is found with the same attribution in three of the four main recensions which I have been able to distinguish. Only the fourth of these has been published, and that falsely under the name of Haymo, bishop of Halberstadt (*Patr. Lat.* cxviii). (2) Just before the Easter sermons, a well-known sermon 'de Pascha', ascribed to St Augustine, but rightly put among the 'spuria': *Passionem et resurrectionem domini et saluatoris nostri* . . . (*Patr. Lat.* xxxix, c. 2059, App. 160, about which more will be said in the second part). Both these items have been added by a hand of the eleventh century.

[2] At least one leaf or more is missing between p. 234 and p. 235. Moreover, some matter of the archetype, corresponding to several pages, has been overlooked by the copyist on p. 159: viz. the last part of Sermon ccxl and the first part of Sermon ccxli.

[3] (1) *Primo tempore, Consolamini, Consurge* (Isa. ix 1, xl 1, li 9); (2) *Omnes sitientes, Surge illuminare, Gaudens gaudebo* (Isa. lv 1, lx 1, lxi 10).

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from the Lamentations of Jeremiah,[1] and at the end a short supplement of other lessons, and a couple of hymns.[2]

The two intermediate parts are nearly equal. The first (pp. 15 sqq.) consists of seventeen sermons, which, if analysed, fall into two divisions. The first nine sermons constitute a remarkable group of St Augustine's sermons for Christmas, three of which are certainly unauthentic, and of these one is quite uncommon and, in fact, was only lately published for the first time.[3]

1.	*Castissimum*		App. Maur. 195
2.	*Audite filii*	Aug. cxciv	
3.	*Quis tantarum*		App. Maur. 121
4.	*Vnigenitus*	Aug. cxci	
5.	*Dominus Christus*	Aug. ccxvii	
6.	*Hodie f. k. caeli*		App. Mor. 1
7.	*Saluator noster*	Aug. ccclxix	
8.	*Filium dei*	Aug. clxxxviii	
9 (12).	*Laudem domini*	Aug. clxxxvii	

Now it is most interesting to observe that all these sermons are also contained in another homiliary of Fleury (Orleans 154), which dates from the eighth century,[4] and moreover just the same order is kept in both volumes, except that between the last two sermons (nos. 8–9) the older manuscript inserts three more authentic discourses.[5] In our

[1] *Quomodo sedet ciuitas, Peccatum peccauit, Abstulit omnes magnificos* (Thr. i 1, 8, 15).

[2] *Aperite portas et ingrediatur* (Isa. xxvi 2); then the hymns of Prudentius for Christmas and Epiphany: *A solis ortus cardine, Hostis Herodes impius*; and again, after the lacuna (see above) || *tium in torculari. Torcular calcaui solus* (Isa. lxiii 2, 3), *Petite reuertamur ad dominum* (Thr. iii 40).

[3] *Sancti Aureli Augustini Tractatus siue Sermones inediti ex codice Guelferbytano 4096 detexit adiectisque commentariis criticis primus edidit* GERMANUS MORIN, *O.S.B.*, Turici, MCMXVIII, pp. 167–169: 'Appendix', n. 1. I have noticed the same sermon in two other manuscripts of Fleury: Orleans 154 (see below) and Paris B.N. N. Acq. 2335, fol. 4 (which is a part of Orleans 145, stolen by the ill-famed Libri); besides, only in the famous lectionary of Luxeuil: Paris B.N. 9427, fol. 5, and in three collections of sermons: Montpellier Univ. 59, fol. 110^{v}; Paris B.N. 12405, fol. 26^{r} (from the old library of S. Germain des Prés); and Arsenal 471, fol. 14^{v}.

[4] It is one of our most important homiliaries; one part, stolen by Libri, is now at Paris B.N. N. Acq. 1598–1599. L. Delisle has described the complete volume, but not quite sufficiently for literary purposes; cf. *Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* . . . xxxi 1 (1884) p. 372 sq. The collection, which certainly consists of diverse elements, is closely connected with the manuscript of Wolfenbüttel (see above, and cf. *Revue des Sciences religieuses* ii, 1922, p. 274) and the homiliary of Ottobeuren (Cheltenham 8400).

[5] (9) *Hodie ueritas*: Aug. cxcii; (10) *Filius dei*: Aug. cxcv; (11) *Angelorum uoce*: Aug. cxciii. Again, after its number 12 (= 9 above), Orleans 154 has a last Christmas sermon of St Augustine, (13) *Gaudeamus fratres*: Aug. clxxxvi.

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other collections the same series is not found, but only some of the items.[1] The literary connexion is therefore quite certain. However, it is by no means certain that the later manuscript of Fleury depends on the former. On the contrary, some minor differences, particularly in the titles, tend to prove that the later compiler has employed

[1] The Wolfenbüttel manuscript, extensive as it is, has only numbers 3, 4, and 5 (nothing more for Christmas), though its kinship with Orleans 154 as far as the first sermon for Lent cannot be denied. Among the collections more or less related, I would quote, keeping the first thirteen numbers of Orleans 154:

(1) The important homiliary of Alanus Farfensis (little known as yet, however perfectly preserved and frequently used in France since the beginning of the ninth century) with no less than sixteen Augustinian sermons (followed by eight of St Leo); viz. App. [= Maur.] 128, App. Caillau 6 (= ps. Chrysol. cxlv), Mai cii (= ps.-Ambr. 45, §§ 3-6), *2, 1*, App. 125, App. 123 (= ps.-Fulgent. 36), App. 193, *7, 12, 8, 9*, App. 127, *13*, Mai lxxvii, 'Sanctus et sollemnis' (cf. ***Bibliotheca Casinensis*** ii 449 and ***Floril.*** 162).

(2) The second part of Cambridge Add. 3479 (from Saint-Mihiel, ninth century): with twelve Augustinian sermons, after the lessons for Christmas from Isaiah; viz. *2, 12, 3, 7, 10*, App. 128, App. 196 (= no. 13 of Orleans 155 and no. 14 of Orleans 154, see below), Mai lxxvii, *9, 4* ['Verbum patris'], Aug. ccclxx (= no. 20 of Orleans 154), Mai cxxxviii (nearly the same group is in a copy of Paul the Deacon, made at Corbie in the twelfth century, now Amiens 144).

(3) Paris, Arsenal Library 470 (twelfth century, foll. 24-35): an Augustinian series, certainly connected with the preceding, among items taken from Paul the Deacon: *2, 12*, App. 125, App. 123. *3, 7, 10*, App. 128, Mai lxxvii, *9, 4* ['Verbum patris'], Aug. ccclxx, Mai cxxxviii.

(4) Reims Library 296 (from Saint-Thierry, ninth century): a similar series of seven Augustinian sermons, among items taken from Paul the Deacon: *2, 12, 3, 7, 10*, Mai cxxxviii, *1*.

(5) Paris, B.N. 12405 (from Saint-Germain, tenth century): an Augustinian series, certainly related to the Alan collection: App. 128, App. 193, *13*, Leo xxii, App. 127, *9, 1*, App. 120, *6, 7*, App. 123, 'Natum domini dei filium', Paul the Deacon i 15, *5*.

(6) Vitry-le-François Library 3 (from Trois-Fontaines, twelfth century); there are two other very similar manuscripts, but incomplete, viz. Troyes 567 and St John's College, Cambridge, 21: a composite collection, parts of which are valuable; viz. for Christmas under the name of St Augustine: *12*, App. 117, *8*, Aug. ccclxx, Mai cxvi, *4* ['Verbum patris'], *9, 13, 7, 2*, Aug. clxxxiv, App. 128, Aug. clxxxv, *11*, 'Expectationem caritatis'.

I refrain from analysing completely the following collections, because of their complexity, interesting though they are: Arsenal 471 (with *1, 4, 7, 2, 6, 12, 8, 9*); Vendôme 42 (with *3, 2, 1, 4, 9*); Avranches 68 (with *1, 9, 2*); Troyes 653 (with *9, 2, 12*); Montpellier Univ. 59 (with, among several items of Alan and other pieces, *1, 12, 2, 3, 4, 6, 13, 11, 5, 10, 7*); Monte Cassino 12 (with *2, 12, 3, 7, 10, 1*).

Lastly, I may indicate a few of our sermons, as noteworthy interpolations, in two rather old books: Cambrai 365 (homiliary of Paul the Deacon), ninth century (with *2, 12, 7*); Chartres 507 (a legend), tenth century (with *3, 2, 4*).

A study of the Epiphany sermons should enable one to collect similar testimonies; but our small homiliary of Fleury is deficient in this part.

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another document for the same part. I would not try to make things clearer than they are; my only effort is to shew that, on the whole, we have in the small hŏmiliary of Fleury an assemblage, sometimes loose, of otherwise lost materials.

The remaining sermons of the first part (pp. 74–103) betray pretty well the mood of the redactor. On the face of it, the sequence is disorderly, incomplete, and heterogeneous. It includes exactly :—

four items more for Christmas Day, all very popular ones and borrowed, I surmise, from Paul the Deacon,[1] though the last one is in the older homiliary also;

only two items for the Epiphany: one attributed to St Augustine, but unauthentic, also contained in the homiliary 154; the other one of St Leo and given as such by Paul the Deacon;

one popular sermon, manifestly displaced, for Childermas, again taken from the collection of Paul;

finally, one sermon 'in Purificatione beatae Mariae', attested by the homiliary 154, but with the title 'de Circumcisione Domini',[2] and by the collection of Paul, but incompletely (viz. from the words 'Exultent uirgines' § 2).

Thus, after the first nine sermons, as tabulated above, in this section we have:

10. *Vos inquam conuenio*	[Quoduultdeus?] Sermo de symbolo 'Inter pressuras' §§ 11–17 (*P. L.* xlii 1117; cf. xcv 1470)	Paul D. i 10	
11. *Natalis domini*	Isidorus Hispal. *De eccl. officiis* i 26 (*P. L.* lxxxiii 761; cf. xcv . 1167)	Paul D. i 16	
12. *Cupientes aliquid*	Fulgentius Rusp. (*P. L.* lxv 726)	Paul D. i 19	
13. *Legimus sancto*	App. Aug. 245	Paul D. i 9	Aur. 154, n. 14
14. *Post miraculum*	*Barth. Vrb. Milleloquium* i 737; Caillau App. 17; *Bibl. Casinensis* i (*Floril.*) 149		Aur. 154, n. 21
15. *Celebrato proxime*	Leo magnus p. Sermo xxxi (*P. L.* liv 234)	Paul D. i 42	
16. *Zelus quo tendat*	'Seuerianus' Ps.-Chrysologus clii (*P. L.* lii 604 and Mai cix)	Paul D. i 34	
17. *Hodiernus dies*	Aug. ccclxx	(Paul D. i 65)	Aur. 154, n. 20

[1] I refer to the summary edition (imperfect though it is) of F. Wiegand *Das Homiliarium Karls des Grossen* (1897).

[2] On the contrary, we have it again for the Purification in Orleans 145 (no. 17 of the complete set). The same manuscript contains our numbers 10 and 11 (immediately after our 6, see above), that is, in the part now at Paris B.N. N.Acq. 2335; and a little farther on (in the part at Orleans) our no. 16, but in a better context according to the collection of Paul.

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The second part of the book, which I have marked out (pp. 125–232), consists of eighteen sermons for Easter and very probably depends, at least ultimately, on two original documents, because two particular sets are still observable, in the light of our literary evidence. The first series is formed of six sermons still unpublished and one already published by Cardinal Mai, from Roman manuscripts, in a large collection badly arranged and very untrustworthy.[1] It seems convenient to print these seven discourses together; especially since the work of Angelo Mai is not within every one's reach. The eleven sermons which follow these are already known, and are included in the Benedictine edition; but their present grouping is worthy of notice, as will appear from the last remarks on the Easter series.

The following is the list of the sermons contained in this part, all of them, it will be observed, authentic.

I.	1.	Om. in uigiliis Paschae	*Notum uobis est*	unpublished
	2.	Sermo ii	*Ammonet nos*	
	3.	Sermo iii	*Noctis illius*	
	4.	[Sermo] iv	*Ista fr. sancta*	
	5.	Sermo de s. Pascha	*Pascales dies*	
	6.	[Sermo] ii	*Semper quidem*	
	7.	[Sermo] iii (in diebus octauarum)	*Ad omnes quidem*	Mai lxxxix
II.	8.	[De dom. Paschae]	*Dominum nostrum*	Aug. cxix
	9.	De ii feria Paschae	*Per hos dies*	Aug. ccxl
	10.	(De iii feria Paschae)	[*Propria fides*][2]	Aug. ccxli

[1] *Noua patrum Bibliotheca* t. i (1852) p. 171 sq. The editor expressly mentions four manuscripts: Vatic. 4951, fol. 126^{v}, and 479, fol. 241^{v}; Urbin. 77, fol. 281; Ottob. 977, fol. 214. But he does not give any variants. Apparently he only uses the first MS, which is a volume of the twelfth century, from Rochester ('Liber de claustro Roffens(i) quem qui alienauerit alienatum celauerit . . . anathema sit. Amen': fol. 1^{r}), later appropriated by Card. Sirleto (see *ib.*, p. 150). Mai has taken from this manuscript a large number of so-called Augustinian sermons (nos. lxxvi–xcvi, xcviii–ci, civ–cvi). I shall describe it more exactly farther on, according to information sent me by Mr R. Devreesse, who has kindly examined the Paschal part on my behalf; from the beginning the whole collection looks like a much interpolated copy of the Paul Homiliary. The 'Ottobonianus', mentioned fourth, is of no value, being, with numbers 975, 976, and 978, only a very late reproduction of Vatic. 4951 (as I learn from a note by Mr R. Devreesse). The second 'Vaticanus' is a late copy of the famous collection made in France by Roberto de' Bardis (see below). The 'Urbinas' is late also, but valuable, as will more clearly appear below. I think this Urbin. 977 and also the Vatic. 4951 both represent an Augustinian collection used by Roberto de' Bardis. These three manuscripts therefore are connected with one another.

[2] The beginning of this sermon (down to the third line from the bottom of col. 1133 in *P. L.* t. xxxviii) is wanting, as I said before.

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11. [De] iv feria Paschae contra philosophos	*Diebus his*	Aug. ccxlii
12. De v feria Paschae	*Narratio resurrectionis*	Aug. ccxliii
13. De [vi][1] feria Paschae	*Liberatoris nostri*	Aug. ccli
14. De sabbato Paschae	*Apostolum Petrum*	Aug. cxlvii
15. De die dom. (octauarum) ad martyres[2]	*Cum lectio legeretur de libro*	Aug. cxlviii
16. Eadem die ad missam	'*Nuper promiseramus*' [= *Ne moras faciamus*][3]	Aug. cclx
17. (*inscriptio deest*)	'*Sicut audiuimus*' [= *Sic(ut) audistis*]	Aug. ccxxvi
18. De oratione dominica	*Ordo est aedificationis*[4]	Aug. lvii

In editing the texts I have kept as closely as possible to both the orthography and the punctuation of the manuscript. Its spelling, indeed, is not always consistent; but some very old usages were apparently preserved by scribes till the end of the tenth century, which is the age of our copy.[5] Therefore, it was preferable, on the whole, to respect the traditional text, since this causes no inconvenience as to the meaning. Of course, the modest *apparatus criticus* (numbered I in each case) states every notable detail. Summing up, I must own that, fortunately, I have not met with any real difficulties. Frequently, some letters or even words have disappeared with the margins, as the result of damp; but, in most cases, it has been easy to restore the parts which are wanting.

Numbers II and III of the notes give the Biblical quotations or allusions, and some literary references, in order to settle finally, as has been said before, the question of authenticity.

I.

INCIPIVNT OMELIAE IN VIGILIIS PASCHAE.

Notum uobis est, fratres carissimi, neque enim quod agitis ignoratis, ad hoc istam uigiliam domino dicatam et uigiliis omnibus quae ad dei cultum exibentur esse praelatam, quod in ea renouatur anniuersaria

[1] The number has been written by the reviser over an erasure.

[2] The manuscript gives 'de die domc ad martires . octauarum'.

[3] The only difference is '*Nuper pr.* acturi multa . . .', instead of the common text '*Ne moras faciamus* acturi m.'

[4] Our manuscript, with very good readings, is a useful witness. This sermon has been preserved in what I call the '*Alleluia*' collection (edited by J. Vlimmerius at Louvain in 1564); see below.

[5] In the last sermon (no. 18 of the last part), there is a clear sign both of antiquity and of accuracy; the copyist has written 'panis nō', certainly understanding *non*, but reproducing the old abbreviation for *noster*, which is the correct text (*P. L.* t. xxxviii, col. 389, line 9 from the bottom).

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sollemnitate memoria saluatoris, qui traditus est propter delicta nostra et surrexit propter iustificationem nostram,[1] ut uniuersa ecclesia eius, quo[d est] corpus eius,[2] cantare possit: EGO AVTEM EXVLTABO IN DOMINO ET GAVDEBO IN DEO SALVATORE MEO.[3]

Erit enim et nobis, huius saeculi nocte translata, resurrectio carnis, ad regnum cui[us] in capite nostro[4] praecessit exemplum. Propter hoc namque dominus uoluit nocte resurgere, quia, secundum apostolum, deus qui dixit de tenebris lumen claresc[ere] claruit in cordibus nostris.[5] De tenebr[is] ergo lumen clarescere significauit dominus nocte nascendo, nocte etiam resurgen[do]. Lumen quippe de tenebris Christus est de Iuda[eis], quibus dictum est: NOCTI ASSIMILAVI MATREM VESTRAM.[6] Sed in illa gente, tamquam in illa nocte, non fuit nox uirgo Maria, sed noctis quodammodo stella. Vnde et eius partum stella signauit,[7] quae longinquam noctem, hoc est magos orientis,[8] ut adorarent lumen, adduxit, ut et in ipsis fieret quod dictum est lumen de tenebris clarescere, ut concordarent etiam resurrectio et natiuitas Christi. Sicut in isto nouo monumento nullus est antea, nullus postea positus[9] mortuus; sic in illo utero uirginali nec antea mortalis est quisquam nec postea satus.

Quamuis igitur hac nostra uigilia non adhuc quasi resurrecturus dominus expectetur, sed resurrectionis eius annua sollemnitate memoria renouetur, tamen hoc celebrando ita praeterita recordamur ut aliquid etiam quod ex fide uiuendo[10] agimus hac eadem uigilia figuremus. Nam totum hoc tempus quo saeculum istud uice noctis excurrit oculis fidei in scripturas sanctas, tanquam in nocturna luminaria, intenta ecclesia uigilat, donec dominus ueniat.[11] Hinc est quod dicit apostolus Petrus: HABEMVS CERTIOREM PROFETICVM SERMONEM CVI BENE FACITIS INTENDENTES TAMQVAM LVCERNAE IN OBSCVRO LOCO DONEC DIES LVCESCAT ET LVCIFER ORIATVR IN CORDIBVS VESTRIS.[12] Propter quod et ipse saluator spiritalem uigiliam nobis imperat, ubi de suo repentino locutus aduentu: VIGILATE, inquit, QVIA NESCITIS DIEM NEQVE HORAM.[13] Sicut ergo nunc qui in nomine domini ad uos ipse uen[i], uigilantes uos in nomine eius inueni[14]; sic ipse domin[us], in cuius honorem celebratur ista sollemnitas, ecclesiam suam luce mentis inueniet uigilan[tem], quando ueniet,[14] ut etiam excitet eam in monumentis[15] corpore dormientem.

EXPLICIT (I).

I. *Pag. 125 in codice* 7 quod est] *littera* d *non omnino euanuit, sed uerbum* est *quod ex sensu conieci in margine totum stabat* 17 quodadmodo *prima manu* 41 *numerum addidi ad consonandum cum sequenti sermone*

II. [1] Rom. iv 25* (*VG. id est Vulgata siue Clementina editio*: resurrexit); *sic etiam Sermo vi noster, l. 2. Hic textus in Guelferbytanis tractatibus de Nocte Sancta, quos D. Germanus Morin detexit et edidit (Turici, 1918), bis etiam allegatur: iv 39 (ubi*

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propter peccata *et* resurrexit); *v 13* (*ubi etiam* resurrexit) [2] *Cf.* Col. i 24 [3] Hab. iii 18* (*VG.* e. a. in d. gaudebo et exultabo in d. iesu meo). *Ita*: (1) *Cypr. Ad Demetr. 20, sed inuertit* in dom. ex.; *ed. om.* et, *quod habent mss. RMB*; (2) *Aug. De Ciuit. xviii 32, sed inuertit et om.* et *ut Cypr.* [4] *Cf.* 1 Cor. xi 3 [5] 2 Cor. iv 6* (*VG.* lucem, splendescere, illuxit); *prior pars denuo l. 19 repetitur. Iisdem uerbis utitur Aug. in l. de Spir. et Litt. ii c. xviii 31. Locus hic ex parte alluditur in alio sermone de uigiliis Paschae, qui est n. ccxxiii*: quoniam ille qui iussit de tenebris lumen clarescere illuminauit eos [6] Os. iv 5*, *ex LXX*: *νύκτι ὡμοίωσα* (*pro quo VG* nocte tacere feci matrem tuam). *Pariter Hier. in Oseam* [7] *Cf.* Mt. ii 2, 9 *sq.* [8] *Ib.* ii 1 *sq.* [9] *Cf.* Mt. xxvii 60; Lc. xxiii 53 [10] *Cf.* Rom. i 17; Gal. iii 11, *etc.* (Hab. ii 4) [11] *Cf.* 1 Cor. xi 26 [12] 2 Pet. i 19*; *VG sex discrepantias profert*: (1) firmiorem, (2) attendentes, (3) quasi, (4) luc. + lucenti, (5) caliginoso, (6) elucescat. *Illo textu saepius doctor usus est: cf. In Ioh. xxiii 3 et xxxv 8; Gen. in litt. iv c. xxiii 40; In Ps. li 13, cxviii s. xxiii 1, cxliii 11; Serm. xlix 3 et ccx 6; denique Adn. in Iob i* (*ed. CSEL xxviii, p. 603, l. 25*): et lucifer *etc. tantum. Ex editionibus quas habes, huius sermonis discrepantiae pro numeris* 1, 5, 6 *semper probantur*; *n.* 2 *VG editionis raro datur* (*In Ioh. xxxv*); *e contrario*, lucenti (4) *additur, duobus locis exceptis* (*In Ioh. xxxv, Serm. xlix*); *n.* 3 *frequenter uariatur*: tamquam *ut supra* (*et sic Ps. clxiii, Serm. xlix et ccx*), *sed etiam* sicut, uelut, quemadmodum [13] Mt. xxv 13 [14] *Cf.* Lc. xii 37 [15] *Cf.* Ioan. v 28

III. *Idem argumentum de Christo* capite nostro (*l. 10*), *qui exemplar etiam praetendit, inferius adhibetur*: Euigilanti iam semper capiti suo decet dormitura adhuc membra interim consonarent... (*iv, l. 6*); caput nostrum pependit in ligno (*vi, l. 12*). *Similiter legis in Maurino cxlvi 1*: ... membra Christi, cogitate quale caput habeatis; *in Dionysiano vii 2*: Dilectissima membra corporis Christi expectemus caput nostrum uenturum de caelo, cui cohaerentes immobiles permanebimus; *in Dionysiano x 4*: In illo enim capite apparuit quod speretur in membris; *in Maiano lxxviii, qui est Morinianus ix*: Caput nostrum in cruce pendebat, sed membra sua in terra cognoscebat, *et hic habes eadem uerba ac supra in vi nostro.*

De uigilia Paschae quae uigiliis omnibus praefertur (*l. 2 sq.*) *et anniuersaria sollemnitate memoratur* (*l. 4, 25*), *cf. Morinianum iv 1 ubi de memoria Christi resurgentis tractatur*): sacratior et sanctior uigilia constituta est (*l. 8*), anniuersaria solemnitate celebret humana deuotio (*l. 10*), ut semper memoria retineret (*l. 17*), *etc.*; *etiam Maurinum ccxix de* matre omnium sanctarum uigiliarum.

II.

INCIPIT SERMO SECVNDVS.

Ammonet nos, fratres, tanta huius uigiliae claritas atque sollemnitas, anniuersario red[uce] renouatam memoriam dominicae resurrectionis inlustrans, recolere et agere quod ipse d[e] sua iam impendente passione discipulis dixit: VIGILATE ET ORATE NE INTRETIS IN TEMTATIONEM.[1]

Vigilemus igitur et oremus ne intremus in temtationem,[1] non ista nocte tantum, sed toto tempore uitae huius, quae in terra temtatio est. Sic enim scriptum est: NVMQVID NON TEMTATIO EST VITA HVMANA SVPER TERRAM?[2] Si ergo nihil est intrare in temtationem, nisi induci

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uel inferri in temtationem, idest decipi et capi uel quoquo modo temtatione, ut totum breuius dixerim, uinci, quid aliud faciendum est per totam noctem uitae huius, in qua nos per lucem fidei dies esse debemus,[3] quam id quod admonuit discipulos dominus: VIGILATE ET ORATE NE INTRETIS IN TEMTATIONEM[1]? Vigilia mentis est, ne fides dormiat, spes marcescat et caritas refrigescat.[4] Sed, fide uigilante, spe uigente, caritate feruente, [pe]r totum hoc tempus quo in huius saeculi nocte uersamur assidua oratione dicamus: NE NOS INFERAS IN TEMTATIONEM.[5] Sic agimus, ipso adiuuante, quod dominus ait: VIGILATE ET ORATE NE INTRETIS IN TEMTATIONEM.[1] Si uere in temtationem non est formidandum intrare, quando inde possumus et exire, secundum apostolum Iacobum dicentem: OMNE GAVDIVM EXISTIMATE FRATRES MEI CVM IN TEMTATIONIBVS VARIIS INCIDERITIS,[6] restat ut in eo sit spes quod apostolus Paulus ait: FIDELIS DEVS QVI NON PERMITTET VOS TEMTARI SVPER ID QVOD POTESTIS SED FACIET CVM TEMTATIONE ETIAM EXITVM VT POSSITIS SVSTINERE.[7] De is[to] exitu non absurde intellegi potest etia[m] sancto cantico nos esse commonitos, ubi legi[tur]: CVSTODIAT DOMINVS INTROITVM TVVM ET EXITVM TVVM,[8] ut, tamquam in fornacem uasa fictilia, non solum bene formata, nos pa[tiatur] intrare, sed etiam integra, inde ualea[mus] exire, sicut scriptum est: VASA FIGVLI PROBA[T] FORNAX ET HOMINES IVSTOS TEMTATIO TRIB[VLA]TIONIS.[9] Quod si res ita se habet, profecto qu[antum] discipulis dominus ait: VIGILATE ET ORATE NE IN[TRETIS] IN TEMTATIONEM,[1] tantum suae passionis pondus impendere cernebat, ut illos in illam temtationem nollet intrare, unde cernebat nondum idoneos ut sinerentur exire. Propter quod et beatissimo apostolo Petro iam dixerat: NON POTES ME SEQVI MODO SEQVERIS AVTEM POSTEA.[10] Qui cum se non solum sequi, uerum etiam praecedere iam posse crederet, dicens: ANIMAM MEAM PRO TE PONAM,[11] ualidis dominicae passionis incumbentibus uentis et mare quo nauigabant uehementer alteque turbantibus,[12] unius fuisset ancillae interrogatione[13] [d]emersus, nisi continuo lacrimis,[14] misericordia [im]petrata, domini esset dextera liberatus. Vigilemus [e]rgo, fratres, et oremus ne intremus in temtationem[1] [qua]m sustinere non possimus, et in quamcunque [in]trauerimus uel dato exitu sustinere uel data [sus]tinentia exire possimus, ut non in temta[ti]onem sine exitu ingressi, sicut pedes in com[pe]des, sicut fera in retia, sicut aues in laqueos [i]nseramur.

Quod ne patiamur, nobis ille praestabit cui cantauimus domino.[15] GLORIOSE ENIM MAGNIFICATUS EST[15] qui nobis in lauacro regenerationis[16] iam quod cantauimus prestitit. EQUUM ET EQUITEM PROIECIT IN MARE.[17] Vniuersa enim peccata nostra preterita quae nos uelut a tergo insequebantur summersit[18] et deleuit in bapt[ismo]. Quas tenebras nostras, uelut sua iumenta, hoc est adiumenta, inmundi spiritus regebant et,

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uelut equites, quo uolebant agebant. Et ideo ipsos rectores tenebrarum harum dicit apostolus.[19] Quibus quoniam caruimus per baptismum, tamquam per mare rubrum, hoc est crucifixi domini sanctificatione sanguineum, non conuertamur corde in Aegyptum[20], sed per alias herem[i] temtationes ipso protectore atque rectore tendamus ad regnum. 55

EXPLICIT DE VIGILIIS II.

I. *Pag. 127* 3 *pro* reduce *alia conicies, si placuerit* 5 temptationem *correxit altera manus, et sic plerumque deinceps in hoc sermone* 11 temptationem *prima manu* 23 intentionibus *sic prima manu* 33 temptationem *prima manu* 41 lacrimimisericordia *sic prius scriptor notauerat, postea literam* s *interposuit; forsitan uox* lacrimans *sententiae congrua fuisset* 44 possumus *cod.* 46 recia *cod.* haues *cod.* 47 laqueo *cod.* 52 submersit *secunda manus corr.* 57 cotde *sic prima manu*

II. [1] Mt. xxvi 41* (*VG* ut non); *quinquies inferius recursat* (*ll. 7, 14, 19, 33, 42*). *Item* ne *usurpant, domno Sabatier teste, Tert., Hil., Ambr., Ps.-Prosp., Fulg.; sane miraris Aug. loca non afferri. Sed saltem domni G. Morin tractatus habes: iv 3, 46; vi 4; xxxiii 117; et cf. in antiqua serie Serm. ccxxii* [2] *Iob* vii 1, *ex LXX*: Πότερον οὐχί, πειρατήριον (*pro quo VG asseueranter*: Militia est u. hominis s. t.). *Et sic Aug. In Iob i 7; Ep. clxxxix 8; In Ioh. cxxiv 5; Ciu. Dei xix 8 et xxi 14* [3] *Cf.* Eph. v 8; 1 Thess. v 8, *etc.* [4] *Cf.* Mt. xxiv 12 [5] Mt. vi 13* (*VG* inducas). *Cypr., Ambr., Arn.* patiaris induci *legerunt* (*cf. Aug. Serm. Dom. ii 30*); *at Aug. constanter ut supra* (*cf. Sabatier iii 34*[1], *qui tamen non omnes locos recitat: paucos addidi*): *Ep. cxxx 22, clvii 5, clxxvi 2; In Ps. cxviii, s. xv 2; Serm. Dom. ii 15 et 30; In Ioh. lii 9, liii 8, lxxiii 4; Serm. lvi 8; Morinianus xxxiii, l. 116; Enchir. 115; Pecc. mer. ii 4* [6] Iac. i 2* (*VG* tentationes uarias) [7] 1 Cor. x 13*; *sex discrepantiae in VG*: (1) Fid. + autem, (2) deus + est, (3) permittet] patietur, (4) supra [*sed re uera omnes antiqui testes* supra *retinent*], (5) etiam c. temt., (6) exitum] prouentum. *Ex Serm. Dom. ii 34, ubi locus hic de Mt. vi 13 etiam adducitur, forsitan Vulgatae editionis textum Augustinus nouisset; insuper, diuersum alium textum* (*cum* sinet, supra quam, ferre) *inuenies in Mend. xxi 43. Sed formam nostram habes in Ps. cxviii, s. xv 2; Trin. xiii 20* (*exc.* supra); *Ep. clvii 5* (*exc.* fid. + enim, permittat) [*ubi similiter de Mt. vi 13*]; *deinde, cf. Serm. ccxxiii* [*id est de uigiliis Paschae*] (*cum* fidelis est + enim); *Ep. clxxvi 2 et Bon. Viduit. xvii 2* (uos permittat); *Serm. xv 4* (uos permittit supra); *De s. Virginit. 47* (fid. enim, permittat, faciat); *In Ps. xxxi s. i 9* (uos non p., supra quam, faciat) [8] Ps. cxx 8* (*VG* Dom. cust.) [9] Eccli. xxvii 6; *locus idem in Morinian vii qui de Pascha est refertur l. 53, sed praecipua causa differt* [10] Ioa. xiii 36* (*VG* modo sequi) [11] *Ib.* 37 [12] *Cf.* Mt. xiv 24, 30 [13] *Cf.* Mt. xxvi 69 [14] *Ib.* 75 [15] Ex. xv 1[a], 21[a] [16] *Cf.* Tit. iii 5 [17] Ex. xv 1[b], 21[b] (*VG* equitem] ascensorem; deiecit). *Item Aug. in Serm. cclxiii; e contrario Ambr.* ascensorem [18] *Cf.* Ex. xv 4 [19] Eph. vi 12 [20] Act. vii 39

III. *Similiter de uigilia et oratione in nocte Paschae, ne intrent fideles in temtationem, cf. Serm. ccxix; atque, largius, de beneficio quod homines temtati ab oratione exspectare debent, cf. Confess. l. x 5 et 28.*

De submersis *et* deletis *peccatis secundum canticum Exodi* (*cf. supra n. 17*), *etiam legimus in ultimo sermone* (*vii 8 sq.*). *Atqui idem commentum in Serm. cccl xiii 2 datur*: Nobis enim mortui sunt qui nobis iam dominari non possunt, quoniam ipsa delicta nostra, quae nos illi subditos fecerant, lauacro gratiae sanctae liberatis nobis, tamquam in mari submersa atque deleta sunt.

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III.

INCIPIT SERMO ALIVS DE HOC IPSO III.

Noctis illius, fratres karissimi, qua dominus Iesus Christus resurrexit a mortuis annuam sollemnitatem hac uigi[lia] celebramus. Non nunc doceo; sed scientes, ne obliuiscamini, admoneo. Sicut enim ipsa celebritas, suo sollemniter tempore adueniens, non id agit ut insolitum aliquid nouerimus, sed ne id quod nouimus obliuiscendo deleamus,—renouat enim memoriam, non inserit scientiam,—ita et sermo noster, etiamsi non promatur ad ignaros, tamen quaerit attentos, quia, etsi non id agat ut quod nescitis audiatis, uolo tamen agat ut recordemini cum iucunditate quae nostis.

Vigilemus ergo et oremus, ne intremus in temtationem.[1] Aduersarius enim noster tamquam leo rugiens circuit quaerens quem deuoret.[2] Sed leo ille de tribu Iuda,[3] de quo tanto ante praedictum est: ASCENDISTI RECVMBENS DORMISTI SICVT LEO QVIS [SV]SCITABIT EVM?[4] in crucem, cum pateretur, ascen[dit], quia uoluntate miserantis, non peccantis [ne]cessitate suspensus est. Recumbens dormiuit, quando inclinato capite, tradidit spiritum[5]; sicut leo [au]tem, quia et in ipsa infirmitate fortis fuit. Quod enim infirmum est dei fortius est hominibus.[6] Denique moriendo uiuificauit et mortem morte consumsit. Quis suscitauit eum, nisi inuisibilis deus? Ideo enim QVIS,[4] quia humanis non apparet asp[ec]tibus, sicut etiam ipsum cum patre inuisibili unigenitum uerbum dei.[7] Ergo illum suscitauit a mortuis et donauit ei nomen quod est su[per] omne nomen, ut in nomine Iesu omne genu flectatur[8] et leo quaerens deuorare[2] a leone quaerente liberare uincatur.

Vigilemus ergo et oremus, ne intremus in temtationem.[1] Vigilemus illi qui dormiuit sponte pro nobis. Dormiuit enim et somnum cepit et exsurrexit, quoniam dominus suscepit eum.[9] Cui dixerat: ET SVSCITA ME ET REDDAM ILLIS.[10] Qui saeuituris et morienti insulturis inimicis in prophetia dixit: NVMQVID QVI DORMIT NON ADICIET VT RESVRGAT?[11] Ergo qui do[rmiens] etiam euigilauit et sibi euigilanti istam nostram uigiliam consecrauit. Vigilemus et oremus n[e] intremus in temtationem,[1] quoniam ille uigilauit et factus est sicut passer singularis in tecto.[12] Ideo resurrexit et in altum uolauit et pro nobis unic[us] interpellat in caelo.[13] Huic tam magno interpe[llanti] preces demus. Prestat cum patre quod postularit a patre, quia mediator est et creator: mediator ut poscat, creator ut tribuat; mediator factus in mundo, creator per quem factus est mundus. Fidelissimo igitur et fidissimo affectu, ei mente sobria uigilemus[14] eique orationem quam docuit[15] allegemus, ut quod faciendum iussit ipso adiuuante ualeamus, quod accipiendum promisit ipso dante sumamus.

EXPLICIT DE VIGILIIS (III).

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I. *Pag. 131* 3 *fortasse* uos *post* non *supplendum* 5 ut *supra lineam a reuisore quodam additum* 8 promitur *cod.* 9 agit *cod.* 13–14 ascenditi, dormiti *sic prima manu* 21 inuisibile *cod.* 24 quaerenti *cod.* 41 III *addidi ex praecedentibus*

II. [1] Mt. xxvi 41*; *item inferius l. 25 et 31; cf. Serm. ii, l. 5* [2] 1 Pet. v 8 [3] *Cf.* Apoc. v 5 [4] Gen. xlix 9* (*cf.* Num. xxix 9); *at VG*: recumbens] requiescens; dormisti (ἐκοιμήθης)] accubuisti; sicut] ut. *Confer Aug. c. Faustum xii 42 et Ciuit. D. xvi 41; in utroquo loco* ut *probat; sed eumdem textum nostrum habes in Dionysiano iv et Moriniano iv (l. 43). Cypr. autem legit*: Recubans obdormisti uelut leo, *et similiter Hil.* Procidens dormisti ut; *e contrario Ambr., Iunil. (qui habet* sicut), *Ps.-Prosp., eisdem uerbis quibus Aug. utitur.* [5] Ioan. xix 30 [6] 1 Cor. i 25 [7] *Cf.* Ioan. i 1, 14, 18 [8] *Cf.* Phil. ii 9–10 [9] *Cf.* Ps. iii 6* (*VG, id est Gallicanum quod appellant Psalterium*: somnum cepi] soporatus sum, quoniam] quia; *Romanum autem Psalterium* resurrexit *dat, etiam* suscipiet *ex editione, sed uetustiores Anglici codices* [*Vespas. A. i, Reg. 2. B. V.*] suscepit *testantur*). *De quo Augustiniano textu, cf. D. Morin notulas ad iv, l. 33, vi, l. 11* [10] Ps. xl 11* (*VG* resuscita, retribuam, eis). *Item Aug.: In Ps. xl 12* (suscita 1/3); *In Ioh. x 11* (excita); *Morinin. vi, l.* 37 (suscita) [11] *Ib.* 9 [12] Ps. ci 8* (*VG ex Gallicano textu* solitarius); *cf. Aug. In Ps. ci 7, ubi etiam* in tecto; *in Morinin. vi, l. 31* super tectum *explicat*; *Rom. Psalterium aliter dicit*: unicus in aedificio [13] *Cf.* Rom. viii 34 [14] *Cf.* 1 Pet. v 8 [15] *Cf.* Lc. xi 1

III. *De exordio*: . . . sed ne id quod nouimus obliuiscendo deleamus (*l. 6 sq.*), *cf. Morinianum iv, qui est* '*de nocte sancta*' *i*: . . . anniuersaria solemnitate celebret humana deuotio ne delere permittat obliuio (*l. 10 sq.*).

Locus Geneseos xlix 9 pariter exponitur in libris contra Faustum (*cf. supra n. 4*): Falsa sint ista . . . si non ascendit in cruce recumbens, cum inclinato capite reddidit spiritum; si non dormiuit ut leo, quia et in ipsa morte non est victus, sed uicit; . . . si non ille eum suscitauit a mortuis quem nemo hominum uidit nec uidere potest; *et postea in libris de Ciuitate Dei* (*cf. ib.*): Exposui haec aduersus Manichaeum Faustum . . . ubi et mors Christi praedicta est uerbo dormitionis et non necessitas, sed potestas in morte nomine leonis. . . . 'Recumbens dormisti', euangelista exponit ubi dicit: 'Et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum.'

Denique, locorum eadem series in Moriniano vi, uel de Nocte sancta iii, mire recolligitur: Mt. xxvi 41; Ps. iii 6; Ps. xl 9 et 11; Ps. ci 8; Rom. viii 34; Gen. xlix 9; Apoc. v 5. *Causa enim de uoluntario Christi somno agitur. Praesertim in Moriniano notabis*: Vigilauit et factus est sicut passer singularis super tectum, id est super caelum, ubi interpellat pro nobis; *cf. nostrum ubi eadem sententia fulget* (*l. 32 sq.*); *etiam cf. Enarrat. in Ps. ci, s. i 8.*

IV.

INCIPIT ITEM ALIVS DE HOC IPSO IIII.

[Is]ta, fratres, sancta celebritas quae noctem tollit ex nocte, fugans his luminibus tenebras et fidem nostram tamquam diem cordis exhilarans, in memoria [ge]ritur, sicut scitis, resurrectionis domini nostri Iesu Christi. Quid enim fieret conuenientius quam [ut] illius ex mortuis euigilationem nostra uigi[li]a frequentaret? Euigilanti iam semper capiti suo [de]cet dormitura adhuc membra [1] uigilando [in]terim

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consonarent, et ipsa similiter euigilatura [atque] cum illo sine ullo somno uigilia perpeti regnatura. Decenter enim certo tempore signat tanta festiuitas quod sine fine temporis habebit aeternitas. Vigilemus ergo uigilan[ti] Christo et parumper, quantum possumus, abstineamus a somno in honorem eius quem non tenet somnus. Simus in eius custodia, secundum spiritum uerus Israhel.[2] Non enim dormiet neque dormitabit qui custodit Israhel.[3] Huic custodi peruigili a[n]niuersaria sollemnitate uigilantes, cor nostrum in eius manu fidei uinculo religemus, ut hac religione suspensum ab eo qui ne[s]cit dormire non cadat, donec toti atque integri, m[or]talitate et corruptione consumta, in eius conpag[ine] colligamur, ubi nec nos ulterius dormire uel dor[mita]re possimus.

Hic est fructus uigiliarum nostrarum, hic finis intentorum non carnis, sed spiritus oculorum, hoc frenandi et conpescendi somni iustum sanctumque propositum, haec portati laboris et excita[ti] amoris incorruptibilis merces, ut ille cui paululum torpori terreno reluctando uigila[mus] det nobis uitam, ubi sit uigilia sine labore, sine nocte dies, sine somno requies. Non ergo uigilare laudabile est. Nam uigilant et latrones; sed eo fine ut insidiantes somno maritorum ad eorum coniuges lenocinante nocte perueniant. Vigilant et magicarum artium sectatores; sed eo fine ut daemonibus seruiant et eorum auxilio nefanda committant. Longum est et non necessarium omnium sceleratorum commemorare uigilias. Sed, ut de quibusdam uigiliis etiam innocentibus loquar, uigilant opifices, agricolae, nautae, piscatores, uiatores, mercatores, quarumque rerum administratores, iudices, causidici, litterarum emptores et uenditores, potestate praediti, potestatibus subditi, et quidquid est artium uel industriae quo humana uita transigitur; sed eo fine ut terra ab [a]duenis suis, celeritate uaporea[4] transituris uel commodius uel decentius incolatur. Denique omnium ita uigilantium finis et inlicitus aeterna morte damnatur et licitus temporali morte consumitur. Finis autem legis Christus ad iustitiam omni credenti,[5] cuius non intuitu uigilamus. Finis est perfectionis, uindicans a fine siue damnationis siue consumtionis. Itaque illi, uel noxie uel innoxie uigilando, periturum tamen intuentur et adpetunt finem. Noster autem finis non habet finem. Denique illi uigilant in ea re ad quam peruenire desiderant, non habituri permansionem. Nos autem uigilamus et oramus ne intremus in temtationem.[6] Sic enim uincimus nostri itineris insidiatorem, sic apprehendimus apud[7] quem permanebimus saluatorem.

EXPLICIT DE VIGILIIS PA[SCHAE].

1. *Pag. 134* 3 is *prima manu* 11 parum, per *cod.* 17 consumpta *secunda manu* 21 set *cod.* sonnii *cod.* 40 noxiae, innoxiae *cod.* 45 aput *prima manu*

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II. [1] *Cf.* 1 Cor. xi 3 *sq.* (*et superius uide ad Serm. i, l. 10*) [2] *Cf.* 1 Cor. x 18; Gal. vi 16 [3] Ps. cxx 4* (*VG* dormitabit n. dormiet; *sed* obdormiet *in Romano Psalterio*). *Cf. Aug. in Ps. cxx 6, qui habet ex editione Maurinorum*: dormiet neque dormitabit 1/5, dormitabit n. obdormiet 4/5; *sed Morinianus vi similiter legit* (*l. 32*): quia non dormiet neque dormitabit qui custodit nos, *propter quod supra dictam editionem non sane certam esse suspicaris* [4] *Cf.* Iac. iv 15 [5] Rom. x 4 [6] Mt. xxvi 41*; *cf. Serm. ii, l. 6; iii, l. 11.*

III. *De* euigilatione *Domini* (*l. 6 sq.*) *et aeterna Christianorum* uigilia (*l. 9, 18, 24*), *cf. etiam Morinianum iv, l. 37, 43. At de fine uigiliarum* (*l. 20 sq.*), *cf. Serm. ccxix Maurinorum*: Vigilat ergo ista nocte et mundus inimicus et mundus reconciliatus, *et cetera.*

V.

SERMO DE SANCTO PASCA.

Pascales dies celebrantibus nobis quo[rum] pascha immolatus est Christus,[1] adhuc Iudaei, tam lucidae huius manifestationis inimici, nocturnas quasdam figuras agunt et die declinato adhuc somniant. Nam et ipsi pascha celebrare se dicunt et, dum peruerse sectantur umbras ueritatis, nocte caecantur erroris. Ouem per singulos annos ritu antiquae sollemnitatis occidunt et quid illa ouis significabat, etiam Christo a suis occiso parentibus, non agnoscunt. Dum legunt dixisse, et non intellegunt[2] praedixisse, audiunt, cum dicta recitantur, nec uident, cum praedicta conplentur. Habent legem et profetas[3]; et quid lex de pascha figurauerit nolunt agnoscere per profetas. Lege praecipiente, populus ouis occisione pastus est[4]; profeta prae(dic)ente, Christus sicut ouis ad immolandum ductus est.[5] Quod priores Israhelitae liberati ab Aegipto festiuitate figurauerunt, hoc posteriores captiuati a diabolo iniquitate fecerunt. Iam et ipsum pascha agebant, quando ab eis interfectus est Christus.[6] A ueritate discordabat impietas et concordabat cum ueritate sollemnitatis. Tunc in eorum escas ouis mactabatur, quando eorum linguis et dentibus[7] Christus occidebatur. Quod more significabant scelere implebant. Vnde ipse Christus, in pecore figuratus, in homine expressus, illos occidit epulatos, non pascit occisos. Et adhuc filii eorum, uetus patrum suorum fermentum indigesta uanitate ructantes, de azymis gloriantur, nec intellegunt illo cibo, sine uetustate fermenti consparso,[8] nouam significari uitam, quae praesignata in tipo reuelatur in Christo.

Nos ergo quorum pascha immolatus est Christus[1] diem festum, ut ait apostolus, celebremus non in fermento ueteri neque in fermento malitiae et nequitiae, sed in azymis sincerita[tis] et ueritatis,[8] ut quod legitima antiquitas praenuntiabat futurum christiana celebritas ostendat impletum, atque ita illos in umbris remansisse uideamus, nos luci adhesisse gaude[amus].

EXPLICIT I.

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I. *Pag. 137* 12 proph. *cod.*, *sed cf. 10* praedicente] praecipiente *cod.* 16 dicord. *prima manu* impietas] *scriptor addidit* et concordabat impietas, *quae uerba a reuisore deleta fuerunt* 19 more] *uidetur reuisor correxisse* in ore 20 apulatur *prima manu*, aepul. *secunda* et *add. reuisor* 21 occisus *cod.* 28 crist. *cod.* 30 athes. *cod.*

II. [1] *Cf.* 1 Cor. v 7; *item inferius l. 25* [2] *Cf.* Mt. xxiv 15 *etc.* [3] *Cf.* Mt. v 17; vii 12, *etc.* [4] *Cf.* Ex. xii 3 *sq.* [5] *Cf.* Is. liii 7* [*cf.* Act. viii 32 : ad occisionem ductus est]; *VG* ad occisionem ducetur. *Pariter Aug.: Peccat. Mer. i 27; Ciu. Dei xviii 29, xx 30; Ep. cv 15; In Ps. xl 13: In Ioh. xxxv 7, xxxvii 10; Serm. xliv 6; Dionysian. iv; Morinian. xvi, l. 33. Sed in C. Adu. Legis ii 12, saltem ex Maurina editione, Vulgatae uersionis textus praebetur* [6] *Cf.* Ioan. xviii 28 [7] *Cf.* Ps. lvi 5 [8] *Cf.* 1 Cor. v 7–8

III. *De occisione linguis Iudaeorum perpetrata* (*l. 18*), *cf. In Ps. lvi* 12, *lxiii 2; In Ioh. cxiv 4; Morinian. vi, l. 25, etc.*

VI.

INCIPIT II.

Semper quidem, fratres, meminisse debetis quod Christus traditus est propter delicta nostra et surrexit propter iustificationem nostram,[1] maxime tamen his diebus tantae gratiae commoniti, quibus hoc ipsum quod semel factum est[2] anniuersaria celebritate non permittimur obliuisci. Fide informati, spe firmati, caritate inflammati, sollemniter temporalia frequentemus, indesinenter desideremus aeterna.

Si enim deus proprio filio non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit eum, quomodo non etiam cum illo omnia nobis donauit?[3] Christus passus est; moriamur peccato. Christus resurrexit; uiuamus deo.[4] Christus transit de hoc mundo ad patrem[5]; non hic hereat cor nostrum, sed ad superna sequatur. Caput nostrum[6] pependit in ligno; concupiscentiam carnis crucifigamus.[7] Iacuit in sepulchro; consepulti[8] praeterita obliuiscamur.[9] Sedet in caelo; dessiderium ad sublimia transferamus. Venturus est iudex; iugum cum infidelibus non ducamus.[10] Resuscitaturus est etiam cadauera mortuorum; meritum mutando corpori, mutata mente, faciamus. Posturus est malos ad sinistram, bonos ad dexteram[11]; locum nobis operibus eligamus. Regni eius non erit finis[12]; finem uitae huius minima timeamus. Tota eruditio pacis nostrae in eo est cuius liuore sanati sumus.[13]

Quapropter, carissimi, horum omnium perseuerantissima meditatio sit nobis paschae cotidiana celebratio. Neque enim dies istos ita praecipuos habere debemus ⟨ut⟩ passionis et resurrectionis dominicae memoriam neglegamus, cum corpus eius et sanguinem cotidianas epulas habeamus. Verumtam[en] ista festiuitas clarius commemorat, feruent[ius] excitat, laetius innouat, quoniam facti recordationem ipsis

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quodammodo aspectibus annuo temporum circuitu representat. Agite ita festum transiturum atque uenturum regn[um] semper cogitate mansurum. Sic enim, sic nos exhilarent praetereuntes dies quibus Christi passionem et resurrectionem deuota sollemnitate recolimus.

Quo modo beatificabit ⟨deus⟩ aeternus, ubi eum uidebimus et cum eo permanebimus, quem nunc desiderando et sperando gaudemus. Quantam dabit exultationem ecclesiae suae, cui regeneratae per Christum tollit quodammodo carnalis naturae praeputium, hoc est natiuitatis opprobrium. Hinc dictum est: ET VOS CVM ESSETIS MORTVI IN DELICTIS ET PRAEPVTIO CARNIS VESTRAE VIVIFICAVIT CVM ILLO DONANS NOBIS OMNIA DELICTA.[14] SICVT ENIM IN ADAM OMNES MORIVNTVR SIC ET IN CHRISTO OMNES VIVIFICABVNTVR.[15] Quocirca in Christi baptismo reuelatur quod in ueteris circumcisionis umbra tegebatur. Et hoc ipsum ad eandem circumcisionem manu factam[16] nihilominus pertinet, cum carnalis ignorantiae tollitur tegmen. CVM TRANSIERIS— inquit—AD CHRISTVM AVFERTVR VELAMEN.[17]

EXPLICIT II.

I. *Pag. 140* 9 illo *add. a reuisore* 12 sequamur *prima manu* 17 facamus *sic prima manu, ut uidetur* 18 nobis] *an coniciendum* bonis *?* 24 ut *suppleui* 27 laetitius *prima manu* 28 circuiture pres. *cod.* 29 uenturum] et *add. scriptor, expunxit reuisor* 30 exhilarant *corr. reuisor* 32 deus *suppleui; si totam rem animaduertas,* dies, *quod fortasse scriptor in mente habuit, cum sequentibus non congruere uideris* 38 delicta] debita *cod., quae lectio ab omnibus testibus contradicitur* 43 *probabilius legendum* auferetur, sed Christum *pro* dominum *uel* deum *retinendum, ut inferius constat*

II. [1] Rom. iv 25; *cf. supra i, l. 6* [2] *Cf.* Heb. vii 27 [3] Rom. viii 32 [4] *Cf.* Rom. vi 10 [5] *Cf.* Ioan. xiii 1 [6] *Cf.* 1 Cor. xi 3; *cf. supra i, l. 10* [7] *Cf.* Gal. v 24 [8] *Cf.* Rom. vi 4; Col. ii 12 [9] *Cf.* Phil. iii 13 [10] *Cf.* 2 Cor. vi 14 [11] *Cf.* Mt. xxv 33 [12] *Cf.* Lc. i 33 (et symbolum Nicaeno-Constantinop.) [13] Isa. liii 5* (1 Pet. ii 24); *VG* disciplina, super eum. *Pariter Aug.: Peccat. Mer. i 27* (in eum *ex editione CSEL*, super eum *ex Maurina*); *Ciu. Dei xviii 29; Serm. xliv 5* (in eum); *etiam Fulg. Ad Trasim.; e contrario, Cypr., Lact. Faust.*: doctrina, *aut Hier.*: disciplina; *ex Maurina editione, Aug. ipse in C. Adu. Legis ii 12 lectiones Vulgatae translationis adhibuisset* [14] Col. ii 13–14* (*VG* mortui ess.. conuiuif., uobis) *Pariter Aug.: Ep. cxlix 26* (uobis, *exc. tamen ms. A*); *C. Iulian. vi, c. vii. 18. Ideo* debita *quod tradit cod. pro* delicta *minime probatur* [15] 1 Cor. xv 22* (*VG* Et sicut, ita et). *Pariter Aug.: Ep. clxxxvii 30; Diu. Quaest. lxix 2; In Ioh. iii 12, lxvi 2, lxxv 13* (sic in, *om.* et); *Morinian. xxxi, l. 35* (sic in, *om.* et) [16] Col. ii 11 [17] 2 Cor. iii 16* (*VG* c. autem conuersus fuerit ad dominum auferetur u. [*sed* deum *Amiat., Fuld. codd., et* aufertur *omnes*]). Transieris *notanda est lectio, quam etiam praefert Aug. in De Oper. monach. xxxi 39* (auferetur) *et In Ioh. ix 3* (*ubi ex editione Maurinorum* dominum auferetur); *nam antiqui scriptores* conu. fuerit (ad deum *uel* dominum) *legerunt, qui sunt Tert., Cypr., Vigil. Thaps., Ps.-Prosp.; hic tamen ultimus* Christum *comprobat.*

III. *Cum nostra sententia de anniuersaria celebratione* 'semel facti' (*l. 4 sq.*), *confer illam*: Hoc semel factum esse optime nostis . . . Quod enim semel factum in

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rebus ueritas indicat, hoc saepius celebrandum in cordibus piis solemnitas renouat (*Serm. ccxx*), *uel illam* : id quod semel fecit diuina miseratio, anniuersaria solemnitate celebret humana deuotio (*Morinian. iv, l. 9 sq.*).

VII

INCIPIT III.

IN QVO SPECIALITER INFANTES ALLOQVITVR.

Ad omnes quidem pertinet iste sermo quo uita praecipitur et commendatur bona, ut uita impetretur et accipiatur aeterna. Verumtamen praecipue uos alloquamur, nouella germina[1] sanctitatis, regenerata ex aqua et spiritu,[2] plantata et rigata per ministerium nostrum in agro dei qui dat incrementum.[3]

Sic uos existimate tamquam ex Aegypto liberatos a dura seruitute[4] in quam uobis dominabatur iniquitas, transisse etiam per mare Rubrum,[5] per baptismum scilicet sanguinea Christi cruce signatum. Hostes qui uos a tergo insequebantur, peccata praeterita deputate. Nam sicut, transeunte dei populo, Aegyptii perierunt; sic, uobis baptizatis, illa deleta sunt. Nunc ergo caeleste regnum quo uocati estis tamquam terram promissionis in[qui]rite et per istam terrenam uitam uelut per heremum iter agentes temtationibus uigil[an]ter obsistite. Manna enim uestrum de sancti altaris participatione percipitis, et de petra effluit quod potatis. Hoc totum commemorans et docendo praedicans apostolus Paulus: [1] NOLO—inquit—VOS IGNORARE FRATRES QVIA PATRES NOSTRI OMNES SVB NVBE FVERVNT ET OMNES PER MARE TRANSIERVNT [2] ET OMNES IN MOYSEN BAPTIZATI SVNT IN NVBE ET IN MARI [3] ET OMNES EANDEM ESCAM SPIRITALEM MANDVCAVERVNT [4] ET OMNES EVNDEM POTVM SPIRITALEM BIBERVNT. BIBEBANT AVTEM DE SPIRITALI SEQVENTI PETRA. PETRA AVTEM ERAT CHRISTVS.[6] His certe apostolicis uerbis euidenter agnoscitis non ista nos propria coniectura, sed sancta scriptura doctos, insinuasse auribus et mentibus uestris.

Quod autem admonui dicens: temtationibus uigilanter obsistite, intuemini quid idem apostolus consequenter et terribiliter dicat: [5] SED NON IN PLERISQVE ILLORVM BENEPLACITVM EST DEO. PROSTRATI ENIM SVNT IN DESERTO. [6] HAEC AVTEM FIGVRAE NOSTRAE FACTA SVNT VT NON SIMVS CONCVPISCENTES MALORVM SICVT ET ILLI CONCVPIERVNT [7] NEQUE IDOLIS SERVIENTES SICVT QVIDAM ILLORVM SICVT SCRIPTVM EST: SEDIT POPVLUS MANDVCARE ET BIBERE ET SVRREXERVNT LVDERE. [8] NEQVE FORNICEMVR SICVT QVIDAM ILLORVM FORNICATI SVNT ET CAECIDERVNT VNA DIE XX TRIA MILIA. [9] NEQVE TEMTEMVS CHRISTVM SICVT QVIDAM ILLORVM TEMTAVERVNT ET A SERPENTIBVS PERIERVNT [10] NEQVE MVRMVRAVERITIS SICVT QVIDAM ILLORVM MVRMVRAVERVNT ET PERIE-

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RVNT AB EXTERMINATORE. [11] OMNIA AVTEM HAEC IN FIGVRA CONTINGEBANT IN ILLIS. SCRIPTA SVNT AVTEM AD CORREPTIONEM NOSTRAM IN QVOS FINIS SAECVLORVM OBVENIT.[6]

Vos ergo, carissimi, praecedentia mala exempla uitantes, eos imitamini qui deo placuerunt, non qui deum offendendo perierunt. Quid enim profuit per mare Rubrum ab Aegyptiis euasisse et in deserto a serpentibus interisse? Sic sunt qui, baptizati et a peccatis praeteritis liberati, tantam neglegunt gratiam et, uenenosis mortiferarum seductionum morsibus intercepti, ad uitam non possunt peruenire promissam. Horum exempla fugien[tes], ei qui uos redemit perseueranti oboedientia coherete, ut peruenia[tis] ad regnum, non quale primo populo datum est in umbra futuri,[7] sed, ubi cum Christo non erit finis,[8] aeterna sitis felicitate uicturi.

EXPLICIT IN DIEBVS OCTAVARVM HABITVS SERMO.

I. *Pag. 143* *Proprias lectiones textus a Maio recepti colligere decet* (= *M*) 1 sq. *Pro inscriptione*: Vnde supra in pascha *M* 8 libetos *sic cod., prima manu* 10 sanguinis *M* 16 uestrum] *in margine alia manus* uel uerum *scripsit* 18 docenda *M* 20 per *om. M* moyse *M* 23 sequente + eos *M* 27 autem *om. M* 30 fuerunt *M* 31 mala *M* 36 eorum *M* 37 eorum *M* 38 contigebant *cod., prima manu* 39 in *eras. in cod., om. M* scr. s. autem] omnia a. haec scr. s. *M* correct. *M* 45 mortiferum *cod., prima manu*, mortiferisque *M* 45 seductionibus *M* 46 morsibus *add. in cod. a reuisore, om. in M* 51 Expl. *etc. om. M*

II. [1] *Cf.* Ps. cxliii 12 [2] *Cf.* Ioan. iii 5 [3] *Cf.* 1 Cor. iii 6 [4] *Cf.* Ex. vi 6, xiii 13 *etc.* [5] *Cf.* 1 Cor. x 1 (*uide inferius*) [6] 1 Cor. x 1–11*; *VG multas discrepantias offert, quarum praecipuae sunt hae*: quoniam, per *om.* (*v. 1*); consequente eos (*v. 4*); pluribus eorum, nam prostr. (*v. 5*); in figura f. s. nostri (*v. 6*); idololatrae efficiamini, ex ipsis (*v. 7*); ex ipsis (*v. 8*); fines s. deuenerunt (*v. 11*). *Longius esset Augustini scripta recitare in quibus uersus isti laudantur. Sed in primis uideris In Ioh. xxvi 12* (*v. 1–4*), *xxviii 9* (*v. 11*), *xlv 9* (*v. 1–6*); *In Ps. lxxvii 2–3* (*v. 1–11*), *cxiii 3* (*v. 1–6*); *Serm. cclxiii 1* (*v. 1–6, 11*); *De Vtil. Cred. 8* (*v. 1–11*); *C. Adu. Legis ii 1* (*v. 1–4*). *Non tandem dubitandum quin sermonis nostri exempla cum doctoris uersione concordent; in v. 3 tum* escam *tum* cibum *Augustinus legit, sed in v. 11 plerumque* finis s. obuenit.

III. *Simili exordio Augustinus usus est in Serm. cccliii qui* '*in die octauarum infantium*' *etiam pronuncialus est atque cum duobus aliis, ccxiv et ccxvi annumeratis, presbyteratus tempori, id est c. annos 390–391, referri uidetur* (*cf. Coustantium nostrum in Patr. Lat. xxxviii–xxxix, 1065 b, 1076 b, 1560 c*). *Haec autem sunt tractatus illius uerba*: Omnium quidem aures et mentes quos cura nostra complectitur solliciti pastoris sermo compellat. Verumtamen ad uos proprie nunc dirigitur quos recens infantia spiritalis generationis sacramentorum cunabulis insignitur. . . . *Sequentia porro duorum tractatuum coniunctionem firmant*: Iam mare rubrum, baptisma scilicet Christi sanguine consecratum uerum deiecit Pharaonem, Aegyptios interemit. Nihil de peccatis praeteritis tamquam de insequentibus a tergo hostibus formidetis. De cetero cogitate uitae huius eremum permeare et ad terram promissionis, supernam Ierusalem, terram uiuentium peruenire . . . ; *ita Serm. cccliii 4, et cf. nostrum supra*

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ll. 10–16. Accedit Dionysianus viii, qui sic exoritur: Sermo mihi est ad uos, modo nati infantes, noua proles ecclesiae, gratia patris, fecunditas matris, germen pium, examen nouellum, flos nostri honoris et fructus laboris, gaudium et corona mea, omnes qui statis in domino, apostolicis uerbis uos alloquor: Ecce nox praecessit . . .; *confer l. 4 sq. supra et Sermonem ccxxiii qui ad Infantes etiam spectat*: Audite ergo nos, o nouelli filii castae matris . . . (§ 1); Audite me grana . . . (§ 2). *Manifestum est haec exordia, vii nostri, inquam, ccliii Maurini, viii Dionysiani, commixta fuisse in mendito exordio quod Regius et Victorinus codices Sermoni ccxxiv addunt* (*insuper uide Sermonem liv ab A. B. Caillau prelo datum et in Appendice Maurinorum Sermonem clxxii*, § 7): Ad omnes quidem pertinet sermo quos cura nostra complectitur. Verumtamen hodie terminata sacramentorum solemnitate uos alloquor, nouella germina sanctitatis, regenerata ex aqua et spiritu, germen pium, examen nouellum, flos nostri honoris et fructus laboris, gaudium et corona mea, omnes qui statis in domino, apostolicis uerbis uos alloquor: Ecce nox praecessit. . . . *Demum in Serm. cxlvi 1 ad* 'recens baptizatos' *directo etiam legis*: . . . catholica germina, membra Christi . . . (*cf. l. 5 superius*).

ANDRÉ WILMART.

(*To be concluded.*)

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NOTES AND STUDIES

THE VATICAN MS OF THE GELASIAN SACRAMENTARY AND ITS SUPPLEMENT AT PARIS.

THE importance of the Gelasian Sacramentary in the history of western liturgy is a commonplace to students of Christian worship.[1] It is the earliest Roman mass-book that has come down to us. It has not, however, reached us in its original form, but with modifications and additions made by generation after generation, in an effort to adapt it for the use of countries remote from Rome. It is only through these adapted missals that we can to-day form an idea of the early Roman mass-book. The oldest of them happens to be the one that was current in Gaul; and although an interval of not less than two and a half centuries separates it from the missal which tradition connects with Pope Gelasius (492–496), it is none the less the oldest extant witness of the Gelasianum. The matter dealt with in this article directly concerns this oldest copy of the Gallic Gelasianum, which, like two other very ancient liturgical treasures, the Gothicum and the Missale Francorum,[2] is preserved in the Regina Collection of the Vatican Library, where it bears the number 316.[3] It is a curious fact that, apart from the Leoninum, which is not a missal in the proper sense, and the Monte Cassino palimpsest,[4] all our oldest liturgical witnesses come from France: for to the Gelasianum, Gothicum, and Missale Francorum must also be added the Missale Gallicanum Vetus, the Mone Missal, and the Bobbio Missal, all of them products of the eighth century.[5]

The present paper deals but secondarily with the Vatican MS of the Gelasianum. Its primary object is to call attention to two quires which once formed part of this Vatican manuscript. They are at present

[1] See Edmund Bishop's stimulating and masterly article entitled 'The Earliest Roman Mass Book', published in his *Liturgica Historica* pp. 39–61, Oxford, 1918; and the preface to H. A. Wilson's *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, Oxford, 1894. For fuller literature the student may now be referred to Dom Cabrol's article 'Gélasien' in the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, Paris, 1924.

[2] MSS Vatic. Regin. 317 and 257. Traube in his list of uncial MSS gives the most important literature: *Vorles. und Abhandl.* i pp. 236–237, Munich, 1909.

[3] See Traube l. c. and the article by Dom Cabrol, cited in no. 1, which also contains an excellent facsimile.

[4] MSS Verona lxxxv (80) and Monte Cassino cclxxi: Traube l. c. nos. 356 and 117.

[5] MSS Vatic. Pal. 493, Carlsruhe 253, and Paris lat. 13246: Traube l. c. nos. 285, 69; *Henry Bradshaw Publications* vols. liii (1917), lviii (1920), and lxi (1924).

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embedded in a miscellany in the Bibliothèque Nationale which bears the pressmark MS lat. 7193, and occupies folios 41–56 of that manuscript. The Paris quarto catalogue describes the miscellany as 'Codex membranaceus olim Colbertinus'; so this scrap-book belonged to J. B. Colbert, Minister of Louis XIV. Under item 5 our leaves are thus described: 'Formulae exorcismorum: litteris uncialibus octavo saeculo exaratae'.[1] Traube's list of uncial manuscripts adds nothing to the information given in the catalogue[2]; the catalogue itself omits to mention that, besides the Exorcisms, the leaves contain a Penitential and the Breviarius Apostolorum. Of these three parts, the Penitential only has been exploited. It was first published in 1851 by Wasserschleben, not without errors,[3] and again, but far from accurately, in 1898 by Schmitz, who makes the preposterous statement that its script is Visigothic.[4] If any other scholars refer to the contents of these two quires, I am unaware of it.

I first examined the quires in 1921, when I was struck with the resemblance of the writing to that of Reginensis 316. It was not until 1925, upon a request from Dom DeBruyne for new instances of *membra disiecta* of manuscripts,[5] that it occurred to me to verify the impression registered in 1921. I found it fully reaffirmed. The form of the uncial characters, the shape of the small initials, seemed the same in both; and the alternate use of red and green in titles, and the use of a ^{T} surmounted by one or more dots running up from right to left obliquely to mark the end of certain sections, were features common to both. There was also identity in the style of abbreviations. On looking for other agreements, I found that both the Paris leaves and the Vatican MS have twenty-three lines to the page, and the parallel vertical bounding lines are at the same distance apart in both MSS. The dimensions of the full page vary, to be sure, by two to three millimetres, owing doubtless to the binder's shears, but the written space is practically identical, being 128 × 216 mm. in the Reginensis and 130 × 216 mm. in the Paris leaves.[6]

[1] *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae* iii p. 324, Paris, 1744.

[2] Traube l. c. no. 290.

[3] F. W. H. Wasserschleben *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche* pp. 412 ff, Halle, 1851.

[4] H. J. Schmitz *Die Bussbücher und die Bussdisziplin der Kirche* ii pp. 326 ff (this is volume ii of *Die Bussbücher und das kanonische Bussverfahren*, Düsseldorf, 1898).

[5] See the series inaugurated in the *Revue Bénédictine* xxxvi (1924) 121 ff and continued in xxxvii (1925) 165 ff.

[6] These measurements were taken in 1921, and may not hold for each and every page. The Prefect of the Vatican Library was good enough to verify my data, and his report bears out what is said above of the Reginensis. For the facsimiles here reproduced my thanks are due to Mgr Mercati, M. Omont, and the Clarendon Press.

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And lastly, I ascertained that the Reginensis ends with a gathering marked xxxiiii; the Paris quires are marked xxxv and xxxvi; these quire marks being entered in both manuscripts by the original scribe, and in both occupying the same position on the page.

If there can thus be no shadow of a doubt that the Paris quires were originally meant to follow the last folio of the Reginensis, it is not difficult to see why their connexion has heretofore escaped attention. It is because the Gelasian Sacramentary as it stands in the Reginensis is complete, apart from a few pages of the index, which are missing at the head of the volume.[1] It would not occur to any one that a manuscript ending with a colophon which reads: EXPLICIT LIBER SACRAMENTORUM $\overline{DO}$ GRACIAS. SICUT NAUIGANTIBUS DULCIS EST PORTUS SCRIPTORI NOUISSIMUS UERSUS, and this followed by a page left blank—the last page of the MS—could be in any way incomplete at the end. Yet it is at the end of the Vatican manuscript that the Paris leaves belong; the quire-marks prove that. Moreover, the final prayers in the Reginensis with the title 'Ad poenitenciam dandam' suggest the Penitential which was meant to follow. Like the Penitential itself these prayers must be an addition, for they are not registered in the index.[2] It seems clear that the Paris leaves constitute a planned supplement to the Sacramentary. And inasmuch as even the 'additamenta' of so important a liturgical monument are not without considerable interest, it seems justifiable to publish them entire. Perhaps in the hands of another Edmund Bishop they may be found to throw new light on the history of the Gelasian Sacramentary itself.

The Paris leaves open with prayers entitled 'Exorcismus contra inergumenos', which occupy the whole of the quire marked xxxv. Part of these prayers, I believe, see the light here for the first time.[3] I must leave it, however, to the expert in these matters to bring out their due importance. Quire xxxvi begins with a Penitential which, as stated above, has twice been published.[4] I give it here exactly as it is in the manuscript, abbreviations and all. That it belongs along with the Penitential in the Bobbio Missal to the class known as the Burgundian is clear at first sight. The curious error *uacuus* for *uagus*, found in the phrase *more cain uagus et profugus sit*, in article 3, at once connects our

[1] The index begins with the 46th mass of the third book. The missing pages constituted the first quire. Neither Muratori's nor Wilson's edition reproduces the truncated index. One must go back to Tommasi's to see it.

[2] The last item in the index reads: *item alia pro salute uiuorum*. It is no. ciii in the index, but cvi in the text.

[3] I have had the advantage of consulting such experts as the Rev. H. A. Wilson and Dom Wilmart. In the opinion of the latter the long exorcism with which the Supplement opens is unique and unedited.

[4] See above, p. 358 nn. 3 and 4.

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Penitential[1] with that found in the Brussels MS 8780–8793, where the same error occurs.[2] The French origin of the Penitential appears from other items; and, as Schmitz has pointed out, it forms a member of the group which have a common basis of forty-one articles. The Penitential occupies the first six leaves of this quire.

The final two leaves are devoted to the so-called 'Breviarius Apostolorum'. It does not appear that this text was known to Duchesne.[3] D'Achery's text depends on a more recent witness, and Gerbert did not use any manuscript so old as ours, which, unless I err, is the oldest extant.[4] The transcription of the full Supplement follows.

[f. 41] [5]EXORCISMUS[6] CONTRA INERGUMINOS[5].

Deus[7] caelorum, deus angelorum, deus archangelorum, deus patriarcharum, deus prophetarum, deus apostolorum, deus martyrum deus confessorum, deus uirginum deus omnium sanctorum, deus abraham deus isaac deus iacob, deus qui dedisti uitam post mortem Domine deus sancte pater omnipotens, te inuoco quia tu dignus es inuocari Ego pono manum meam carnalem Tu tuam sanctam de caelis spiritalem supermitte super famulo tuo illo Ut non lateat, hic serpens

[1] This error is corrected without comment in Wasserschleben's edition, *op. cit.* p. 412.

[2] The modern pressmark is Brussels 2493. The MS is written in pre-Caroline minuscule of a gauche type and must come from one of the lesser centres of northern France. Facsimiles are given by Zimmermann *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen* pl. 121, who assigns the MS to about 780.

[3] L. Duchesne *Martyrolog. Hieronym.* in *Acta Sanctorum*, November, tom. ii, pars 1, Prolegom. pp. lxxv ff, Brussels, 1894.

[4] L. d'Achery *Spicilegium Veterum aliquot Scriptorum*, 2nd edition, ii p. 25 f, Paris, 1724; Gerbert *Monumenta Veteris Liturgiae Alemannicae* i p. 453 f, 1777–1779. D'Achery's text depends upon the Gellone Sacramentary, Gerbert's on a Reichenau manuscript.

[5–5] The title is in the same uncial script as the text which follows, but the letters are coloured, blocks of red alternating with blocks of green—a favourite practice in this school of writing.

[6] The abbreviations found in this and the following prayers are here given *in extenso*, those in the Penitential and Breviarius are retained.

[7] With this may be compared no. cxliii in the Gregorian Sacramentary, ed. Wilson, p. 229. Dom Wilmart suggests the following comparisons: Martene *De Antiq. Eccl. Rit.* i 15 ff, ii 329 ff, ii 332 ff. With the next prayer (*Domine sancte pater* etc.) compare Wilson, p. 230. Dom Wilmart's references are Martene (ed. Bassano, 1788) iii cap. ix ordo i and ordo iii = tom. ii 347 and 351; Gerbert *Monum. Vet. Liturg. Alem.* ii 128, 130 f; Muratori *Lit. Rom. Vet.* ii 239. For *Nec te latet* etc. cf. Wilson, p. 162 and Martene, i cap. 1 art. xviii ordo x = tom. i 69, 72, 77, and Muratori, ii 61, 155. For the next cf. Martene, iii cap. ix ordo iii = tom. ii 353 col. 1, where too it follows *Nec te latet*. For the last prayer (*Omni potens* etc.) cf. Martene, iii cap. ix ordo iii = tom. ii 351 col. 2; Gerbert, ii 133.

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inimicus Sic percuciatur in uirtute claritatis tuae. Quomodo percussisti duas ciuitates sodomam et gomorram. Sic percutiatur hic maledictus seductor saeculi. Exprobrator gencium Laqueus mortis . filius tenebrarum Audi tanta uirtute. Tanta maiestate ‖ [f. 41v] per quem te adiuro. Adiuro te per regem caelorum[1] per christum creatorem per iesum saluatorem, animarum nostrarum per illum te adiuro damnate. Non per aurum neque per argentum neque per lapidibus praeciosis. Per deum te adiuro. Qui petrum mergentem manum porrexit et te inuenit in monumentum latere. Et tu eum prostratus adorasti et dixisti ei. Quid nobis et tibi iesus nazareni fili dei altissimi. Ante . tempus uenisti perdere nos. Et si nos perdere uis mitte nos in gregem porcorum et ubicumque nomen . tuum audierimus gementes . et trementes exibimus et dabimus honorem. Da illi honorem maledicte satanas illuc te collige . in profundum . maris in gregem porcorum . in deserta loca . ubi non aratur . nec semi-‖ [f. 42] natur . nec nomen . illius potens inuocatur. Illuc te collige damnate. Cessent nequiciae tuae. Cessent . fallaciae tuae. Cessent conpaginaciones tuae Cessent machinae tuae. Cessent pestilenciae tuae. Cessent et fantasiae tuae. Seperate . ab hanc plasma Quomodo seperatum est. Caelum a terra Lux a tenebras Iusticia . ab iniquitate Uita a morte Sic te et tu sepera damnate. Non communicabis in escam Non in putum Non uigilantem Nec dormientem. Nec sedentem Nec ambulantem Nec tacentem Nec in publicum. Nec in priuatum . non communicabis. Non facies cotidianas . non tercianas. Non quartanas . non adgrediens in biuio Non in triuio Non in quatruuio Non occupauis linguam Nec guttorem . nec ‖ [f. 42v] sub guttere. Nec intestinum minimum Nec in maiorem . damnate . interdicitur tibi duodecem . oras diei et duodicem hore noctes in quibus non facias . quod ad tuis uoluntatibus perteneat. Sanguilappie[2] multis formis persuasor malorum Accusator ueritatis Umbra uacua Inflate Inanis Filius tenebrarum. Angelorum iniquitas. Proiectus es de caelo maledicti satanas meritis tuis Inmundissimi dęmoniorum uictus es damnate. Uincit te qui uinci non potest. Uincit te. A et ω. Uincit te ille qui scit numerum capillorum famulorum famularum suarum qui nouit numerum stillarum . uincit te qui firmauit caelum et terram mare et . omnia . quae in eis sunt Ille tibi imperat . non caro et sanguis . nec pompa saeculi . deus tibi imperat pater et filius et spiritus sanctus Ille tibi imperat qui ieiunauit. ‖ [f. 43] . XL . diebus . et XL . noctibus Et quartum diem Lazarum . de monumento suscitauit . qui dixit ad discipulos suos Ite in nomine meo, manus inponite Daemonia expellite Paralyticos curate Mortuos suscitate Surdi audiant Claudi ambulent Et omnem ualitudinem curate quod gratis accepistis gratis date. Nulla tibi gracia aguntur Iam . conpleti sunt sex milia annorum in co oportit tibi inmundissime daemoniorum finem habere

[1] *o* ex *u* m. 1. [2] *lap* sup. ras.

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In gregem porcorum in deserta loca ubi non aratur nec seminatur uentrem tuum et pectore Tu terribilis non euadebis poenas quas tibi praeparatae sunt Occurunt te a quattuor cardinibus mundi In illius uirtutibus impero qui aperit . quod . nemo claudit et claudit quod nemo aperit. In illius uirtutibus te adiuro qui fecit caelum || [f. 43v] et terram. Caecum inluminantem surdum audientem mutum loquentem . ille tibi imperat inmundissime spiritus a quo tu dixisti . ut tibi fierint panes de lapidibus. Et ille tibi dixit non in solo pane uiuit homo sed in omne uerbo dei Ille tibi imperat maledicti satanas qui aqua uinum fecit in canna gallilea. Qui pauit in heremo quinque milia uirorum extra numero mulierum et infantum de quinque panibus et duobus piscibus unde exsuperauerunt duodecem cophani fragmentorum quod est typus XII. apostolorum Audi tanta uirtute tanta maiestate per quem te adiuro Adiuro te per regem caelorum per christum creatorem per iesum saluatorem animarum nostrarum per illum te adiuro damnate Non per aurum neque per argentum neque per lapidibus praeciosis. Per deum te adiuro qui petrum mergentem manum porrexit. Tanta gloria. || [f. 44] Tanta claritate . adiurasse te maledicti satanas apparisce inlebisce . angustiaris quomodo angustiatur saeculus exorcidiaris. Non cantaueris non tibi cantica cantentur per trea testimonia te adiuro. Adiuro te per patrem . et filium . et spiritum sanctum ut citius hinc exorcizatus abscedas ubi ergo tu latebis quando dominus noster iesus christus discendit cum multitudinem angelorum quattuor tubę canebunt a quattuor cardinibus mundi. Totus mundus ardebit ab oriente usque ad occidentem. dominus de caelo discendit confringere terram . et tunc apparebunt corpora sanctorum. Petrę mouebuntur de loca ipsorum et sol in sanguinem conuertitur. Dominus caelum plicauit tamquam librum in manu sua et tu ubi latebis . maledicte satanas Numquid hoc dicturus eris quod tibi hoc non fuerit imperatum . hoc tibi signum || [f. 44v] erit in diem iudicii quod tu non dissipauis in aeternum. Inuentum uenisti Inuentum exi. Integrare linque exi ab eo . quomo'do'[1] exiuit coruus de arca noe. Sic exiit et non rediit . sic tu exi maledicte satanas. Hic locum non habebis nec refrigerium tibi tormenta super tormenta . poenas super poenas . plagas super placas. Ferriculi calentes . praeparati sunt te flagellis calentibus castigare maledicte satanas meritis tuis. Inmundissime . daemoniorum non facias . nec pauore . nec tremore . nec transuaricabis . nec impedis competentem uitam . uitam aeternam Non persuadebis hominem . ad malum faciendum . non moechabis[2] non uiolabis . non mortem tradas Non permittas septem nequitiores tibi qui peius faciant quam tu non deuersis languoribus doloribus In illius membrorum non || [f. 45] occupauis quod tuum non est . non habites ubi spiritus sanctus habitat per eundem dominum nostrum iesum christum te adiuro qui uenturus est iudicare . uiuos et mortuus et saeculum per ignem.

[1] *do* inter lin. m. 1. [2] *moe* sup. ras.

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Domine sancte pater omnipotens aeternę deus osanna in excelsis pater domini . nostri . iesu christi qui illum refugam tyrannum gehennę deputasti qui unigenitum tuum in hunc mundum misisti. Ut illum rugientem leonem contereret uelociter. Adtende et accelera ut eripias hominem tuis formatum manibus A ruina et daemonio meridiano. da domine terrorem tuum super bestiam quae exterminat uineam tuam. Da fiduciam seruis tuis. Contra nequissimum draconem . fortiter stare. Ne contempnat . sperantes in te. Nec [1] dicat sicut in faraone iam dixit. deum non noui nec israel demitto. Urguat illum domine dextera tua potens discedere a famulis tuis ne diucius prae‖ [f. 45v]sumat captiuum tenere hominem quem tu ad imaginem tuam facere dignatus es Adiuro te ergo serpens antique per iudicem uiuorum et mortuorum per factorem mundi per eum qui habit potestatem mittere . te in gehennam. Ut ab hoc famulo dei illo qui ad ęcclesiae praesepia concurrit cum excercito furoris tui festinos discedas. Coniuro te non meam infirmitatem sed uirtute spiritus sancti ut desinas ab his quos omnipotens deus ad imaginem suam fecit. Cede . cede non mihi sed mysteriis christi. Illius enim te perurguet potestas qui te adfigens cruce suę subiugauit. Illius brachium contremisce. Qui diuictis gemitibus inferni animas ad lucem produxit. Sit tibi ter'r'or [2] corpus hominis. Sit tibi formido imago dei nec resistas . nec moreris discedere . ab homine quoniam 'con'placuit [3] christo ut in hominem habitaret . et ne in ‖ [f. 46] firmissimum condemnandum putes. Imperat tibi dominus Imperat tibi maiestas christi Imperat tibi deus pater imperat tibi filius et spiritus sanctus. Imperat tibi apostolorum fides sancti petri et pauli et ceterorum apostolorum. Imperat tibi martyrum sanguis. Imperat tibi indulgencia confessorum Imperat tibi sacramentum crucis. Imperat tibi mysteriorum uirtus. Ex'i' [4] transgressor exi seductor pleni omni dolo et fallacia Veritates inimici Innocencium persecutor Da locum durissime . da locum impiissime Da locum christo in quo nihil inuenisti de operibus tuis. Qui te expoliauit qui regnum tuum destruxit. Qui te uinctum ligauit et uasa tua disrupit Qui te proiecit in tenebras. exteriores ubi tibi cum ministris tuis erat praeparatus interitus sed quid nunc turbolente recogitas quid temerarie [5] retractas Reus ‖ [f. 46v] omnipotente deo cuius statuta transgressus es. Reus filio eius iesu christo quem et temptare ausus es et crucefigere praesumsisti Reus humano generi . cui mors tuis persuasionibus uenit . adiuro ergo te draco nequissime In nomine agni inmaculati qui ambulat . super aspidem et basiliscum. Qui conculcat leonem et draconem ut discedas ab homine Discedas ab ecclesia dei Contremisce Et effuge inuocato nomen domini illius quem inferi trement. Cui uirtutes caelorum et potestatis et domina-

[1] sup. ras. [2] *r* inter lin. m. 1. [3] *con* inter lin. m. 1.
[4] *i* sup. lin. [5] *e* ex *i* m. 1.

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ciones subiectae sunt Quem cerubin et seraphin indeffessis uocibus laudant. Imperat tibi uerbum caro factum. Imperat tibi natus ex uirgine Imperat tibi iesus nazarenus qui te cum discipulis contempneris elisum et prostratum exire iussit ab homine . quo prẹsente . cum te ab homi-‖ [f. 47] Ne seperasset nec porcorum grege prẹsumebas contingere. Recide ergo nunc adiuratus in nomine eius ab homine quem ipse plasmauit. Durum tibi est christo uelle resistere . durum tibi est contra stimulum calcitrare quia quicquid tardius exis supplicium tuum crescit. Quoniam non hominem contempnis sed illum qui dominator uiuorum et mortuorum est cui uniuersitas tacit qui uenturus est iudicare saeculum per ignem per

Nec te lateat satanas inmineri tibi poenas inmineri tibi tormenta diem iudicii . diem supplicii sempiterni diem qui uenturus est uelut clybanus ardens in quo tibi atque angelis tuis sempiternus est praeparatus interitus et ideo pro tua nequicia damnate atque damnandae Da honore deo uiuo da honore iesu christo filio eius Da honore spiritui . sancto paraclyto In cuius uirtute ‖ [f. 47ᵛ] praecipio tibi quicumque es spiritus inmundi Ut exias et recidas ab hoc famulo dei illo et eum deo suo reddas quoniam dominus noster iesus christus eum ad suam graciam et benedictionem uocare dignatus est. Te domine supplices exoramus ut uisitacione tua sancta erigas famulum tuum illum . nec aduersario liceat usque ad animae temptacionem sicut in iob terminum pone . ne inimicus de anima ista incipiat triumphare Unde ergo maledicte recognosce sentenciam tuam et da honore deo uiuo et uero et recede ab hoc famulo dei illo tibi ergo praecipio maledicte inmunde spiritus hostis humani generis per deum patrem omnipotentem inuisibilem et inconprẹhensibelem atque inmortalem qui fecit caelum et terram mare et omnia quae in eis sunt Ut omnes uirtus aduersarii omnes exercitus diaboli[1] omnis incursus inimici. ‖ [f. 48] omnis fantasma satane eradicare et effugare ab hoc famulo dei illo ita ut in eo ultra locum non habiat contrarii uirtutes admixtio Sed tu deu omnipotens propicius adesto ut corporibus daemoniis obsessus totam nequiciam diabulicam[1] tuam potenciam sint purgati per hoc signum sanctae crucis quem nos damus tu maledicti diabule numquam audeas uiolare per dominum nostrum iesum christum qui uenturus est in spiritu sancto iudicare uiuos et mortuos et saeculum per ignem. Domine sancte pater omnipotens aeternae deus qui peccancium non uis animas perire sed culpas conteri Respice propicius super hunc famulum illum qui peccatorum merito expulsus a facie tua potestati est subiectus satane Reminiscere miseracionum tuarum et expelle ab eo . omnem inimici infestacionem atque angustias satane mun-‖ [fol. 48ᵛ]datum. Ad pristinam sanitatem reforma puritatem.

[1] signum + superpos. m. 1.

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Sit illud pristinum templum sanctum . quod . fuit in baptismum inhabitet in eo spiritus sanctus per dominum nostrum iesum christum qui uenturus est iudicare saeculum per ignem.

Omnipotens et misericors deus pater domini nostri iesu christi te supplices depręcamur. Impera diabulo qui hunc famulum tuum illum detenet ut ab eo recidat. Et libera eos qui crediderunt in uerbum liberatorem dominum nostrum iesum christum ut expurgati ab omni labe iniquitates maiestate tuae pura mente deseruiant consecuti graciam spiritus sancti . qui cum patre et filio uiuet et regnat in saecula saeculorum amen.

[*There follow five blank lines, and in the centre of the lower margin is the quire-mark xxxv, by the original scribe. Vatic. Regin. 316 ends with quire xxxiiii*].

[IUDICIUM POENITENTIALE.][1]

[f. 49] [1] Siquis uero homicidiū casu fecerit id .ē. non uolens .vii. añ peniteat iii ex ipsis in pane et aqua [2] Siquis ad homicidiū faciendū consenserit et factus fuerit .vii. añ paeniteat .iii ex ipsis in pane et aqua Si autē uoluit et non potuit .iii añ paeñt. [3] Siquis uero clericus homicidiū uoluntariae fecerit .x. añ exul paeñt. Post hos . añs recipiatur in patria sua . si bene egerit paeñt in pane et aqua testimoniū conprobatus eps uel sacerdotib; cū quos paenituit et cui conmissus fuit. Satisfaciat parentib; eius quē occidit uiciū filii reddens quaecūq; uultis faciam uobis. Si autē non satisfecerit parentib; illius numquā recipiatur in patria sua sed more cain uacuus[2] et profugus sit sup terrā [4] Siquis uero coactus proqua'li'bet necessitate aut nesciens piurauerit [f. 49v] iii. añ . peñt .i. ex his . in pane et aqua [5] Siquis piurauerit sciens . ā. p cubiditatē .vii. añ peñt et helimosinas iuxta uires et psonā faciat et numquam iuret postea [6] Siquis furtum capitule commiserit . id .ē. quadrupede uel casas effrigerit . ā . quolibet. Meliore prędidio furauerit .vii. añ peñt iii ex his in pane et aqua Qui uero de minoris rēs furtū fecerit . iii añ peñt et qđ furaū si potest reddat [7] Siquis adulteriū cōmiserit id .ē. cum uxorē alterius ā sponsa .i. uirginitate corruperit . si clericus .iii. añ peñet .i. ex his in pane et aqua si diāc iiii. ii ex his in pañ et aqua si prębt .vii. iii ex his in pān et aq̄. [8] Siquis furnicauerit cū scimoniale i đo decata cognoscat[3] se adulteriū ppetrasse sic in superiore sentencia unusquisq; iuxta ordinē su-[f. 50]ū peñt [9] Siquis sepulcrū uiolauerit .v. añ peñt iii ex his in

[1] The Penitential begins a new quire and a new page, but lacks a title. There has been some error of transposition in the order. The text as given in Wasserschleben, pp. 412 ff and Schmitz, ii 326 ff has errors of various sorts.

[2] *vagus* perperam W. [3] *o* ex *u* m. 1.

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pañ et aq̄. [10] Siquis corpus . ł sanguines dñi neglexerit . ā inde ꝑdiderit . añ integr̄ peñt in pañ et aqua Si ꝑ ebrietatē ā crapula illut euomerit trib; quadragensimis in pañ et aq̄. peñt Si uero ꝑ infirmitate una tantū modo ebd̄ peñt [11] Siquis clericus . ł uxor sua infante obpraesserint III añ peñt .I. ex his in pañ et aq̄. [12] Siquis uero . maledicus id .ē. emissor tempestati fuerit .VII añ peñt III ex his in pañ et aq̄. [13] Siquis . sē . quolibet uoluntate membro truncauerit .III. añ peñt .I. ex his in pañ et aq̄. [14] Siquis āt usuras undecūq: exegerit III añ peñt .I. ex his in pañ et aq̄ [15] Siquis ꝑ potestate . ā quolibet ingenio res alienas malo ordine inauaserit . ł tulerit superiore sentencia similit̄ peñt et elimosinas . [f. 50v] multas faciat. [16] Siquis sacrilegiū fecerit id .ē. quos auruspicis uocant . qui auguria colunt si ꝑ aues ā quocūq: malo ingenio auguriauerit III añ peñt in pañ et aq̄. [17] Siquis auriolis quos diuinis uocant aliquas diuinaciones fecerit ꝙ et h'. daemonū .ē. v. añ peñt .III. ex his in pane . 'e't aqua [18] Siquis aliū[1] ꝑ ira ꝑcusserit et sanguinē fuderit .XL. diebus peñt. Diaconus .VI. menses prę̄sb . añ in pañ . et aq̄. [19] Siquis cupidus .ā. auarus fuerit ā supb: .ā. inuidus . ā ebriosus . ā fratrē suū hodio habuerit . ł alia his similia .q̄. denumerare longū .ē. 'III q:'[2] peñt cū pañ et aq̄ .[3] et iuxta uires suas aelimosinas faciat[3] [20] Siquis sortes quas sc̄or̄ contra racionē uocant . ł alias sortes habuerit uel pro qualecumq: malo ingenio sortitus fuerit ł [4]auguri[4]auerit .III añ peñt [21] Siquis [5]ad [f. 51] fontes . ł ad arbores[5] . ā ad cancellus uel ubicūq: excepto in ecclesia . ā 'in' ipsius atria uota uouerit ā soluerit III añ peñt in pañ et aq̄ . quia et hoc sacrileg'i'ū .ē. ł daemonū. Qui uero ibidē aederit . ā biberit .I. añ in pañ et aq̄ . peñt. [22] Siquis clericus . postquā se dō uouit . iter̄ ad alterū habitū sic̄ canes ad uomitū reuersus fuerit ł uxorē duxerit .X. añ pēnteant ambo .III ex his in pañ et aq̄ et nūquā postea in coniugio copulentur qd̄ si noluerit [illegible] sc̄a senodus ł sedis apostolica separare [illegible] eos a cōmunione et conuiuio omniū catholicor̄ Similit̄ et mulier postquā se dō uouit si tale scelus admiserit pari sen'ten'cia subiaceat [23] Siquis falsitatē commiserit .VII. añ peñt III. ex his in pañ et aq̄. Qui āt consenserit .V. añ peñt [24] Siquis uenaciones quas . [f. 51v]cumq: exercuerit . clericus añ . diac̄ .II. sacerdos .III. peñt. [25] Siquis cū quadrupede furnicatus fuerit clericus II. añ peñt diac̄ III sacerdos .V. tres ex his in pañ et aq̄ [26] Siquis qd̄ in Kāl ianuarias multi faciunt in ceruolū qd̄ dr̄ ā uecula uadit III añ peñt quia et hoc daemonū est. [27] Siqua mulier uoluntaria . aborsum fecerit III añ in pañ et aqua peñt [28] Siquis matimathecus fuerit id .ē. ꝑ inuocacionē daemonū hominū mentes tulerit . ā debacantes fecerit .V. añ peñt III ex his in pañ et

[1] *autem* perperam Wasserschleben et Schmitz. [2] inter lin.
[3-3] sup. ras. m. 1. [4-4] *auguri* sup. ras. m. 1.
[5-5] *ad arbores uel ad fontes* perperam W. et Sch.

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aqua [29] Siquis uirginē ł uiduā raptus fuerit III añ cū pañ . et aq̄ peñt [30] Siquis dilaturas fecerit qđ de'te'stabile .ē. superiora uersi sentencia . accipiat. [31] Siquis seruū .ā. quēcūq: hominē qualibet ingenio in captiuitatē duxerit . ā transmiserit .III. [f. 52] añ in pañ et aqua peñt et preciū reddat [32] Siquis . domū . ł areā cuiuscūq: uoluntate igne cremauerit parē superiorem sentenciā subiacet. [33] Siquis de ministerio scāe . ęclesiae . ł qualecūq: opus quolibet modo fraudauerit . ł neglexerit .VII añ peñt et qđ tulit si potē reddat. [34] Siquis sacerdos ł quislibet clericus . ā cū sacrata dō puella inebrientur si p ignorancią VII. dieb: si p neglegencią .XV. dieb: si p contemptu XL. dieb: in pañ et aq̄ . peñt. Laici uero si p ignorancia .IIII dieb: si p neglegencia .VII. dieb: si p contemptu XV. dieb: in pañ et aq̄ . peñt et elimosina facī [35] Et qui cogit . hominē ut inebrietur simili modo ut ebrius peñt [36] Siquis morticinū ł sanguinē commederit si p ignorancią XX dieb: si p sciencia XL. dieb: peñt [37] Siquis sacerdos [f. 52v] ā . diaconus aut monachus fornicauerit . sicut sodomitę fecerunt .X. añ peñt III ex ipsis in pañ et aq̄ VII. uero aliis absteneat se a uino et carnib: et non maneat cum alio in sempiterno. Clerici uero saeculares uel laici .VII. añ . peñt . II. ex ipsis in pañ et aq̄ [38] Qui concupiscit mentē furnicare sed non potuit .I. añ pent . [39] Qui p turpiloquiū . ł aspectu tactu ł osculo quoinquinatus id est pollutus fuerit tamen n̄ uoluit furnicare corporaliī XX. ł XL dieb: iuxta qualitatē peñt Si āt in pugnacione cogitaciones uioleñt quoinquinat' .VII dieb: peñt. [40] Qui in somnis uoluntate pollutus est . surgat canatq: ienua flectendo VII psalmos in crastino cum pañ et aq̄ uiuat ł XXX. psāl flectendo uniuscuiusq: in fin̄ canat [41] Volens in somno [f. 53] peccare siue pollutus siue uoluntate .XV. psāl canat . peccans . non pollutus XXIIII pš. [42] Siquis laicus cū quadrupede . furnicauerit .I. añ si uxorē habit peñt si āt non habet dimidio [43] Sic et qui uxorem n̄ habens et propriis membres se ipsum uiolauerit . añ peñt in pañ et aq̄. [44] Siquis corpus suum titille in consurgendo . furnicare XL. noctes peñt . et si pollutus fuerit titillacione .LXX dieb: et suppositus .VII. [45] Qui patrē ā mątrē suam 'in'pulsauerit impius ā . sacrilegus . iudicandus .ē. peñt tempus quamdiu in impietate . steterit [46] Qui facit furnicaonē in ęcclesia penetencia .ē. omnib: ' dieb: ' uitę suę praebeat . obsequiū domui dī [47] Sicuius paruolus sine baptismo in negligencia mortuus fuerit .III. añ peñt . in primo añ .c'. pañ et aqua in duos alius sine dilicias [f. 53v] [48] Qui piuriū fecerit .VII. ān peñt. Qui ducit . aliū in piuriū ignorantē .VII. ān peñt. Qui . āt . ductus in piuriū ignorans et p'ea recognuscit .I. 'añ' peñt Qui uero suscipiat' qđ in piuriū deducit' . tamen iurat . p consensu .II. añ peñt [49] Siquis sacrificiū pdiderit et nescit ubi sit .I. añ peñt in pañ et aq̄. [50] Siquis negligencią fecerit . erga sacrificiū . ut siccet' et a uermib: consumat' medio añ peñt in pañ et aq̄ [51] Siquis sacerdus

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qui offerit . sacrificiū et si ei ceciderit sacrificiū de manu illius usq: ad ītrā et non inuenerit omne qđcūq: in loco ubi ceciderit conburet . igne et abscondet cinere illa sub altare . ita ut ñ conculcetur et ipse peñt medio añ . et si inuenerit scupa mundetur et conburet igne et abscondat . in ītra similiī et ipse .xx. dieb: peñt Si āt usq: ad altare . uno die . [52] Clericus [f. 54] semel furnicans .i. añ c' pañ . et aq̄ . et duos alios absteneat se a uino et caī Si ā in consuetudine . multo tempore fuerit iii añ c' pañ et aq̄ peñt et officiū clericatus amittat . et quattuor alios absteneat se a uino et carne . si . āt . filiū genuerit .iiii. añ peñt . [53] Paruoli infantes furnicacione imitantes et inritantes se inuicē si ñ quoinquinantur pollucione .xx dieb: peñt. Si uero frequenī xl dieb: peñt [54] Siquis puer . qui peccatū . cū pecode commiserit .c. dieb: peñt. [55] Siquis puer paruulus obpraessus a seniori suo .xx. añ habens . aetate . ebdomada peñt. Si consentit .xx. dieb: peñt. [56] Vir p semetipsū inquinans .c. dieb: peñt. Reiterans añ peñt [57] Viri inter faemora furnicantes .i. añ peñt reiterans .ii. [58] Siquis uero in ītra[1] furnicantes si pueri s̄ .ii. añ pent. Si uiri .iii Si itera- [f. 54v]uerint .vi. si āt in consuetudine uertunt paenitencia . addatur [59] Siquis . cum alio iram tenit . in corde homicida iudicetur Si ñ uult reconciliare fratri suo quē hodio habuit . Tamdiu . in pañ et aq̄ peñt usq: dū reconcilietur ei . [60] De capitalib: āt peccatis . id .ē. homicidiū. Adulteriū Ƿiuriū Furnicacionē Inmundiciā Laici .iii. añ peñt . Clerici .v. Subdiaconi .vi. Diaconi .vii. Praesbi .x. Epsi .xii. [61] De minorib: uero peccatis id .ē. furtū falsū testimoniū et ceteris similib: peccatis . Laici . añ. Clerici .ii. Subdiaconi .iii. Diaconi .iiii. Praesbi .v. epi .vi. finit . iudicium peñt . amen. ⁘

[*The rest of the page, a space of seven lines, has been left blank. The new section follows without title.*]

[BREUIARIUS APOSTOLORUM.]

[f. 55] Simon . qui interpraetatur . oboediens . petrus . agnoscens filius iohannis frāt . andreae . dicetur . ortus uico bethsaida prouinciae . gallileae. Qui propt simonē magū licet . dī occulto nutu romam ꝑuenit ibiq: praedicans euangeliū xxv annoī eiusdē urbē tenuit pontificatū .vi autē . et .xxx anno post passionē . dñi sub nerone caesare ut uoluit . cruci suspensus .ē. Cuius nataliciū .iii. kl iūl celbt.

Paulus qui intpretatur pius . ortus ex tribu beniamin . apostolus genciū . hic .ii. post ascensione dñi añ baptizatus et sub nerone roma eodē die quo et petrus capite truncatus ibiq: sepultus est.

Andreas qui intpraetatur uirilis uel decorus frat petri hic praedicaū

[1] sic MS, *terga* W. et Sch.

[2] Cf. D'Achery *Spicilegium Veterum aliquot Scriptorum*, 2nd edition, ii 25 f, Paris, 1724.

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scitiam et 'a'chaiā Ibiq: in ciuitate patras cruce suspensus occubuit . pridie . k̄l decembris.

Iacob: qui [f. 55v] inīpraetatur subplantator . filius zebedei . frater iōh. Hic spaniae . et occidentalia loca praedicatur et sub herode . gladio caesus occubuit . sepultus .ē. in achaiā . marmarica . VIII k̄l decembris.

Iohannis qui inīpraetatur . gracia dī apostoł et . euangelista . filius zebedei . fraī iacobi . delectus dñi prędicatur asię · et in effeso .VI. k̄l iañ sepultus .ē. nāt 'eius' alia VIII k̄l iūl quando et sc̄i iōh baptistae . cęlebra[illegible]tur.

Thomas qui inīpraetatur . abysus didimus hoc .ē. xp̄i similis hic partes et medis prędicatur et distinans orientalē plagā ibiq: euangeliū prędicaū. Lancea enim ibi transfixus occubuit . in calaminicę . indię ciuitatē ibiq: sepultus .ē. in honore XII. k̄l iañ.

Philippus qui inīpręt̄atur . os . lampadis a bethsaida ciūit ortus . ē . unde et petrus galli'i's prędicaū xp̄m Deinde in frigię prouinciae . crucefixus .ē. [f. 56] et lapidatus obiit. Ibique cum filiab: suis . quiescit . cuius nāt k̄l mādi cęlēb.

Iacob: fraī dñi hierusolimor̄ primus ep̄s . hic dū hierusalē xp̄m dī filiū prędicaret . de templo a iudaeis prępicipitatus . lapidib:q: obpremitur . ibiq: iuxta templū humat' eius nāt . et ordinacio eius VI k̄l iān colitur.

Bartholomeus apostolus nom̄ ex siria lingua suscipit . et inīpręt̄atur . filius suspendentes aquas liconiam praedicaū ad ultemū in albano maiores arminiae urbe uiuens a barbaris decoriatus atq: p̄ iussū reges astrages decollatus sicq: īrae conditus .VIII k̄l septem̄b.

Matheus apostolus et euangelista qui inīpręt̄atur . donatus hic etiā ex tribu sua leui sumpsit cognomentū ex publicano a xp̄o elictus. Primū quidē in iudęa euangelizaū postmodū in macidonia et passus in p̄sida requiescit in montib: pastor̄ XI k̄l octobris.

Simon zelotes Qui inīpręt̄atur zelus hic prius dictus .ē. [f. 56v] cananeus zelo dī feruens. Par 'in' cognomento petri et similis in honore hic accepit aegypti principatū et post iacobū iustū cathedrā dicet' tenuisse hierusolimor̄ post annos . CXX meruit sub adriano p̄ crucē sustenire martyriū passiones. Iacit in porforo eius nataliciū cęlebratur . v. k̄l nouem̄b.

Iudas qui inīpręt̄at' confessor Iacobi frāt in mesopotamia . atq: interiorib: ponti prędicauit Sepultus .ē. in merito arminię urbe cuius festiuitas caelebratur .v. k̄l nouembris.

Mathias de septuaginta discipulos unus et pro iuda scarioth .XII. inī apostolos subrogatus elictus . sorte et solus sine cognomento . cui datur euangelii praedicacio in iudaea ⁘ ⁘

[*The remaining five lines are blank. At the foot of the page, in the centre of the margin, the quire-mark xxxvi is entered by the hand that wrote the text.*]

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Perhaps it would not be out of place to say a few words about the date and home of the celebrated manuscript to which the Supplement once belonged. The date guessed at by Morin, who was perhaps the first scholar to describe and use the Reginensis, is, in my opinion, very near the true one.[1] Writing in 1651, he spoke of it as nine hundred years old.[2] And scholars like Bona and Tommasi accepted his judgement.[3] A greater antiquity was attributed to the manuscript by Delisle,[4] who thought it might be assignable either to the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century. Given the great authority of Delisle's opinion, this view has had very wide acceptance. It has been adopted by the last editor of the manuscript, the Rev. H. A. Wilson, and also by Edmund Bishop and Dom Cabrol.[5] But Delisle's view can hardly be right. No student of uncial script who is familiar with dated eighth-century manuscripts, nor any expert in the decorative initials found in French manuscripts of the pre-Caroline period, would concur in this view. In the opinion of Dr Zimmermann, no mean authority on the art of this period, the middle of the eighth century is the correct date.[6] Till we have surer criteria this date seems more acceptable than the earlier one. I base this judgement on the ground that similar initials, and similar colours for titles, are to be found in manuscripts that are clearly of the second half of the eighth century, and also because the peculiar types of uncials employed in this manuscript are found as titles in a number of French minuscule manuscripts which are, by common consent, of the second half of the eighth century.[7] Lastly, the number and kind of abbreviations favour the later rather than the earlier date.[8] Further support I find in the fact that in the two sections where the Greek text is

[1] J. Morinus *Commentarius Historicus de Disciplina in Administratione Sacramenti Poenitentiae*, etc., Paris, 1651. The MSS exploited for this work are described in an appendix at the end. On p. 52 he discusses our MS.

[2] His exact words are so interesting and instructive as to merit quotation in full: 'Antiquissimus omnium codicum quos nancisci nobis contigit, ille est quem in opere nostro Petauianum saepius vocauimus à Possessore, viro amplissimo, D. Petauio Parlamenti Senatore integerrimo, qui perhumanè, illum nobis dedit vtendum. Illius character nongentis annis non videtur inferior. Est enim scriptus literis majoribus, et quadratis quae vnciales aliqui vocant' (*op. cit.* p. 52).

[3] J. Bona *Rerum Liturgicarum Libri duo*, ed. R. Sala, iii 99; J. M. Thomasius *Codices Sacramentorum nongentis annis vetustiores*, Rome, 1680. See the preface, p. 1 (unnumbered), where Morinus is cited.

[4] L. Delisle *Notice sur vingt manuscrits du Vatican*, pp. 7 ff, Paris, 1877; *Mémoire sur d'anciens Sacramentaires* p. 68, Paris, 1886.

[5] See the works cited above, p. 357, n. 1.

[6] H. Zimmermann *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen* p. 217 f and pls. 135-138.

[7] See the manuscripts enumerated at the close of the article.

[8] The following abbreviations are seen in the Paris leaves. Forms found only in

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written in Latin uncials, the interlinear Latin translation, which is without the least doubt contemporary, is written in a type of pre-Caroline minuscule which is the immediate precursor of the a–b type,[1] and that type flourished in the last few decades of the reign of Charlemagne. What is true of the date of the Sacramentary is also true of the Supplement, as the two parts are manifestly contemporary, and even seem to be the work of the same scribe (see accompanying plates).

When the Paris leaves were detached from the Sacramentary proper, we shall probably never know. The obvious occasion that suggests itself is when the manuscript was taken apart for binding. The colophon on the penultimate page of the Reginensis suggested that the manuscript was complete, without the two extra quires, which may thereupon have been left out of the rebound manuscript. I say rebound, for it is inconceiveable that so beautiful and well-preserved a manuscript could have existed for centuries in loose quires. The earliest scholars to use the Reginensis found it in its present state. Tommasi would not have neglected to mention the Supplement if he had found it, and this is still more true of Morinus, since his work was directly concerned with Penitentials. In fact, Morinus's own words make it quite clear that when the manuscript was still in Paris, in the possession of Senator Petau, it ended precisely as it does to-day.[2]

One would give a great deal to be able to ascertain the scriptorium that produced this manuscript of the Gelasianum. For the present, that is still beyond us. It is certainly a French product, as internal and external evidence amply attest. The presence of Saint Denis in the Canon of the Mass and his precedence over Saints Hilary and Martin gave rise to the view that it was a Paris book, written for the Abbey of Saint Denis. This seemed highly probable to an authority like Duchesne,[3] and Traube in his list of uncial manuscripts, probably following Duchesne, gives Saint Denis as the 'Bibliotheksheimat'.[4]

the Penitential are marked (P). I omit the horizontal abbreviation stroke over words. a = aut or autem (P), at = autem, co = con, c = cum (P), dr = dicitur, eps, epi, epsi = episcopus, -i, .e. = est (later typical of the Tours school), h' = hoc (P), srl = israel, n = non, ni, nm = nostri, nostrum, nom = nomen, omnips, omnps = omnipotens, oma = omnia, p = per, p' = post, q = quae, q; = quia (P), qnm, quo = quoniam, qd = quod, sic = sicut, s = sunt, t = ter, t' = tur or tus (P), ỉ = vel. The nomina sacra have their normal forms. The forms aq et pan = aqua et pane, ans, an = annos, and pen or pent. = paeniteat, occur only in (P).

[1] A facsimile may be seen in Delisle's *Mémoire*, cited above, pl. iv; Ehrle-Liebaert *Specimina codicum Latinorum* pl. 20, and in our pl. 1.

[2] J. Morinus *op. cit.* iv cap. 18 = p. 211, where it is explicitly stated that our MS (his 'antiquissimus Petavianus') ended with the Ordo *Ad Poenitentiam dandam*.

[3] L. Duchesne *Les Origines du Culte chrétien* (2nd ed.) p. 119.

[4] L. Traube *Vorles. und Abh.* i 237.

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The manuscript lacks the familiar Saint Denis *ex libris*, and there is no other external mark connecting it with that abbey. Yet there is palaeographical evidence favouring a Saint Denis origin; it would, however, take us too far afield to examine it now in detail. Here it will suffice to point out that certain curious features found in the half-uncial manuscripts Paris lat. 2706 (Saint Augustine)[1] and Paris Nouv. Acq. lat. 1619 (Oribasius),[2] both eighth-century French manuscripts, are shared by the Reginensis. The first of these manuscripts has the Saint Denis *ex libris*, the second the mention of Abbot Hilduin[3] as a *probatio pennae*. Strictly speaking, these entries establish only later provenance, not origin. The reason no one has claimed these two manuscripts for Saint Denis is because to do so would upset our notions of pre-Caroline French script. For the accepted view of them is that they come from some centre in the north-east of France, to which quarter, too, more recent opinion has assigned the peculiar minuscule which is found in two parts of the Gelasianum, placed interlineally over the Greek, to which reference was made.[4] If this view is correct, one would naturally think of Corbie; but I am inclined to exclude Corbie, for the reason that quite different and easily recognizable types prevailed there in the period to which our manuscript belongs.[5] Had Angilbert been its abbot a generation or so earlier, St Riquier would have seemed to me a suitable centre whence such a manuscript might come,[6] considering its wealth and prestige at that time, and the fact that its inventory of 831 mentions no less than nineteen Gelasian sacramentaries.[7] But whether St Riquier, in the middle of the eighth century, was a sufficiently important school of writing is doubtful. And if one thing is more certain than another, it is that this beautiful, dignified, and well-preserved copy of the Gelasianum is the product of a great school of writing, with all appliances and means to boot. It could not have come from one of the lesser and little-known centres. Furthermore, the centre whence it came must have been familiar with Anglo-Saxon and Irish manuscripts, as may be seen from some of the decorative elements employed, and from the actual form of certain initials. That the Reginensis

[1] Cf. Zimmermann *op. cit.* pl. 129.

[2] Cf. Delisle *Catalogue des manuscrits des fonds Libri et Barrois* pl. v 2; and Zimmermann *op. cit.* pl. 115 b.

[3] A celebrated abbot of that name presided over St Denis in 814. The *probatio pennae* may well belong to about that period.

[4] See W. M. Lindsay *Notae Latinae* p. 472; Zimmermann *op. cit.* pp. 213 ff.

[5] See P. Liebaert in *Palaeographia Latina* (ed. Lindsay) i 62 ff, 1922.

[6] See Edmund Bishop's stimulating and illuminating article in *Liturgica Historica* pp. 314 ff.

[7] Cf. G. Becker *Catalogi Antiqui* p. 28 items 217–235.

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belonged to Paul Petau, Senator of Paris, before it came into the possession of the Queen of Sweden, and that the scrap-book containing the Supplement belonged to Minister Colbert, are facts that offer us no assistance in solving our problem. It would seem that the last word will some day have to be said by pure palaeography.

To assist in its solution I here mention the few MSS known to me which are written in the same type of uncial characters as Reginensis 316. They are:

Paris lat. 6413, Isidorus, Sententiae, De natura rerum.
Paris lat. 10399, foll. 4, 5, 46+ } Eusebius-Rufinus, Historia
Paris lat. 10400, fol. 27 } Ecclesiastica.
Oxford Bodl. Laud. Misc. 126, Augustinus, Epist. and De trinitate.[1]

To these should be added Paris lat. 18282, Euseb.-Rufinus, Hist. Eccles. and Paris lat. 12240 and 12241 in which, however, only the titles are in the type of uncial under discussion, the text being in minuscule. The latter two MSS contain volumes II and III of Cassiodorus's work on the Psalms, volume I being found in Paris lat. 12239, written in a different type of minuscule, namely, the Corbie type to which Liebaert gave the name *en*.[2] The three volumes all come from the library of Corbie, but volume I is older than the other two and in a different script. Inasmuch as Reginensis 316 has some writing in a peculiar type of contemporary minuscule it is useful to mention here what other MSS show the same script. They are:

Autun 20, Gregorius, Dialogi, and Augustinus, Enchiridion,
Montpellier 3, Evangelia.
Oxford, Bodl. Douce f. 1, Sacram. Gelasianum (fragm.).[3]
Paris lat. 4808 (fol. 121), Enigmata Symphosii.

Whoever is fortunate enough to fix the precise home of any of the above MSS will, I believe, either have discovered, or be on the way to discovering, the centre whence comes the oldest extant copy of the oldest Roman mass-book.

E. A. Lowe.

[1] Facsimiles in *New Palaeographical Society* pls. 83–85; Chatelain *Uncialis Scriptura* pls. 52, 96; Zimmermann *op. cit.* pls. 138–141.

[2] Facsimile in Lindsay's *Pal. Lat.* i pl. 2.

[3] Facsimile in Wilson's *Gelasian Sacramentary* p. lvii. It is a fact worth noting that Reginensis 316 and the Douce fragment, the oldest witnesses, both came from the same school of writing. It is to some neighbouring school, moreover, that we must assign, on palaeographical grounds, the index in Reims MS 8; the lost Sacramentary which began with this index must have been practically identical with the Reginensis. Cf. A. Wilmart *Revue Bénédictine*, Oct. 1913, pp. 437–450.

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NAASSENES AND OPHITES

I.

ONE of the most curious and interesting of the Gnostic sources employed by Hippolytus in his *Refutatio omnium haeresium* is that embedded in *Ref.* v 6–11. With the possible exception of the hymn, *Ref.* v 10, the piece is a unity and consists of tolerably well-connected extracts from an apologetic work of the Naassenes, a sect that derived its name from the Hebrew word for serpent נחש. The origin of this sect and its connexion with other forms of Gnosticism has been a matter of some dispute.[1] It is the purpose of this essay to investigate the origins and influence of the Naassenes and to comment on some neglected aspects of their thought and practice.

All the information that we possess about the Naassenes is derived from Hippolytus, and fortunately more of the source employed in *Ref.* v 6–11 can be found elsewhere in his work. A brief study of the description of Monoïmus the Arab, *Ref.* viii 12–15, is sufficient to show that the system of this theologian is identical with that of the Naassenes and the similarities of ideas and phraseology are close enough to justify combining the two accounts and regarding Monoïmus as the author of Hippolytus's Naassene source. Hippolytus says of the Naassene doctrine of Adam: *οὗτος, φησίν, ἐστὶν Ὠκεανὸς "γενέσις τε θεῶν, γενέσις τ' ἀνθρώπων" ἐκ παλιρροίας στρεφόμενος αἰεί, πότε ἄνω πότε κάτω*[2]: while in the account of Monoïmus it appears that *Μονοΐμος ὁ Ἄραψ μακρὰν τῆς τοῦ μεγαλοφώνου ποιητοῦ δόξης γεγένηται, τοιοῦτόν τινα τόν ἄνθρωπον νομίσας, ὁποῖον ὁ ποιητὴς τὸν Ὠκεανόν, οὕτω πως λέγων Ὠκεανὸς γενέσις τε θεῶν γενέσις τε ἀνθρώπων. ταῦτα ἄλλοις λόγοις μεταστήσας λέγει ἄνθρωπον εἶναι τὸ πᾶν.*[3] Monoïmus also said: *ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος μία μονάς ἐστιν ἀσύνθετος, ἀδιαίρετος . . . πάντα γεννῶσα. αὕτη μήτηρ, αὕτη πατήρ, τὰ δύο ἀθάνατα ὀνόματα*[4]: while the verse from the Naassene hymn to Adam quoted in *Ref.* v 6. 5 runs *ἀπὸ σοῦ πατὴρ καὶ διὰ σὲ μήτηρ, τὰ δυὸ ἀθάνατα ὀνόματα, αἰώνων γονεῖς, πολῖτα οὐρανοῦ, μεγαλώνυμε ἄνθρωπε.* Monoïmus and the Naassenes both regarded

[1] For the older-literature see the article 'Ophitismus' in *Realencyclopädie f. prot. Theologie.* The most important special studies are those of G. Salmon 'The Cross-References in the Philosophumena in *Hermathena* v, 1885, pp. 389–402; H. Stähelin *Die gnostischen Quellen Hippolytos in seiner Hauptschrift gegen die Haeretiker*: Texte und Untersuchungen vi 3, 1890, pp. 1–108; R. Reitzenstein *Poimandres*, Leipzig, 1904, pp. 81 ff; W. Bousset *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, Göttingen, 1907, pp. 160 ff and *passim*; E. de Faye *Gnostiques et Gnosticisme*, Paris, 1913, pp. 167 ff.

[2] *Ref.* v 7. 38. [3] *Ibid.* viii 12. 1–2. [4] *Ibid.* viii 12. 5.

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Egypt as the symbol of the body,[1] both agreed on the doctrine of Adam and his son, and both explained the universe by a materialistic monism.[2] The absence of an emphasis on the Pythagorean symbol of the κεραία for the Son in the account of the Naassenes, and the absence of the serpent in the description of Monoïmus is intelligible since both accounts are extracts and do not represent their originals completely. The description of Monoïmus contains very little about his doctrine of salvation, but *Ref.* viii 15. 1–3 is in complete accord with such passages as v 7. 36 and v 8. 14 ff. It seems, therefore, extremely probable that the accounts of the theology of the Naassenes and of Monoïmus were based on the same work and that this was Monoïmus's *Epistola ad Theophrastum* mentioned in *Ref.* viii 15. 1. The separation of the two accounts need occasion little surprise. Hippolytus must have read much in preparation for his great work. It is quite likely that he made two sets of notes from Monoïmus's dogmatic epistle, one of which he labelled with the name of its author, the other with the name of the sect to which he belonged. In putting together his materials he might easily have forgotten their common origin and so have given them separate places in his *Refutatio*.

Unlike the case of so many Gnostics, we know something of the religious life of the Naassenes and can tell where they went to church. From this point of view they were certainly not Christians, for Hippolytus says that they attended the mysteries of Attis and Cybele and performed all the rites of their savage worship except the culminating act of self-mutilation. In spite of their aversion to castration they preserved the strictest continence and held that all sexual relations must be renounced by those who would follow them along the gnostic path.[3] In addition to their share in the cult of Cybele, the Naassenes had rites of their own which included baptism and an anointing with oil that symbolized, if they did not actually effect, regeneration.[4] To the outside world, therefore, which did not concern itself particularly with their theological opinions, the Naassenes must have appeared as an only mildly enthusiastic group of worshippers of the Great Mother who had added to her mysteries some eccentricities of their own.

Of their theology Hippolytus says that its principal feature was the honour paid to 'Man' and the 'Son of Man', two deities who held the chief places in their system.[5] The names of those gods suggest the υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου of the Gospels and it is easy to see how Gentiles who met this unintelligible Greek phrase as the title of an incarnate deity known also as the 'Son of God', supposed that the Son of Man's

[1] *Ref.* v 7. 39–41, v 8. 2, viii 14. 3.
[2] Bousset recognized the identity of the two systems, *Hauptprobleme* p. 171 n. 2.
[3] *Ref.* v 9. 10–11. [4] *Ibid.* v 7. 19. [5] *Ibid.* v 6. 4–5.

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divine Father was named Ἄνθρωπος or Man. Apart, however, from the expression 'Son of Man' and its immediate implications, the Gospels give little help for the understanding of this part of Naassene thought, for the scene shifts suddenly to Genesis and the doctrine of Man and his Son is developed by a Platonizing exegesis of the story of creation already familiar from Philo.

It will be remembered that Philo in the *De opificio mundi* and in the *Legum allegoriae* distinguishes between 'the first Man' who is the ideal type of humanity existing as a pattern for the phenomenal world in the κόσμος νοητός, and 'the second Man' who is its counterpart in earthly humanity.[1] In a passage in the *De confusione linguarum* he appears to identify the first Man with the divine λόγος,[2] and throughout his discussion he maintains that actual humanity can be saved only by participation in the ideal from which it has fallen into the lower sphere of earthly existence.[3]

The relation of the first Man to the second Man and of both to God are complicated by the issues of several philosophic problems which these figurative expressions are only partly successful in stating. The chief distinction between the divine and the human reason is clear to Philo: the divine reason is a pure transcendent being, evolved directly from the blessed substance of God, but the human reason is a neutral stuff capable equally of corruption or of refinement, since through sin and error it may go hopelessly astray but in emancipation from its earthly bonds and in co-operation with its divine original, the germ of which it contains, it may be saved.[4] The inconsistency between the eternal calm of God's rational nature and the benevolent activity of His creative reason immanent both in the world and in humanity was never satisfactorily treated by Philo, but later received an explanation popular for a time among Christian theologians in a distinction between God's λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and λόγος προφορικός.[5] With this distinction the Naassenes were familiar for they referred to Christ as ὁ ἐν πᾶσι . . . τοῖς γενητοῖς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου κεχαρακτηρισμένος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀχαρακτηρίστου λόγου,[6] but in employing it their treatment of the second Man became confused. For them the first Man was what Christian theologians of the period would have called God's λόγος ἐνδιάθετος; but the second Man was sometimes what these same theologians would have called the divine λόγος προφορικός, immanent in man, and sometimes the fallen and

[1] *De opificio mundi* § 134 (p. 32 M), *Legum allegoria* II, § 4 (p. 67 M). A similar distinction is to be found in the Hermetic literature.

[2] *De confusione linguarum* §§ 145–147, cf. § 41. Bousset *op. cit.* p. 196.

[3] *Leg. alleg.* I §§ 53–55 (p. 54 M), II §§ 4 ff (p. 67 M).

[4] *Ibid.* I 32 ff (p. 50 M); cf. I 49 ff (p. 53 M).

[5] Cf. *J. T. S.*, Oct. 1923, pp. 43 ff.

[6] *Ref.* v 7. 33; cf. v 8. 21, v 9. 1–2.

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neutral stuff of humanity which was capable either of redemption or of further degradation.[1] In one passage this difficulty is cleared by an admission of a third man who represents the psychic in distinction both from the angelic or rational and from the earthly nature of man.[2]

Let us now turn to the exposition of Naassene theology which Hippolytus gives and see how these ideas are worked out in systematic development. In the beginning man (here actual humanity) lay without breath or motion, inert like a statue bearing the image of a heavenly original, until at length an animating principle (ψυχή) was given to him in order that the image of the great and perfect Man which he held in slavery might suffer. The reason for this suffering was inexplicable[3]; but its actuality was a fact of experience, and so the Naassenes were driven to consider the nature of the life principle that clothed humanity with flesh and blood but exposed its better side to the physical and moral struggle. The result of their reflexion was that the desire for ψυχή was a universal property of all existence; for everything that changes has soul, and soul is the cause of all change both on earth and in heaven.

The Assyrians called ψυχή Adonis or Endymion, and described it by myths. Under the name Adonis it is desired by Aphrodite, the principle of generation; but if it is cut off from Aphrodite's love and succumbs to the passion of Kore and Persephone, it becomes mortal and perishable. The love of Selene for Endymion proclaims the need of the upper regions for ψυχή. In the Phrygian myth the mutilation of Attis through Cybele's jealous passion indicates that the masculine element in life is capable of immortality, and that answering the call of the eternal and blessed Nature, symbolized by the Mother of the Gods, it can mount aloft and be assimilated to that perfect Humanity in which all that is best in mankind is united and from which even its most fundamental discord, the difference of sex, has been eliminated.[4]

To the myth of Attis also the Naassenes appealed to justify their asceticism. The castration of Attis symbolized to them the emancipation of humanity from its earthly limitations, and of these sex is the most characteristic illustration. They did not go to the length of self-mutilation like the priests of the Great Mother, but enjoined strict continence on the ground that sensual pleasures distracted the soul

[1] See the striking passage in v 8. 24 *οἱ δὲ αὐτοί, φησί, Φρύγες τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον πάλιν ἐκ μεταβολῆς λέγουσι θεόν. γίνεται γάρ, φησί, θεὸς ὅταν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστὰς διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης πύλης εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν.*

[2] *Ref.* v 6, 7.

[3] The Naassenes were apparently willing to leave unexplained the reason for humanity's fall and some of the details of the redemptive process, but these gaps may be due only to the fragmentary character of Hippolytus's extracts.

[4] *Ref.* v 7. 6–14.

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from its pursuit of salvation.[1] Furthermore, they were not content to leave the problem of sex at that point, but, with a Freudian twist, insisted that transformed and purified it could become the central impulse of religious life. The goal of religion they declared to be 'blessed delight' and proved it from Rom. i 27: ὁμοίως τε. καὶ οἱ ἄρρενες ἀφέντες τὴν φυσικὴν χρῆσιν τῆς θηλείας ἐξεκαύθησαν ἐν τῇ ὀρέξει αὐτῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους, ἄρρενες ἐν ἄρρεσιν τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην κατεργαζόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν ἣν ἔδει τῆς πλάνης αὐτῶν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἀπολαμβάνοντες. By a fantastic etymology they took ἀσχημοσύνη in this verse to refer to the first principle of existence, ἡ πρώτη καὶ μακαρία ἀσχημάτιστος οὐσία, and held that ἀσχημοσύνην κατεργαζόμενοι meant 'obtaining the blessed substance', while τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν . . . ἀπολαμβάνοντες referred to the gnostic initiation into ἀμάραντον ἡδονήν by baptism and chrism.[2]

Another development of the same idea is to be found in the complicated exegesis of 'the kingdom of heaven is within you', in which 'kingdom of heaven' is taken to refer to the primary substance.[3] A quotation is given from the Gospel of Thomas in which the god is made to say 'He who seeks me will find me in children from seven years old and upwards; for there I who am hidden am revealed in the fourteenth year'. Hippolytus connects this with a saying of Hippocrates[4] that at seven years the boy is half a father, and points out that the object of Naassene exegesis is to identify the first principle of the universe with the vital principle in human life. This identification is strengthened by a reference to Hermes whose symbol is the phallus, but who is also called the λόγος, the rational and creative principle of the universe.[5]

The section which follows on Hermes is a complex of exegesis in which the leading motif is furnished by some verses from Homer.[6] The theme is the fall of souls and their restoration. They fell from unity with ideal Humanity to separate earthly existence in bondage to the creator of this world, Isaldaios, a fiery god, who occupies the fourth place in the rank of superior deities. In this state they forgot their heavenly origin until roused from forgetfulness by Hermes or Christ, the Logos. He who is the son of ideal Humanity is also a fallen creature, the rational and intelligible derivative of a transcendent ineffable reason. He is immanent in all things and especially in man, though his presence is unsuspected. Through him, however, some men remember the ideal Humanity of which they, too, were once

[1] *Ref.* v 7. 15. [2] *Ibid.* v 7. 16-19. [3] *Ibid.* v 7. 20-21.

[4] This saying is not found in any of the extant works of Hippocrates; cf. Wendland's note *ad hoc.*

[5] *Ref.* v 7. 29. [6] *Ibid.* v 7. 30—v 8. 8.

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a part and are thus saved from plunging to destruction. By his influence they may be born again and, passing from flesh to spirit, become one with the God in whose nature they share. This race of perfect men (*τέλειοι ἄνθρωποι*) is the crowning achievement of the Logos, for he has endowed them with his own life (John i 4).[1] It is also a secret unknown to previous generations, but now revealed as the central mystery of the Naassene religion. It is symbolized by the miracle of the wine at Cana which indicates the way in which the Logos transforms the neutral stuff of human existence into the rational life of the initiated and redeemed gnostic. This element in human nature which makes possible its transformation is its original share in the primary rational substance, the kingdom of heaven within us, or, to use another biblical simile, the leaven concealed in three measures of meal.

This same scheme of salvation that consists essentially in the awakening of the human reason to a realization of its kinship and fundamental identity with the rational principle of the universe, the divine Logos, is expounded again and again with different metaphors. It is extracted from a host of texts, with that perverse ingenuity already well known in the later school of Stoicism through Philo, Cornutus, and the author of the *Quaestiones Homericae*. A few examples will suffice. The God who dwells in the flood and who cries out of many waters (cf. Ps. xxviii 10, 3) is the Logos who beseeches the supreme God from the depths of human nature to save his only begotten from the lions (cf. Ps. xxxiv 7, 21; xxi 21–22). The Logos also is addressed, 'Thou, Israel, art my child, fear not. If thou passest through the waters they shall not wash over thee and if thou passest through the fire it shall not burn thee' (Isa. xliii 1, 2), the 'waters' being the *ὑγρὰ τῆς γενέσεως οὐσία*, and the 'fire' the impulse and desire *ἐπὶ τὴν γένεσιν*.[2] The entrance of the Logos into the life of the believer is the occasion of his rebirth by which he ceases to be fleshly and becomes spiritual (cf. John iii 6) and the event is described by the verses in the Psalms, 'Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lifted up ye everlasting doors, and the king of glory shall come in'. The Logos is the king of glory; he is 'the mighty in battle', i. e. in the body, which has been fashioned out of warring elements (cf. Job xl 27); he enters in at the gate which leads into Mesopotamia (a sudden shift to Gen. xxviii 7, 12), i. e. into the stream of 'the great ocean' that flows from the midst of perfect Humanity.[3]

From all this it should be evident that the structure of the Naassene Logos doctrine is very similar to one current at the time in orthodox Christianity, for the figures of the Men serve only to represent in

[1] *Ref.* v 8. 5. [2] *Ibid.* v 8. 15–16. [3] *Ibid.* v 8. 18–21.

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mythical form a philosophic theory, and the relation between the Man and his Son corresponds closely to those existing between the divine Logoi of Clement and Theophilus.[1] As we have seen, the relation between the natural, corruptible human reason and the divine Logos also latent in man was a difficulty, but this difficulty was felt no less keenly by Christian writers like Justin Martyr, who in identifying man's natural reason with the Logos of God was forced to assume that sin and error were committed under demonic influence.[2] The Naassenes avoided this cumbersome hypothesis by assuming that the divine Logos was not only a secondary but a fallen principle that must strive with mankind to regain its place in the Godhead from whence it came and to end the unnatural separation between the divine Father and his Son.

The restoration of the Logos and the redemption of mankind are conceived as complementary aspects of the same process. From the point of view of the individual gnostic this process consists of two stages: (1) the consciousness of possessing a fragment of the Divine Reason and the capacity to use it, (2) the activity of this Reason culminating in the knowledge of God whereby the Gnostic comes to share in the spiritual nature of the divine object of his thought and to become in him a pure and immortal being. By the same process and at the same moment in which the τέλειοι gain the knowledge of God, the divine Logos working in them is united with the Godhead, for in such γνῶσις subject and object merge. The identity of the two results, the restoration of the fallen Logos and the redemption of the τέλειοι, is emphasized by the use of the same term ἀναγέννησις to describe both events. Man is saved by rebirth from fleshly to spiritual life; the Logos is reborn when its seeds, scattered and concealed in the depths of human nature, bear fruit in the race of perfect men who are one with the ideal Humanity they represent and with the God of whose mind they are now the perfect image.[3]

The Christology of the Naassenes is no less interesting in relation to Christian theology than their Logos doctrine. At first sight, the principal feature of their teaching about Christ seems to be their identification of him with numerous pagan deities like Hermes, Attis, Adonis, and Osiris. This, however, is only incidental to their theory of salvation and is less characteristic of them than of the age to which they belonged and its syncretistic tendencies which they shared. For them Christ was very God and very man. They did not hesitate to say that he is κατὰ πάνθ' ὁμοούσιος with God,[4] and it is plain from the

[1] *J. T. S.*, Oct. 1923, pp. 46 ff.
[2] *Apol.* I. §§ 5, 10 (Otto, 3rd ed. i pp. 18, 32–34).
[3] *Ref.* v 8. 22 ff.
[4] *Ibid.* v 8. 9–12.

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context that ὁμοούσιος is used, not in its Sabellian sense, but with what later became its orthodox meaning. They were also careful to maintain that Christ possessed a rational, psychic, and earthly nature so that by his redemptive act all three elements of which creation was composed might be saved with him.[1]

Like all Gnostic systems, the Naassene had a cosmology.[2] Monoïmus warns his readers against the simplifying view that the universe consists of but one principle; for it has, in fact, three. The first is the blessed nature of the first Man or Adam-exalted-on-High; the second is the lower sphere of mortal existence; the third is an intermediate stage which transcends the realm of mortal things but is not equal to that of the perfect Man. To these three spheres correspond three Logoi who, in this connexion, are called οἱ τρεῖς ὑπέρογκοι λόγοι and bear the imposing titles Kaulakau, Saulasau, and Zeisar (cf. Isa. xxviii 10). The first presides over the upper realm of the first Adam; the second belongs to the perishable realm beneath; the third controls that current in the stream of existence that flows towards salvation. Zeisar is apparently identical with the Son of Man, the Logos who created all except the lowest sphere for which Saulasau and Isaldaios are jointly responsible.[3] In the process of salvation the fallen souls are redeemed from degrading contact with earth and are raised to the middle sphere where they become one with the Son of Man and join the company of Mariam, Jothar, Sephora, and Moses. The fragmentary character of these sections on cosmology does not permit our placing them in any very satisfactory organic connexion with the rest of the system, but it may be assumed that the three ὑπέρογκοι λόγοι correspond to the three men referred to in *Ref.* v 6, 7 and that Kaulakau and Zeisar are identical with Adam and his son.

Another significant feature of Naassene theology is that it cloaks beneath a patchwork of varied and ill-assorted myths the ontology of Stoicism. The fundamental principle of the universe is πνεῦμα[4] or

[1] *Ref.* v 6, 7; cf. with this the *physische Erlösungslehre* of Athanasius in *de Incarnatione* 15. Loofs *Dogmengeschichte*, 4te Aufl., pp. 231–232.

[2] *Ibid.* v 8. 1 ff.

[3] *Ibid.* v 8. 5. Though the order given above is different it is clear that Saulasau is the third god, for this would be his position if the spheres were counted from top to bottom. Isaldaios as the fourth deity is fixed by v 7. 30.

[4] This fact has been obscured by an emendation of Schneidewin's that has been taken over by Reitzenstein and Wendland. The MS reads λέγουσιν οὖν περὶ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος οὐσίας, ἥτις ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν γινομένων αἰτία, ὅτι τούτων ἔστιν οὐδέν, γεννᾷ δὲ καὶ ποιεῖ πάντα τὰ γινόμενα, λέγοντες οὕτως, Γίνομαι ὃ θέλω καὶ εἰμὶ ὃ εἰμί. The editors substitute σπέρματος for πνεύματος, but πνεύματος is clearly right. In the apocryphal saying, Γίνομαι ὃ θέλω κτλ., it has been seen that the second half is reminiscent of Exod. iii 14, but it is no less evident that the first recalls John iii 8. *Ref.* v 7. 25.

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ὕδωρ.[1] It is animate[2] and rational but is none the less material for possessing those properties which Platonists had always claimed to be the distinguishing marks of immaterial reality. The confusion of πνεῦμα and ὕδωρ in the ὑγρὰ οὐσία was already familiar in Stoicism,[3] and is in harmony with the Naassene view that the vital and rational principles of human life are fundamentally one.

So far little has been said of the serpent from which the Naassenes derived the name of their sect. In spite of the Hebrew form and its apparent connexion with the serpent of the Garden of Eden, there is no reference to the Biblical story in the fragment that Hippolytus quotes from his source. This omission would be very curious if Naassene theology had been constructed principally on the basis of Gen. iii; but another explanation is given for the Naassenes' veneration of the serpent. They regarded it as the symbol of that divine, rational, and life-bearing substance which was the first principle of the universe, and maintained that no mystery, no secret rite, no religion existed in which the serpent did not figure. Every sanctuary, they said, was adorned with its image, and even the Greek word for temple, ναός, was derived from ναάς, the Greek transliteration of נחש.[4] From this it seems probable that the Naassene symbol of the serpent did not originate in Gen. iii but sprang from the mixed soil of contemporary pagan religion. In the process of its growth doubtless the slip from Genesis was grafted on to the stock and contributed its own pattern to the finished growth that Hippolytus depicts; but it is important to recognize that the Biblical element is the slip and not the root. Though Hippolytus does not give us the clue, it is easy to imagine how a new allegorical illustration for their theology could have been derived from Genesis iii by minds which had so completely fallen victims to the fascination of words and their accidental associations.

II.

We are now in a position to consider the question of the relation of the Naassenes to other forms of Gnosticism. The only forerunner of Monoïmus who can be determined with certainty is Simon Magus. The Naassenes accepted Simon's Ἀπόφασις Μεγάλη as a sacred book,[5] and their cosmology and doctrine of the Logos shew clear traces of his

[1] *Ibid.* v 9. 13 εἶναι δὲ τὸν ὄφιν λέγουσιν οὗτοι τὴν ὑγρὰν οὐσίαν καθάπερ καὶ Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος καὶ μηδὲν δύνασθαι τῶν ὄντων ὕλως, ἀθανάτων ἢ θνητῶν, ἐμψύχων ἢ ἀψύχων, συνεστηκέναι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ. ὑποκεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα καὶ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἔχειν πάντων ἐν αὐτῷ . . . τὸ κάλλος. Cf. v 7. 23 Ὄσιριν δὲ λέγουσιν ὕδωρ.

[2] It is animate because endowed with ψυχή. The definitions of πνεῦμα in v 7. 25 and of ψυχή in v 7. 10 are identical: πάντων τῶν γινομένων αἰτία.

[3] J. von Arnim *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta* I §§ 126–128, II §§ 741 ff.

[4] *Ref.* v 9. 12.

[5] *Ibid.* v 9. 5.

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influence. Simon, however, assumed the existence of a female cosmic principle, and against this view Monoïmus vigorously protested.[1] Monoïmus's system must, therefore, be regarded on one side as a conscious revision of Simon's theology, but in its doctrine of salvation through the serpent it struck out independent lines of thought.

The descendants of the Naassenes were much more numerous than their ancestors. The curious similarity between Naassene theology and that of other Gnostics described in *Ref.* v has long been a matter of discussion.[2] This similarity led Salmon and Stähelin to suppose that no group such closely related of sects ever existed, and that the records of them preserved in *Ref.* v are only clever frauds imposed upon Hippolytus by a forger who used the bishop's enthusiasm for new Gnostic material for his own profit. So cumbersome a hypothesis is, however, quite unnecessary, for the differences between the Gnostics of *Ref.* v are as striking as their resemblances and are frequently fundamental. Furthermore, the literary procedure of Hippolytus in this book is quite normal; for, although he undoubtedly did not know at first-hand all the literature that he mentions, he quotes directly from some books and it is possible to determine roughly what his sources are for the description of each sect, and so to fix with some degree of certainty the proper subjects for the frequently recurring φησί. In the case of the Naassenes it is plain that he used Monoïmus's *Epistle to Theophrastus*. And he may have had before him the Gospel of Thomas, the Gospel of the Egyptians, a Naassene hymn-book, and the Simonian *Apophasis*; but this is less certain since his quotations from these may have been taken at second-hand from Monoïmus. Of the copious literature attributed to the Peratici he may have had more than one specimen on which to base his account of their theology, but his longest quotation is taken from a single anonymous source.[3] In his description of the Sethites the *Paraphrasis of Seth*[4] was his principal guide; while for Justinus he selected out of a large number of works one entitled *Baruch*.[5]

It is important to notice in connexion with the repeated φησί in this portion of the *Refutatio* that it cannot possibly always refer to the same author and so indicate a single source to which all of *Ref.* v goes back. In the case of each sect the subject of φησί is clearly responsible for the views advanced.[6] There is, therefore, nothing in the literary structure of *Ref.* v to raise suspicions against its historical value or

[1] *Ref.* viii 13. 4, viii 14. 5. In v 6. 5 and viii 12. 5 a paternal and a maternal nature are both ascribed to the Man.

[2] See especially Stähelin and de Faye *op. cit.*

[3] *Ref.* v 14. 10. [4] *Ibid.* v 22. [5] *Ibid.* v 27. 1.

[6] *Ibid.* v 7. 1, v 7. 15, v 9. 1, v 16. 1, v 17. 4, v 19. 19, v 19. 20, v 21. 5 v 24. 1.

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against the picture it presents of a group of closely related sects whose theologies have much in common but also present significant differences. It is only from a study of these similarities and differences that the relations between these sects can be determined and the influence of the Naassenes upon their development be estimated.

The Peratici share with the Naassenes the triple division of the world,[1] the doctrine of the fall of souls,[2] a theory of salvation through the Logos who is identified with the serpent,[3] and certain technical terms like ἰδικὸς κόσμος for the lowest sphere,[4] ἐξυπνισμένοι for the saved souls,[5] and Egypt as a symbol for the body.[6] In both systems the two upper spheres are eternal, the lowest perishable,[7] and the process of salvation consists in nurturing the precious divine seeds implanted in humanity till they bring forth fruit in the pure atmosphere of the heavenly realm.[8] With these points, however, similarity ceases. For the Naassenes the element water is included in the primary substance of the universe; it is the divine, creative, and ordering principle of the world, and is identified with the Logos under the name of Osiris.[9] For the Peratici water is the principle of corruption, the stuff of which the third and lowest sphere is composed, so that salvation consists in the complete ejection from human nature of that element which the Naassenes held to be most salutary.[10] The way to elaboration in cosmology is opened by the Peratici's division of the three ἀρχαί into innumerable subordinate powers,[11] and the influence of this can be seen in their more complicated anthropology. For the Naassenes the souls that are to be saved contain spermata of the one divine Logos who rises to life in the process of their growth; but in Peratic theology, humanity is the ground in which the seeds of innumerable spiritual and demonic forces have been sown and where they maintain a fierce struggle for independent existence.[12] The doctrine of redemption through the serpent is also affected; for the Logos-Serpent who is the saviour is now opposed by the serpents of the wilderness, the evil demons who destroy the souls of men and can only be overcome by the serpent of Aaron's rod, who destroys them and guards his own followers from their poisonous attacks.[13] The figures of the three men which formed an important part of Naassene Christology stand isolated in the Peratic scheme from their original context and

[1] *Ref.* v 12. 1.
[2] *Ibid.* v 12. 5–6, v 15. 3.
[3] *Ibid.* v 16. 7, v 16. 12.
[4] *Ibid.* v 12. 2, v 15. 2.
[5] *Ibid.* v 17. 8; cf. v 14. 1.
[6] *Ibid.* v 16. 4–5.
[7] *Ibid.* v 12. 3, v 12. 7.
[8] *Ibid.* v 12. 5, v 17. 1 ff.
[9] *Ibid.* v 7. 23.
[10] *Ibid.* v 16. 2.
[11] *Ibid.* v 12. 3; cf. the elaborate genealogy of subordinate beings in v 14.
[12] *Ibid.* v 12. 5.
[13] *Ibid.* v 16. 7 ff.

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merely represent, as figure-heads, the three realms into which the universe is divided.[1] In this comparison of Naassene and Peratic theology there can be little doubt as to which theory is the earlier and more original. The direction of Peratic thought is always towards elaboration and particularly towards that type of elaboration that lends itself easily to highly coloured imaginative representation.

A somewhat different expansion and modification of Naassene ideas is to be found among the Sethites. Here, too, three ἀρχαί are distinguished in the universe of which the two upper are eternal and the lowest is corruptible.[2] The opposition between the upper and the lower realms is pictured as a struggle between light and darkness,[3] and the redemption of humanity consists in fanning the sparks that are latent in the souls of men until they burst out of darkness into a single pure flame in the spiritual atmosphere of the middle realm.[4] A characteristic feature of Sethite thought is the activity ascribed to the principle of darkness. In the Naassene system the bare principle of existence is neutral[5] and is capable either of salvation or of degradation; in the Peratic view its nature is corruption (φθορά)[6]; but for the Sethites, darkness is conscious that its life depends on holding the sparks of light that lie hidden within it and are released by the saving activity of the Logos of whose nature these σπινθῆρες are a part.[7]

The clearest instance of dependence on Naassene thought is to be found in the Sethite doctrine of the serpents. The Naassenes took the serpent as a symbol of the element of water which they exalted to the highest place and made a part of the being of God. The Sethites, however, agreed with the Peratici in holding that water was the element of the lowest sphere.[8] Nevertheless they continued to represent water by a serpent and invented another serpent, identical in appearance with the first, to perform the work of salvation. The first serpent is ὁ ἄνεμος τοῦ σκότους, ὁ πρωτόγονος τῶν ὑδάτων, who impregnates the 'impure womb' of existence and begets mortal man; the second serpent is the Logos, ὁ ἄνωθεν τοῦ φωτὸς τέλειος λόγος, ὁ τέλειος ἄνθρωπος, who assumes the form of a serpent and descends into the virgin's womb, here taken as the ἀκάθαρτος μήτρα, to rescue the sparks of divine light.[9] By a strange confusion the god of the lowest sphere, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ κάτωθεν, is described as the creator of the divine reason in man, though it is recognized elsewhere that the latter is of a different order of being, derived from above.[10]

Of all the systems that have unmistakeable affinities with that of the

[1] *Ref.* v 12. 3-4.
[2] *Ibid.* v 19. 1.
[3] *Ibid.* v 19. 2-3. Are these perhaps the ancestors of the Manichees? Cf. F. C. Burkitt *Religion of the Manichees* pp. 72 ff.
[4] *Ibid.* v 19. 4, v 19. 13 ff; cf. v 11. 3.
[5] *Ibid.* v 7. 37 ff.
[6] *Ibid.* v 16. 2.
[7] *Ibid.* v 19. 6-7.
[8] *Ibid.* v 19. 5.
[9] *Ibid.* v 19. 19-20.
[10] *Ibid.* v 19. 16-17.

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Naassenes, the theology of the Ophites, described by Irenaeus and Epiphanius, is the most independent.[1] This is principally due to the closer attention paid by the Ophites to the biblical story of creation and to the large quantity of bizarre mythological detail with which the story in Gen. i–iii has been embellished. The doctrine of the two men and its underlying theory of the divine Logoi has been wrenched from its context[2] and thrust into a myth as monstrous in its conception as it is crude in its design. As episode follows episode in the tragedy of creation, it is almost impossible to trace the underlying structure of speculation that formed the original plot of this wild development. Critics have noticed a confusion in the accounts of the Ophite doctrine of the serpent, for it appears now as the saviour of mankind, now as its seducer, and have supposed that two different theories of the nature of the serpent were combined so carelessly that their discrepancy was not observed.[3] It is true that our accounts of Ophite theology are contradictory at this point, but we have already seen that the Sethites whose theology belongs to this same line of tradition had invented a theory of two serpents in which one was the principle of evil, the other the saviour of humanity. It seems likely that the Ophites followed the Sethites in their doctrine of the two serpents, and that the theory was presented in too complicated a form to be intelligible to Irenaeus whose account forms the basis of subsequent descriptions.

The common and principal feature of all these Gnostic systems that show traces of Naassene influence is their interest in adorning their closely related theories of salvation with characteristic imaginative cosmologies in which the celestial forces are multiplied to a myriad hosts only to be divided by jealous rivalries and the conflicts of private aims and activities. Monoïmus, like Cornutus, was interested in mythology because he could extract from it, by allegorical exegesis, a philosophic theory and so could claim for that theory the divine inspiration of Homer and Moses. For his descendants, however, the myth was the important thing, and their theology consequently presents a highly composite structure in which the Naassene theory of the universe is only occasionally, though unmistakeably, noticeable in points of detail.[4]

Only a rough approximation can be made to the dates of the Naassene movement. If the Ophites, described by Irenaeus, are regarded as the epigoni of the Naassenes, a sufficient time must be allowed for the transition of the one religion into the other; but this need not have been long, as such developments were rapid. On

[1] *Adv. omn. haer.* I 30. [2] *Ibid.* I 30. [3] De Faye *op. cit.* pp. 341–342.

[4] The relations of the systems discussed here to those of Justin the Gnostic and to later Ophites like those of *Pistis Sophia* are more difficult to make out.

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stylistic grounds, Wilamowitz has placed in the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117–138)[1] the hymn to Attis, on which a large section of Hippolytus's source forms a commentary; so that it is probable that Monoïmus flourished shortly before the middle of the second century.

A fair idea of the environment and circumstances that conditioned the growth of the Naassenes can be gained from Lucian's (?) contemporary account of the temple of Atargatis at Syrian Hierapolis,[2] and it is not inconceivable that the Naassenes originated there. Monoïmus might have been one of the emissaries sent from Arabia to bring the annual offerings to the famous shrine[3] who had stayed on at the temple only to be infected by the atmosphere of syncretism that hung about the place, and induced to found a religion of his own. The adherents of the new sect continued to participate in the mysteries of the Great Mother, but like many other worshippers at Hierapolis they could have had ideas of their own about the significance of the rites they practised and the nature of the deities they worshipped. Doubtless Monoïmus, in spite of his acquired Hellenism, was led by a shrewd appreciation of the value of the unusual in the psychology of conversion to retain the Semitic name for the symbol of his god and to call his followers Naassenes rather than Ophites.[4]

Whether or not it is legitimate to connect the origins of the Naassenes directly with the temple of the Great Mother at Hierapolis, the importance of the treatise *De dea Syria* in depicting the kind of Pagan antecedents which such a cult must have had, cannot be overemphasized. It shows how loosely knit the materials of religious tradition were, and how easily and rapidly they could be separated and refashioned into new and eccentric forms of religious life and thought. These considerations should be a warning against hypotheses that push the origins of the Naassenes into a remote pre-Christian antiquity and presuppose a long and complicated literary and theological development behind the documents presented by Hippolytus.[5] Lucian boasts of his ability to apotheosize the suicide Peregrinus[6] by recounting imaginary details to passers-by on the brief walk back to Olympia from the scene of the Cynic's death. It is not likely that Naassene theology which bears so clearly the traces of contemporary influences should have required generations of accumulated tradition for its formulation.

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[1] *Hermes* xxxvii, 1902, p. 329.

[2] Cf. W. von Christ's *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* 5te Aufl. II 2, p. 560. On the identification of Atargatis and Cybele see H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, Paris, 1912, pp. 190 ff, 388–389.

[3] *De dea Syria* 10, 49.

[4] On the fondness of the Gnostics for high-sounding names, see F. C. Burkitt *Pistis Sophia*, *J. T. S.* xxiii 287 ff.

[5] Cf. Bousset and Reitzenstein.

[6] *De morte Peregrini* 39 ff.

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THE USE OF DIALOGUE IN THE *VITAE SANCTORUM*.

DIALOGUE as a form of biography[1] in the *Vitae Sanctorum* is employed, it seems, by three ancient hagiographers: Sulpicius Severus (*c.* 360–*c.* 423), S. Gregory the Great (*c.* 540–604), and Palladius Helenopolitanus (*c.* 363–*c.* 425). Sulpicius has left us a work entitled *Dialogorum Libri Tres* written in 404 and printed by Migne in *P. L.* xx 183–222. S. Gregory is the author of *Dialogorum Libri Quattuor* written *c.* 594 and accessible in Migne's *P. L.* lxxvii 149–430 and lxvi 125–204.[2] To Palladius is attributed the *Dialogus de Vita S. Chrysostomi*, written *c.* 408 and edited by Migne in *P. G.* xlvii 5–82.[3]

Sulpicius begins the *Dialogi* abruptly by introducing an unnamed Gallic friend and himself. Hardly have they met, when another friend of the author, Postumianus by name, joins them upon his return from the East after an absence of three years.

The time and the place of the dialogue are not given. But the time may be calculated as in the year 404, according to the statement of Postumianus that in the first year of his travels he arrived at Alexandria during the last phase of the controversy (which reached its climax in 401) between Theophilus and the Egyptian monks over the name of Origen. And the place cannot be other than the community in which Sulpicius is at the time, for thither Postumianus comes after a ten days' journey from Marseilles.[4]

The dialogue occupies two days. Books I and II contain the first day's conversation of the three speakers, while Book III records the second day's colloquium, held in the presence of a number of monks, presbyters, deacons, and leading civil officials, who have assembled to hear the continuation of the discussion.

[1] One biography in the form of a dialogue has survived from the classical period of antiquity—the fragmentary *Vita Euripidis* by Satyrus, written *c.* 210 B.C. and edited by A. S. Hunt in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* ix 124–182, 277–283. It is true that other biographers used this style of composition; but of their works are preserved only titles and brief quotations: *v.* Leo in *Nachrichten v. d. Kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. z. Goettingen, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1912, pp. 274–276.

[2] Migne adds a Greek version by Pope S. Zacharias (741–752).

[3] Migne adds a Latin version by Emericus Bigotius (1626–1689).

[4] Sulpicius is said to have lived at Eauze, Toulouse, and Luz; but where he was at this time of his life is uncertain. His residence, however, may have been near Narbonne (though none of these places is), for when Postumianus left Sulpicius, three years before the time of the dialogue, he sailed from Narbonne, and to Narbonne he was returning, but landed instead at Marseilles.

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Postumianus is the principal interlocutor in the first book, in which he speaks at length on the virtues of the monks of the East, particularly of the eremites of Egypt. In return, he requests Sulpicius to recompense him for his recital by relating those virtues of S. Martin of Tours (*c.* 316–*c.* 397), which he has omitted in his biography of the saint. Sulpicius declines on the ground that he has already written about S. Martin, and suggests that his Gallic friend take upon himself the task of satisfying the curiosity of Postumianus. In the two remaining books, then, the anonymous Gaul, who was a disciple of S. Martin, discourses about the virtues of the saint, promising to narrate only events of which he himself was an eye-witness.

In his *Dialogi* S. Gregory is the chief speaker, conversing with a deacon, whose name is Peter. The time of the dialogue appears to be in the year 593, according to references to events which S. Gregory dates three years before the conversation and in the year (590) of his election to the Chair of S. Peter.[1] That the scene of the dialogue is laid in Rome[2] is evident from the passing allusions to this city.

S. Gregory presents himself, depressed by the burden of secular affairs, in a secluded place, where he is joined by Peter, to whose enquiry about his sadness S. Gregory replies by lamenting his lost monastic peace and the present pressure of worldly business devolving upon him, and adds that his sorrow is augmented when he recalls the holy lives of those who, with their whole minds, have left this world. At Peter's objection that he knows of none in Italy to whom S. Gregory can thus allude, the pope answers that the day will not suffice to tell all that he has heard or witnessed of the marvellous deeds of the saints; yet at Peter's request he consents to relate a few examples. The tales which follow Dudden divides into three classes: stories of visions, stories of prophecies, and stories of miracles.[3]

It is true that there is no direct statement upon the length of time consumed in the dialogue; but four days (a day for each book of the *Dialogi*) may be assigned to it. While the conversation recorded in the first book without doubt occupies the first day, the only note of time in the two following books (each of which is about as long as the first book) is the indication of a pause, which may be understood to mean that the end of the day has arrived. The fourth book offers no clue to

[1] This is the conclusion of F. H. Dudden in his work *Gregory the Great* i 321 n. 1 (London, 1905). For an excellent description of the *Dialogi*, *v. op. cit.* i 321–356, ii 162–169.

[2] Dudden states that the *Dialogi* open 'with a scene in a Roman garden' (*op. cit.* i 324), thus interpreting S. Gregory's phrase *secretum locum* (*P. L.* lxxvii 149 B).

[3] *Op. cit.* i 325. For his opinion of these, *v. op. cit.* i 325–344.

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the duration of its colloquy; but a fourth day may be added without violence to the three already taken.

The *Dialogi* divide themselves into three parts: (1) Books I and III, The Lives and Miracles of the Italian Fathers; (2) Book II, The Life of S. Benedict of Nursia (*c.* 480–*c.* 544); (3) Book IV, The Eternity of Souls.

The *Dialogus* by Palladius is our best source for the life of S. John Chrysostom (*c.* 347–407). The interlocutors of the *Dialogus* are a bishop, whose name and see are not given, and a deacon of the Church of Rome named Theodorus. The scene of the dialogue, which lasts for three days and takes place in the presence of other persons, one of whom intervenes in the conversation for a moment, is in Rome. The time is shortly after S. Chrysostom's death, for, at the request of the deacon, the bishop confirms the rumour of it.

The bishop, who is advanced in years, is represented as having come from the East, where he has been a member of S. Chrysostom's Synod, though not resident in Constantinople. It appears that the bishop, for the first time in his life, is spending a few days in Rome, whither, as a personal friend and a loyal adherent to S. Chrysostom, he has fled to escape the persecution raging in the East against the saint's partisans. The deacon, who has heard the unfavourable accounts about S. Chrysostom circulated in the West by his enemies, seizes this opportunity to ascertain from the bishop (who is the principal speaker) the true facts of S. Chrysostom's career and to discover the truth about the charges levied at his character and conversation. The result is that the bishop resolves the questions of the deacon, who confesses himself entirely persuaded that the bishop's narrative is the correct version of the events of the episcopate of S. Chrysostom, and that the bishop's intimate interpretation of the saint's life is a sufficient and satisfactory justification of S. Chrysostom's conduct.

The question arises, Does the dialogue (as do other literary forms[1]) in patristic biography shew any indications of influence from classical biography?

Now the general scheme of ancient classical biography (whether Greek or Latin) embraces seven categories: (1) γένεσις or γένος or *origo*; (2) παιδεία or *infantia*; (3) φύσις or *species* with ἦθος or *mores* and ἀρεταί or *virtutes*; (4) μαθήματα καὶ πράγματα or *studia et opera*; (5) ἐπιτηδεύματα or *vita publica* with πολιτεία or *vita privata*; (6) θάνατος or

[1] For *vitae* in Latin, *v.* F. Kemper *De Vitarum Cypriani, Martini Turonensis. Ambrosii, Augustini rationibus* (Muenster, 1904). For *vitae* in Greek, *v.* H. Mertel *Die biographische Form der griechischen Heiligenlegenden* (Muenchen, 1909).

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mors; (7) *additamenta et supplementa*, which comprehends *miscellanea* and *eulogia*. This outline admits of variations, naturally, with various biographers.

For the present purpose—to find whether these three biographical dialogues follow this scheme in whole or in part or in no respect, it is best to dismiss from consideration those parts of the *Dialogi* of Sulpicius and of S. Gregory which contain brief and unrelated accounts of numerous Fathers, and to direct attention to the lives of S. Martin and of S. Benedict. In Book I Sulpicius gives a series of biographical notices and characteristic anecdotes of sixteen ascetics (together with descriptions of monastic communities), with whom in Egypt Postumianus was acquainted personally, or concerning whom he had information from those who knew them.[1] In Books I, III, and IV[2] S. Gregory follows the method of Sulpicius, but exceeds Sulpicius in numbers, for he relates incidents in the lives of ninety-eight Italian Fathers.[3] Though the value of these parts may be considered somewhat diminished by the records of miracles and other marvels which the authors' credulity (the characteristic, however, of their ages and class rather than of the individuals) leads them to admit, yet they are curious and interesting for their exhibition of the prevailing religious tendencies of the times, and highly valuable for their preservation of various facts about eminent men and women.

An examination of the life of S. Martin presented in the *Dialogi* of Sulpicius shews that his method has little affinity to the scheme of classical biography, for it appears that he uses only the two divisions of it which treat of the *virtutes* and the *vita publica* with the *vita privata*. This limitation is explained by the statement of Sulpicius (through the person of his Gallic friend) that it is his intention to omit both the particulars about the *virtutes* of S. Martin already recounted in his *Vita S. Martini* and the details about the *res gestae* of S. Martin before his episcopate (Migne *P. L.* XX 202 A).

Of the *virtutes* ascribed to S. Martin, then, are described his practice of charity (*ib.* 201 B–202 B), patience (*ib.* 203), poverty (*ib.* 205 C, 220 A), humility (*ib.* 204 A, 213 A), forgiveness (*ib.* 203 D, 221 A). More atten-

[1] Such is the character of another work of Palladius, the *Historia Lausiaca*, the principal source for the history of Egyptian monachism in the fourth century.

[2] While Book IV stands apart because of its discussion *De Aeternitate Animarum*, its argument is illustrated by events in the lives of human beings, and, therefore, with propriety it may be included.

[3] In this reckoning I have not put some four hundred and forty unnamed persons whom S. Gregory distributes among three groups (III 27, 28, 32). Of the ninety-eight Fathers fifty-two appear in Book IV, thirty-four in Book III, twelve in Book I.

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tion is given by Sulpicius to the *vita publica* with the *vita privata* of S. Martin, in illustration of which are collected descriptions of his use in prayer (*ib.* 205 B, 215 C, 216 D, 220 A), narratives of visitations to him by angels and demons (*ib.* 205 B, 210 B–211 B, 219 B), accounts of his wise discourse (*ib.* 204 C, 205 D, 206 B, 208 BCD), tales of supernatural incidents happening either to him or to another in his presence (*ib.* 202 B, 205 C, 217 C), and stories of his miraculous powers, such as effecting cures (*ib.* 202 C–203 A, 213 AB, 217 A, 219 C–220 A), raising the dead (*ib.* 204 BCD), expelling devils (*ib.* 207 B–208 A, 215 BCD, 216 ABC, 220 B–221 B), controlling the actions of animals (*ib.* 203, 207 C–208 B, 213 D–214 A, 217 AB), and ruling the elements (*ib.* 213 BCD, 215 D–216 A, 216 C–217 A, 219 D).[1]

This short exposition of S. Martin's life found in the *Dialogi* falls naturally between additional accounts by Sulpicius in his *Vita S. Martini* and *Epistolae*, which, if read in this order, will give the full biography of S. Martin.[2]

To the scheme of classical biography S. Gregory, in his treatment of the life of S. Benedict, adheres more closely than Sulpicius in his description of the life of S. Martin. The *Vita S. Benedicti* may be divided into three parts: (1) Introduction, *exordium*; (2) Life of S. Benedict, chs. i–xxxvi; (3) Conclusion, chs. xxxvii, xxxviii. Into the Introduction are compressed very briefly a few facts about S. Benedict's *origo*, *infantia*, *mores*, and *studia*. To the Life of S. Benedict belongs the relation of his *virtutes*, *opera*, and *vita publica* with *vita privata*. In the Conclusion appears an account of the saint's *mors* (preceded by the *signa mortis* as in Suetonius) and *additamenta*. S. Gregory departs from the classical method by omitting his subject's *species*, by separating his *mores* from his *virtutes* and his *studia* from his *opera*, and by combining his *vita publica* and his *vita privata*.

In the Introduction (Migne *P. L.* lxvi 126 A), then, we learn about the saint's *origo* that he was born at Nursia of noble parentage.[3] Of his *infantia* we are told that he carried the heart of an old man, of his *mores* that his demeanour surpassed his years and that he yielded himself to no pleasure, but despised the world and its glory at the very time when he might most freely have enjoyed it. His *studia*, prosecuted in Rome

[1] In this category I have placed two instances of his interference with the orderly processes of nature.

[2] Following Kemper (*op. cit.*, p. 29), the material may be arranged thus (1) Prooemium: *Vit.* ch. i; (2) De Martini adulescentia: *Vit.* chs. ii–iv; (3) De Martino monacho: *Vit.* chs. v–viii, x; (4) De Martino episcopo: *Vit.* chs. ix, xi–xxv; *Dial.* ii, iii; *Epist.* i; (5) De morte Martini: *Epist.* ii, iii.

[3] Of his family a sister, S. Scholastica, alone is mentioned (*ib.* 194 A–196 C).

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for a time, he relinquished, *scienter nescius et sapienter indoctus*, for a solitary life of communion with God far from the wicked city.

From the analysis arranged above it is seen that S. Gregory almost exclusively concerns himself about S. Benedict's adult life both in public and in private, the details of which he is not careful to keep distinct. Among these details, moreover, he describes the saint's virtues and literary work. But in this confusion S. Gregory effects a chronological division, when he places S. Benedict's life at Subiaco in chs. i–vii, and his life at Monte Cassino in chs. viii–xxxvii.

Among S. Benedict's *virtutes* S. Gregory furnishes instances of his humility (*ib.* 146 BC), kindness to dumb creatures (*ib.* 148 BC), compassion (*ib.* 150 A), forbearance (*ib.* 158 B), wise discourse (*ib.* 178 A), charity (*ib.* 186 A). Of his *opera* is noticed the *Regula Monachorum* (*ib.* 200 CD).

The *vita publica* and the *vita privata* of S. Benedict abound in stories of the saint's visions, prophecies, and miracles. S. Benedict has visions of devils and their works (*ib.* 132 ABC, 142 ABC, 152 BC, 156 A, 188 A), of the souls of deceased persons going to heaven (*ib.* 196 C, 198 BC), of the whole world collected before him (*ib.* 198 B, D–200 B).[1] Here also may be added accounts of his 'second sight' (*ib.* 146 A, 148 BC, 154 BC, 156 C–158 B, 160 A–162 A, 164 AB, 170 A–172 B, 174 C–176 B). Of the saint's powers of prophecy S. Gregory gives not a few descriptions (*ib.* 156 C, 160 B, 162 ABC, 168 ABC, 170 BC, 178 BC, 202 A). But the miracles performed (usually through prayer) by the saint occupy the larger part of the Life of S. Benedict. S. Gregory shews us S. Benedict repairing a broken sieve (*ib.* 128 AB), breaking a poisoned wineglass by the sign of the cross (*ib.* 136 A), expelling devils (*ib.* 142 ABC, 164 A, 188 B), producing water from a mountain-top (*ib.* 142 C–144 B), recovering a scythe from a lake (*ib.* 144 BCD), vicariously rescuing a drowning lad (*ib.* 146 ABC), preserving himself from eating poisoned bread (*ib.* 148 BC), raising a huge rock (*ib.* 154 A), healing sick and injured persons (*ib.* 156 AB, 184 A, C, 202 C–204 A), 'laying' the spirits of two nuns (*ib.* 178 A–180 A), successfully interring a wandering corpse (*ib.* 180 C–182 A), keeping a monk within the monastery by means of a dragon (*ib.* 182 BC), providing money for a debtor (*ib.* 184 BC), preventing a glass jar thrown out of a window from breaking on a rock (*ib.* 186 B), filling an empty jar with oil (*ib.* 186 C–188 D), loosing the bonds of a rustic by his glance (*ib.* 190 BCD), and restoring to life a dead child (*ib.* 192 BCD).

Of such, in general, is S. Benedict's *vita publica* and *vita privata*. Dimly discernible through a haze of legend we catch occasional glimpses of the saint, now abolishing pagan worship (*ib.* 152 AB), now reading in

[1] Two appearances of S. Benedict in visions to his monks (*ib.* 174 C–176 B, 202 B) find a place in this category.

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the cloister (*ib.* 190 B), now praying in his cell (*ib.* 156 A), now visiting the brethren as they work at building (*ib.* 154 A), or in kitchen (*ib.* 154 BC), or in field (*ib.* 144 BCD), now dispensing hospitality to his guests (*ib.* 186 A), now receiving children for instruction (*ib.* 140 C), now teaching multitudes which flock to him (*ib.* 132 C), now organizing monastic communities (*ib.* 140 C). Nevertheless, 'the real man is to a great extent lost sight of behind the veiling mist of legend'.[1]

In the Conclusion of the *Vita* S. Gregory relates the *mors* of S. Benedict (*ib.* 202 AB), prefixing to its description a brief account of the *signa mortis* (*ib.* 202 A). Then follow *additamenta* (*ib.* 202 B–204 C), which include a revelation of the path taken by the saint's soul to heaven, the details of his sepulture, and a story of the miraculous properties of the cave which he inhabited at Subiaco.

In the *Dialogus de Vita S. Chrysostomi* Palladius employs every category of the scheme of classical biography without following its method in an orderly fashion. The *Dialogus*, though not a regular chronological narrative, falls naturally into four parts: (1) Introduction, chs. i–iv; (2) Life of S. Chrysostom, chs. v–xi; (3) Defence of S. Chrysostom's Character and Actions, chs. xii–xix; (4) Conclusion, ch. xx.

Of S. Chrysostom's γένος Palladius merely states that he was born in Antioch of honourable parents, his father being a *magister militum* in Syria. An elder sister was the only other child (Migne *P. L.* xlvii 18 B).[2] Palladius combines S. Chrysostom's μαθήματα with his παιδεία, declaring not only that he was gifted with unusual ability, and was carefully trained in letters for the ministry of the oracles of God, but also that he, a boy in years, revolted against the professors of verbosities, and, a man in intellect, delighted in divine learning (*ib.*). His μαθήματα are mentioned again in his studying of the covenants of Christ (*ib.* 18 C) and in his searching of the scriptures (*ib.* 39 C). Under φύσις is described S. Chrysostom's baldness (*ib.* 38 B) and chronic ill health due to his early ascetic life (*ib.* 18 D, 39 D, 50 C). Of his ἦθος Palladius records the saint's habits of tapping the palm of his left hand with the forefinger of his right, a familiar gesture when he was in deep thought (*ib.* 28 A), of eating alone (*ib.* 39 B), of abstemiousness (*ib.* 39 B, 61 C), of swallowing a pastille after communion (*ib.* 27 A).

Among the ἀρεταί (*ib.* 39 B) of S. Chrysostom are found instances of outspokenness against wrong-doing (*ib.* 19 C, 27 B, D, 30 A, 36 C, 65 A–

[1] Dudden *op. cit.* ii 167.

[2] Migne's edition, which is the most accessible, has unnumbered lines and unlettered spaces. To assist any who wish to look out the references to the *Dialogus* I have divided Migne's columns into four equal parts, to which I have assigned the letters A, B, C, D.

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67 A, 78 B), self-control (*ib.* 18 CD, 27 C–28 B, 35 ABC, 48 B, 67 D), generosity (*ib.* 20 C, 82 B), hospitality (*ib.* 21 B, 25 A, 39 D, 45 B), humility (*ib.* 80 C). The saint's πράγματα are dismissed by a reference to his homilies and letters (*ib.* 40 B).

That the information about S. Chrysostom contained in the *Dialogus* indicates an intimate relation between the saint and the biographer is additional support to the supposition that Palladius was in the company of S. Chrysostom for four years,[1] during which he had time to observe the saint's daily life not only in private but also in public. To the details belonging to S. Chrysostom's πολιτεία already given above under his ἦθος there may be added here his love of retirement (*ib.* 39 B, 62 D, 67 B), his humour (*ib.* 68 D–69 A), and his religious life (*ib.* 18 CD, 39 C, 48 D). To S. Chrysostom's ἐπιτηδεύματα Palladius ascribes the saint's reforms in Constantinople (*ib.* 20 A–21 A), the various phases of his work as teacher (*ib.* 19 A, 27 AB, 32 B, 37 CD, 43 D, 45 A, 61 D, 65 A, 66 A, 67 A) and administrator (*ib.* 20 A–21 A, 39 D, 45 D, 47 B–51 C, 82 B), in instructing the people and the clergy, in managing the funds of the Church, and in caring for the poor and the widows. Palladius has seen him faithful in his secular responsibilities (*ib.* 32 B, 49 C), yet escaping them whenever possible and eagerly turning his attention to spiritual matters (*ib.* 39 C). Himself a bishop, Palladius has marked S. Chrysostom as the leader of his fellow bishops in the Constantinopolitan Synod (*ib.* 27 C–30 A, 32 B, 47 C–51 C).

Palladius gives a pathetic description of S. Chrysostom's θάνατος (*ib.* 38 D), which he prefaces with λυγρὰ σήματα θανάτου (*ib.* 38 C). The remaining pages of the *Dialogus* (*ib.* 39–82) are filled with *additamenta et supplementa*, in which is made a passionate vindication of S. Chrysostom's life and actions.

The result of this examination into the *rationes* of these *vitae* written in the form of a dialogue shews that their patristic authors are influenced by the assumptions and the methods of classical biography. Even if we leave out of account Sulpicius because of his self-imposed limitations (*v. supra* pp. 391 and 392, n. 2), we find that S. Gregory in Latin and Palladius in Greek continue the tradition of formal biography, although they have composed their works in a style not unknown to, but seldom used by, their classical predecessors.

P. R. COLEMAN-NORTON.

[1] Evidence for this appears in both the *Historia Lausiaca* and the *Dialogus*, the two chief works of Palladius. Dom Butler has reconstructed the difficult chronology of Palladius's life in his monumental edition of the *Historia Lausiaca* ii 237–247 (Cambridge, 1904).

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D'UNE PRÉTENDUE REPRÉSENTATION DE LA *CATHEDRA PETRI* SUR UN SARCOPHAGE DU MUSÉE DU LATRAN.

DANS la *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* de 1925, pp. 84–98, M. Marucchi a donné une étude qui s'intitule *Un insigne sarcofago cristiano lateranense relativo al primato di S. Pietro e al gruppo del antico Laterano.* Le sarcophage en question porte au musée du Latran le nº 174. Il provient d'un des nombreux mausolées que l'on voyait jadis autour de l'ancienne basilique Vaticane. Ce peut être une œuvre de la seconde moitié du IVe siècle.[1]

Le front du sarcophage est décoré d'un portique à huit colonnes, à chapiteaux d'ordre composite, à fûts enguirlandés de feuillage. Entre les colonnes, des personnages et groupes de personnages. Dans la travée médiane du portique, le Christ, de type classique, imberbe, assis sur un siège qu'on ne voit pas, les pieds posés sur un voile gonflé au dessus de la tête d'*Ouranos*: c'est le Christ montant au ciel. De la main droite le Christ fait un geste de précepte ou de bénédiction, et de la main gauche il donne un *rotulus* déplié à l'apôtre Pierre, qui le reçoit de ses deux mains tendues et voilées. Autour du Christ on voit d'autres apôtres, dont l'un au premier plan à gauche lève les deux bras dans un geste d'admiration, les yeux fixés sur le Christ.

A droite et à gauche de ce groupe central deux scènes. A droite (de qui regarde le sarcophage), le Christ devant Pilate, au moment où Pilate se lave les mains. A gauche, Abraham sur le point de sacrifier Isaac, au moment où la voix de Dieu l'arrête. Entre le groupe central et le sacrifice d'Abraham, deux personnages, dont le plus important, barbu, porte à la main gauche un *rotulus* roulé: est-ce l'apôtre Pierre prêchant? On l'a conjecturé.

Sur la paroi gauche du sarcophage est représentée la scène du Christ prophétisant à Pierre son reniement. Entre le Christ, imberbe, et l'apôtre Pierre, barbu, une colonne cannelée, à chapiteau ionique, portant un coq. Comme fond, un alignement d'édifices, dans lesquels on avait cru reconnaître les édifices constantiniens du Latran. M. Marucchi nous donne d'ingénieuses raisons de croire que ces édifices sont les édifices constantiniens du Calvaire: à gauche, la rotonde du tombeau ou *Anastasis*, au fond la basilique du crucifiement ou *Martyrium*. Ce qui confirme bien cette identification, c'est le fait que le sculpteur a donné pour base à cette ligne d'édifices un sol

[1] Rapprochez De Rossi, *Bulletino di archeologia cristiana*, 1868, pp. 40–41.

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mouvementé et rocailleux, qui semble bien vouloir représenter la montagne du Calvaire. A droite, sur un sol plat, l'édifice dont on voit la porte, pourrait être la maison de Caïphe, que signale déjà l'*Itinerarium Burdigalense*, en 333.[1]

Sur la paroi droite du sarcophage, on a, non plus une scène unique, mais deux scènes, dans le même cadre. La première, celle de droite, représente le Christ, et agenouillée devant lui, une femme, qui doit être l'hémorroïsse (*Mat.* ix 20–22). La seconde, celle de gauche, représente Moïse frappant de sa verge le rocher, d'où jaillit une source abondante, à laquelle un homme, qui s'agenouille d'un genou, puise de l'eau à deux mains. Le rocher est surmonté d'un arbre, un laurier, peut-on croire. Ce rocher est le symbole du Christ, comme il est dit déjà par S. Paul (1 *Cor.* x 4). Ces deux scènes se détachent sur un alignement d'édifices, auxquels nous reviendrons.

Jusqu'ici rien que de clair. M. Marucchi croit pouvoir pénétrer plus avant dans la signification de ces deux scènes de la paroi droite de notre sarcophage. D'où vient, se demande-t-il, que le sculpteur ait rapproché le miracle de l'hémorroïsse et le miracle du rocher? Au dire d'Eusèbe (*H.E.* vii 18), l'hémorroïsse était de Panéas, à ce qu'on racontait. On montre même sa maison dans la ville et il reste un admirable monument de la bienfaisance du Sauveur à son égard. Sur une pierre haute élevée à la porte de la maison est l'image en bronze d'une femme qui fléchit le genou, les mains tendues en avant, semblable à une suppliante. En face d'elle, en bronze encore, est l'image d'un homme debout, drapé avec élégance dans un manteau, et tendant la main à la femme. A ses pieds, sur la stèle même, on voit représentée une plante étrangère qui s'élève jusqu'à la frange du manteau, et que l'on dit être un remède pour toutes sortes de maladies. Et l'on raconte que cette statue est l'image de Jésus. Elle est demeurée jusqu'à notre temps, et nous l'avons vue nous-mêmes, quand nous sommes venus à Panéas. Tel est le récit d'Eusèbe.

Or Panéas, situé aux sources du Jourdain, avait été la capitale du tétrarque Philippe (fils du roi Hérode le Grand), qui lui avait donné le nom de Césarée, en l'honneur d'Auguste (sinon de Tibère). On disait, au temps de l'Évangile, 'Césarée de Philippe', pour la distinguer de Césarée de Straton ou de Palestine. C'est à Césarée de Philippe (plus exactement, dans la région: *Mat.* xvi 13, *Marc* viii 27) que le Christ a dit à l'apôtre Pierre: 'Tu es Pierre, et sur cette pierre je bâtirai mon Église.'

Les deux scènes, pour M. Marucchi, seraient donc complémentaires: le sculpteur les aurait rapprochées sur cette paroi du sarcophage, parce

[1] *Itinera hierosolym.* éd. Geyer (1898), p. 22.

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qu'elles s'étaient passées dans le même lieu : l'hémorroïsse guérie et l'apôtre investi de la primauté. La pensée du sculpteur aurait donc été, en représentant l'hémorroïsse, de nous transporter à Césarée de Philippe, et en représentant le miracle du rocher, de nous suggérer le *Tu es Petrus*. Le rocher serait une représentation figurée de l'institution de la primauté.

Cette interprétation de M. Marucchi appelle, croyons-nous, les plus formelles réserves.

La guérison de l'hémorroïsse, qui est un incident du miracle de la guérison de la fille de Jaïre (*Marc* v 21–43, *Mat.* ix 18–26, *Luc* viii 40–56), n'est pas localisé par les Synoptiques à Césarée de Philippe, mais appartient à la période de la prédication de Jésus sur les bords du lac de Génésareth.

Le miracle du rocher a une signification figurative constante, depuis saint Paul : le rocher est le Christ. Au Christ, parce qu'il a été frappé dans sa passion,[1] nous devons la source du salut, la source du baptême, la source de la vie spirituelle. Sans doute Moïse, en tant que législateur à qui Dieu a donné la loi, est une figure de l'apôtre Pierre, et cela aussi est un symbolisme reçu, ancien.[2] Mais, en tant qu'il frappe le rocher, Moïse n'est pas figure de l'apôtre, puisque ce n'est pas à Pierre que nous devons la source du salut. Tout au plus pourrait-on penser à Pierre proclamant que le baptême est accessible aux Gentils (*Act.* x 47–48).[3]

Le sculpteur aura rapproché le miracle de l'hémorroïsse du miracle du rocher, parce que l'un et l'autre miracle symbolisent le salut apporté à l'humanité par le Christ.

Il est très remarquable que le rocher d'où jaillit la source du salut est surmonté d'un arbre. M. Marucchi voit dans cet arbre un élément purement pittoresque, mais d'un pittoresque qui a sa valeur. En effet, dit-il, le site de Panéas ou Césarée de Philippe est vanté par tous les voyageurs pour son opulente verdure et sa fraîcheur : il est comme une oasis, par contraste avec les régions alentour, qui sont arides comme un désert. Le sculpteur a mis un arbre sur le rocher — 'particularité qui ne se trouve pas dans les autres représentations du miracle du rocher' — parce qu'il aura voulu faire de la couleur locale et pour que à cet arbre on reconnût le paysage de Césarée de Philippe. Et cela

[1] Cyprian *Epistul.* lxiii 8 (ed. Hartel, p. 706) : 'Findetur petra et fluet aqua et bibet plebs mea. Quod in euangelio adinpletur, quando Christus qui est petra finditur ictu lanceae in passione.'

[2] De Rossi *Bulletino*, 1868, p. 2 : 'Che Pietro sia stato sustituito nel luogo di Mosè come duce e legislatore del nuovo popolo, oltre alcune allusioni dei padri, lo mostrano i monumenti.' G. Wilpert, 'S. Pietro nelle più cospicue sculture cimiteriali antiche', *Studi Romani*, 1922 p. 15.

[3] Wilpert, p. 17.

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confirme bien que le miracle du rocher représente la scène du *Tu es Petrus*. Ainsi parle M. Marucchi.

On lui objectera qu'il n'est pas exact que dans les représentations figurées du miracle du rocher on ne voie jamais d'arbre. Un verre doré du musée du Vatican, bien connu,[1] représente Moïse frappant le rocher, qui est à droite, tandis qu'à gauche est un arbre. Au dessus du personnage de Moïse est inscrit le nom PETRVS. Nous avons sur ce verre doré un arbre stylisé, et cet arbre n'est pas planté sur le rocher, parce que le graveur était limité par le cercle de son fond de verre : il a découronné le rocher de son arbre et placé le dit arbre à gauche, mais il a pris soin de planter l'arbre dans un minuscule monticule, qui est un rappel du rocher, tant le rocher appelle l'arbre ! Le sarcophage du Latran est autrement réaliste : l'arbre tient là au rocher qu'il couronne de sa ramure, il fait corps avec le rocher. Qu'est-ce donc que cet arbre ? N'ayons aucune hésitation à y reconnaître la croix.

Je me bornerai à citer comme expression de ce symbolisme, attesté déjà par Tertullien (*Adv. Iudaeos*, 13), ces quelques vers du poème *De Pascha* du pseudo-Cyprien :

Est locus ex omni medius quem cernimus orbe,
Golgotha Iudaei patrio cognomine dicunt.
Hic ego de sterili succisum robore lignum
Plantatum memini fructus genuisse salubres . . .
Arboris haec species : uno de stipite surgit
Et mox in geminos extendit brachia ramos . . .
Ecce sub ingenti ramorum tegminis umbra
Fons erat . . .
Hunc circum innumerae gentes populique coibant.[2]

Donc, dirons-nous, l'arbre sur le rocher n'a rien à voir avec le paysage de Césarée de Philippe, et le rocher lui-même rien à voir avec la primauté de l'apôtre Pierre.

M. Marucchi cependant croit trouver une confirmation de son interprétation avec les architectures qui servent de fond aux deux scènes sculptées sur cette paroi du sarcophage. Derrière Moïse frappant le rocher on voit l'extérieur de l'abside d'une basilique ; puis, à droite de cette basilique, un peu en arrière, se dresse une rotonde qui peut être un baptistère ; enfin, plus à droite, et servant de fond au groupe du Christ et de l'hémorroïsse, un ensemble de trois édifices moins caractérisés. M. Marucchi croit reconnaître dans la rotonde le baptistère constantinien du Latran ; la basilique est pour lui la basilique constan-

[1] Voyez en un dessin dans la *Roma sotterranea* (1879) de Kraus, p. 340. Et voyez la dissertation De Rossi, *Bulletino*, 1868, pp. 1-6.

[2] Cyprian (ed. Hartel), append. p. 305.

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tinienne du Latran; les trois derniers édifices seraient le *palatium sessorianum*. Il ne dissimule pas que cette identification paraîtra audacieuse.

Je n'ai pas dessein de la contester: *dato, non concesso*. Mais voici le point qui pour moi est difficile. M. Marucchi observe que l'abside de la basilique prétendue du Latran est construite sur le prolongement du rocher d'où Moïse fait jaillir la source. Or, dit-il, l'abside est la place de la *cathedra* épiscopale, et donc l'abside représente la *cathedra*. Quelle est la basilique romaine qui contenait la *cathedra Petri*, insigne de la primauté de l'apôtre? La basilique du Latran. Telle est l'argumentation de M. Marucchi, qui revient à ceci: le rocher symbolise la primauté de l'apôtre Pierre, or ce rocher appuie une abside qui doit représenter la *cathedra Petri*, donc cette abside est celle de l'abside constantinienne du Latran.

A quoi l'on peut répondre: le rocher ne symbolise pas la primauté de Pierre, mais le salut apporté aux hommes par le Christ; le décor architectural n'a pas ici nécessairement de connexion avec les deux scènes symboliques du premier plan; la basilique du Latran n'a pas de connexion nécessaire avec la *cathedra Petri*, tout ce qui a trait à la chaire de S. Pierre étant à Rome localisé au Vatican.[1]

Que l'artiste à qui nous devons le beau sarcophage, destiné à un mausolée placé près de la tombe de S. Pierre au Vatican, ait eu dessein de glorifier S. Pierre, n'en doutons pas. Le sujet central du front du sarcophage, savoir le Christ donnant au jour de l'Ascension le *rotulus* de sa loi à S. Pierre, le dit clairement.[2] Le Christ prophétisant à S. Pierre son reniement est une glorification de S. Pierre, à sa manière, si l'on veut.[3] Mais dans la double scène de la face droite du sarcophage, je ne puis rien reconnaître qui se rapporte à S. Pierre et à sa primauté. '*Io non dubitò per tanto di affermare che questo sarcofago lateranense é il più importante di quelli che si riferiscono all' autorità di s. Pietro.*' Que l'excellent maître qu'est M. Marucchi nous pardonne de ne pas souscrire à cette conclusion qui est celle de son étude.

PIERRE BATIFFOL.

[1] Voyez à l'appui De Rossi, *Bullettino*, 1867, pp. 34 et 88.

[2] Wilpert, pp. 24–27, sur les représentations figurées du *dominus legem dat.*

[3] Je regrette de ne pouvoir sur ce point adopter le sentiment de Wilpert, pp. 18–20, qui voit dans l'annonce du reniement le *confirma fratres tuos*! Je regrette pareillement de ne pas reconnaître une représentation de la *cathedra Petri* dans le sarcophage 55 du Latran, étudié par Wilpert, pp. 27–31. Ou ne saurait être trop prudent dans ces interprétations.

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THE DATE OF THE GOSPEL OF PETER.

In a previous article I have given reasons for rejecting the commonly accepted view of the dependence of the Gospel of Peter upon the canonical gospels. My belief is that although 'Peter' knew many of the traditions which the four evangelists used in the composition of their gospels, there is no sufficient evidence to prove that he was acquainted with their work. I now pass on to consider a question which is intimately connected with the preceding discussion, and to deal with the problem of the date of the composition of the Petrine gospel.

Eusebius[1] fixes the possible limit when he tells us that Serapion, bishop of Antioch in the last decade of the second century, found the Gospel of Peter in use in the church of Rhossus; at first he sanctioned its use, but afterwards becoming aware that the gospel was used by the Docetic heretics he withdrew his approval.

Churches are conservative in matters liturgical and it is probable that the gospel which they used at Rhossus was no new composition. In the latter half of the second century the canonical gospels were widely known and generally accepted, so that this church must have retained its use of 'Peter' in spite of the competition of other and more generally popular gospels. Dr Swete thought that its popularity at Rhossus could be explained on the supposition that it had been known for some twenty years. To me that seems unlikely. The probability is very small that in 190 a church would read a book twenty years old as one of the canonical gospels, and the Gospel of Peter must have had a much longer history to explain the respect in which it was held. Up to the end of the second century little groups of Christians might here and there adopt a recent gospel which suited their own peculiar views, but for a church which was not consciously heretical to cling to a non-canonical gospel in 190 seems to imply for that gospel a very respectable antiquity. It does not seem at all likely that the gospel read in the church of Rhossus could have been written later than A.D. 150.

The next question to be considered is whether any traces of a knowledge of the Petrine gospel can be discovered in the surviving fragments of the literature of the second century. Two passages in the works of Justin Martyr, whose *Apology* is dated about 150, are worthy of attention.

Apol. i 35 καὶ γὰρ (ὡς εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης) διασύροντες αὐτὸν ἐκάθισαν ἐπὶ βήματος καὶ εἶπον Κρῖνον ἡμῖν.

Cf. Peter iii ἔλεγον Σύρωμεν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ . . . καὶ ἐκάθισαν ἐπὶ καθέδραν κρίσεως λέγοντες Δικαίως κρῖνε βασιλεῦ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

[1] *H.E.* vi 12.

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There is nothing in the canonical gospels to suggest that the Jews set Jesus upon a judgement seat.[1] Either Justin is quoting from some unknown tradition or he has read a gospel which records this fact. It is at least possible that he is quoting 'Peter' from memory, though he uses the Johannine *βῆμα* and not the Petrine *καθέδραν κρίσεως: κρῖνον ἡμῖν* would then represent *δικαίως κρῖνε*, but the correspondence is not exact. Both may be attempts to introduce a fulfilment of Isa. lviii 2 *αἰτοῦσίν με νῦν κρίσιν δικαίαν*; but if Justin, who is arguing from the fulfilment of prophecy, knew 'Peter', it is surprising that he does not quote him more accurately, and thus approach more nearly to the Old Testament wording.

The other point of interest is the use of the word *διασύροντες*. Liddell and Scott give 'tearing in pieces' which does not make good sense. As Swete points out, the version of Aquila of Prov. i 30 substituted *διέσυρον* for *ἐμυκτήριζον* to describe the mocking of Wisdom by fools, so the word may have borne the meaning 'make a jest of'. But it is a peculiar word, and when we find in 'Peter' in the same context *σύρωμεν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ* the likelihood that Justin had some acquaintance with the gospel is considerable.

The other passage in Justin's writings which has been referred to as displaying familiarity with 'Peter' occurs in chapter 97 of the *Dialogue*:

'And they that crucified him divided his garments among them, casting lots (*λαχμὸν βάλλοντες*).'

Cf. Peter iv 'And placing his garments before him they divided them, and cast a lot upon them (*λαχμὸν ἔβαλον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς*).'

This is a very much more important correspondence, for *λαχμὸν βάλλειν* is a phrase unknown to classical authors and only occurs in Christian writers who are probably influenced by 'Peter' or Justin. That Justin should use it here makes it distinctly probable that he was acquainted with 'Peter'. At the same time we cannot regard it as certain, for he does not use the word *ἐνδύματα*, and he says nothing of the curious statement of 'Peter' that they spread His garments before Him.

These evidences that Justin was at least slightly acquainted with the Gospel of Peter must be taken into account in the interpretation of the passage (*Dial.* 106) in which Justin speaks of the *ἀπομνημονεύματα Πέτρου*—the memoirs of Peter. It is commonly assumed that Justin knew the fact mentioned by Papias that Mark incorporated in his Gospel what he remembered of Peter's preaching, and that therefore Justin was referring to our second gospel as 'Peter's memoirs'. Even supposing that Justin did know the Papias tradition, it may be questioned whether *ἀπομνημονεύματα Πέτρου* is a natural way of referring to the

[1] Unless *ἐκάθισεν* in John xix 13 be taken in an active sense.

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gospel composed by Mark. It may be Mark's memoirs, or Peter's preaching, but it is not Peter's memoirs. Justin is dealing with the fulfilment of Ps. xxii in the gospel story, and he quotes verse 22, 'I will declare thy name unto my brethren'. He finds a fulfilment of this prophecy in the change of Simon's name to Peter—'And when it is said that He changed the name of one of the Apostles to Peter, and when it is written in the memoirs of Him that this so happened, this was an announcement that it was He' &c. The point is that the very man whose name was changed recorded the fact in his memoirs. When we remember that Peter's gospel is written partly in the first person (§ 12, 'I, Simon Peter') we must admit the great probability that Justin is referring to a book written, not by some one who knew Peter, but by some one who calls himself Peter. This seems to weigh down the balance of probability heavily on the side of the belief that Justin knew Peter's gospel.[1]

If so, our *terminus ad quem* is pushed back at least another twenty years, for it is difficult to believe that Justin would use as the work of Peter a pseudonymous document that was less than twenty years old. Dr Swete cannot believe that Justin would fail to detect the heretical tendencies of the Petrine gospel.[2] This does not seem a serious objection. The unorthodoxy of the fragment in our possession is by no means conspicuous even when it is judged by later standards, and if it did not immediately shock Serapion fifty years later, we need not be surprised that to Justin it seemed unobjectionable; particularly, of course, if he believed it to be authentic and knew that it had been in use by the Church for many years. If it be granted that Justin knew the book, we are carried back for its composition to a very early period in the second century.

The only other early writers of whose acquaintance with 'Peter' there is any evidence are Barnabas and Tatian; but in neither case is the similarity unmistakeable and it is unsafe to build any argument upon it. If on other grounds we have reason to assign 'Peter' to the first century we may suppose that Barnabas had read him, and very probably Tatian, but the evidence is not strong enough to justify us in forming an opinion on the strength of their writings alone.[3]

We can only sum up the external evidence for the date of the Gospel of Peter by saying that it was certainly in use about the middle of the second century, that it was probably known and respected by Justin, and

[1] It is just possible that in *Dial.* 106 ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν αὐτοῦ should be translated 'in the memoirs concerning Him' (i. e. Jesus), but this is not the natural meaning.

[2] Swete *The Akhmim Fragment* xxxiii.

[3] Tatian may have retained faint recollections of 'Peter' as he had seen it in the East. He is not likely to have met with a copy in Rome.

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that if he did know it the latest possible date for its composition is about A.D. 130. How much earlier it was written must be determined on other grounds.

My examination of the text of Peter's gospel pointed to the conclusion that the author had no knowledge of our four gospels. We are therefore led to consider what is the latest date at which it would be possible for a fairly intelligent and educated Christian to live in ignorance of any of the canonical gospels. The general opinion of scholars dates Mark, the earliest, shortly before A. D. 70, and he is thought to have written in Rome for the Roman Church. There is no evidence that his book was widely used outside Rome, and it is quite possible that it remained unknown to most of the eastern churches for the best part of a century. The case of Matthew is different. We have no certain evidence of the date of its composition, but it seems to have been popular in the East early in the second century, and it was well known to Ignatius. We may accept the verdict of Allen who dates it within a few years of A. D. 70.[1]

The Third Gospel is in a somewhat similar case; my own belief is that the author was the friend of St Paul and that he wrote not later than A. D. 90.

By the end of the third quarter of the first century presumably most of the apostles were dead. The time had come when the need of written gospels was being felt, and the work of copying would proceed rapidly. Copies of the gospels would be carried from city to city, and before long they would be read in the public assemblies of the Church, as Justin says the custom was in his time. After the close of the first century it would be difficult for any well-instructed Christian to have no knowledge of any of the gospels, though few if any churches possessed more than one or two. If 'Peter' did not know any of the canonical gospels the probability is that he wrote in the first century, conceivably as late as 100, possibly considerably earlier.

We can only form an opinion by observing the type of tradition on which he relied, and comparing it with that incorporated in the canonical gospels; in such a case judgements will differ widely and I can only give my own impressions for what they are worth.

1. 'Peter' believes the story of Pilate washing his hands, and he carries much farther than Matthew the attempt to fix the guilt of the crucifixion upon the Jews. How rapidly hostility to the Jews developed we know from the Fourth Gospel and from Barnabas, but the elaboration of 'Peter's' account suggests that he learnt the tradition of Pilate's innocence at a time later than the date of the composition of the First Gospel.

[1] W. C. Allen *St Matthew* p. lxxxiv.

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2. The same may be said of the part played by Herod, the exaggeration of which is no doubt due to the same tendency. Luke is much nearer to history.

3. The treatment of Joseph suggests a date not far from, and perhaps a little earlier than, the date of the composition of the Fourth Gospel. Primitive elements are not altogether discarded. Joseph is not a disciple as he is in Matthew and John, and he has no assistant such as Nicodemus, but the tomb is Joseph's own property as in Matthew, and it is a garden as in John. The suggestion is of a date later than Matthew, and a little earlier than John.

4. The account of the mocking by the people is very confused, and cannot be supposed to represent reliable tradition at any stage of its developement.

5. The silence of Jesus upon the Cross is doubtless due to the Docetic prejudices of the author or his source. We have no reason to doubt that Docetic views developed very early, and in this particular they would be difficult to promulgate at a time when the gospel versions had become widely known.

6. The potion of gall and vinegar suggests a time when tradition had brought the narrative of Mark into greater correspondence with Ps. lxix 22—as in Matthew; but reflexion has given to the incident a significance which was unsuspected at the time the First Gospel was composed.

7. The account of the marvels attendant upon the death of Christ represents developement of the Marcan tradition, but in this respect 'Peter' does not go so far as Matthew. Neither, for that matter, does the Fourth Gospel. Simplicity is not always earlier than extravagance.

8. The burial by Joseph is more elaborate than that described in the synoptists, but much less elaborate than that described by John. Again the suggestion is that 'Peter' is earlier than John.

9. The mention of the fear of the disciples lest they be arrested on a charge of attempting to destroy the temple has an early ring, though the actual charge is reminiscent of John. It is by no means improbable that popular feeling against Jesus was excited by a rumour that he intended to destroy the Temple, and if so, we may believe that his friends fell under suspicion. This is an instance of 'Peter's' preserving an early and valuable tradition. Before long the disciples were given a more heroic part (so John, where one man and several women stand at the foot of the Cross); that 'Peter' represents them as remaining in hiding until they could safely leave Jerusalem favours an early date.

10. The elaborate account of the setting of the guard obviously represents a legendary developement of the story contained in Matthew. But such legends do not take long to grow!

11. The absurd account of the actual resurrection considered by

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itself seems to give good grounds for dating 'Peter' after any of the canonical gospels, certainly after the synoptists. As we have already seen, all three stages of a single tradition appear in 'Peter'. The women find a young man at the tomb, an angel descends from heaven, two angels descend from heaven. 'Peter' goes much farther than Luke or Matthew in explaining the functions of the angelic messengers, which would suggest that he learnt the tradition at a time when it had been developed beyond the form familiar to any of the evangelists. This, however, is not a certain indication of date. In some circles developement may have been much more rapid than in others, and 'Peter' was naturally of a credulous disposition. We can only say that 'Peter' is later than the synoptists, but John's comparatively sober tone may not indicate more than his saner disposition.

12. The Petrine account of Mary's visit to the tomb confirms the impression that 'Peter's' gospel is to be dated somewhere between the First and the Fourth Gospels. Like Matthew 'Peter' omits to mention that the women brought spices, and for the same reason; but at the time at which he writes the early tradition has not been forgotten, for he speaks of their casting the things they had brought at the door of the tomb. Joseph of Arimathaea has not yet become the devoted disciple which he appears in John; though he is the friend of Jesus, nothing is said of his anointing the body of the Lord. An intermediate stage in the growth of tradition is perhaps indicated in the statement that he washed the body; once granted that his interest in Jesus was personal he would soon be represented as giving proof of his devotion by something more than a hasty burial, but 'Peter's' statement may be historical. 'Peter' has not forgotten, as John almost forgets, that Mary did not come alone, but the earlier tradition in his narrative is obviously insecure. As I have already argued, the message of the young man represents a much earlier type of tradition than that which appears in Matthew, and in one respect it may be earlier than the account of Mark.

13. So also may 'Peter's' final section describing the return of the disciples to their homes. It is easy to see how the accounts of Matthew, Luke, and John might grow out of an early tradition resembling 'Peter's' narrative; it is impossible to imagine the process reversed. If so, 'Peter' wrote at a time when primitive tradition had not been wholly submerged under later elaborations and modifications.

Taken one by one these hints as to the time at which 'Peter' wrote his gospel may seem too vague to enable us to reach a conclusion. In places his extravagances suggest a date later than the canonical gospels. But other passages suggest knowledge of a tradition even earlier than Mark's, and these passages make a late date improbable. The safest

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conclusion seems to be that 'Peter' was written neither very late nor very early, but in the same generation which witnessed the composition of Matthew and Luke, that is, in the last thirty years of the first century. On the whole it appears to be later than Matthew and Luke, and earlier than the Fourth Gospel, but no certainty can be claimed for this conclusion. We do not know how much to allow for the influence of the personal factor. 'Peter's' absurdities may be largely due to his credulity, John's developements to his genius, but on the whole what appears to be primitive tradition has survived to a larger extent in 'Peter' than in John.

A rough guess would suggest A. D. 90 as the date of the gospel, perhaps ten years earlier, possibly twenty years later, but the later date does not accord well either with the internal evidence, or with the respect which, if Justin knew it, the gospel enjoyed in the first half of the second century. The evidence considered as a whole seems to fix the year 100 as the *terminus ad quem*.

If this argument carries any weight it is evident that 'Peter' is a very important witness to the traditions of the resurrection, and that any attempt to reach a knowledge of the facts underlying the traditions must take his testimony into account. He had many faults, he was credulous, muddle-headed, incompetent, and possibly heretical, but he lived at a time when tradition was still fluid, and when the authority of the canonical gospels had not suppressed the memory of everything which they did not contain; it would be strange if he did not record some facts which are facts, and throw some light upon those events of which the canonical gospels provide unsatisfying and contradictory accounts.

P. GARDNER-SMITH.

ἐφοβοῦντο γαρ MARK xvi 8.

WITH the general question of the original ending of St Mark's Gospel this note makes no attempt to deal, but merely with the special point whether it is likely that a sentence should end with ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ. It was formerly usual to print a full stop after these words. WH substituted a colon, with asterisks following; Swete, in his edition, may have intended to do likewise, but no stop is actually printed, though asterisks follow. Baljon, Souter, and Nestle in the B.F.B.S. edition, have the full stop. Perhaps it should be mentioned that, according to Scrivener's facsimile (*Introd. to Crit. of N. T.*, vol. i, opp. p. 137) Cod. L has apparently the grave, Cod. B the acute accent.

Hort, in his *Introduction*, Appendix p. 46, wrote: 'It is incredible that

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the evangelist deliberately concluded . . . a paragraph with ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ . . .' and practically repeats the statement on the following page. Prof. Burkitt (*Two Lectures*, p. 28) says 'Not only the narrative, the paragraph, and the sentence, are each left incomplete, but even the subordinate clause seems to hang in the air.' Swete, in his edition, refers to these remarks, and what Hort calls 'incredible' he calls 'perhaps improbable'. Prof. Burkitt, again (*The Old Latin and the Itala*, p. 49, note), writes: 'In no case would the Gospel have originally ended with ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ. Ought we not, indeed, to print ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ . . . with a grave accent? It is very unusual to find clauses, much less paragraphs, which end with γάρ. Cf. Mk xi 18 and ix 6.'

It is hard to say exactly what constitutes a paragraph; but enough sentences ending with γάρ can be found to shew that there is nothing in itself suspicious about this. The necessary condition is simply that as γὰρ regularly stands second, the rest of the clause must consist of a single word, either a verb, or implying a verb; and this clause must end a sentence, giving the reason or justification for what precedes.

We need not trouble with elliptic or colloquial remarks, as in Plato, nor with γὰρ standing (exceptionally) later than second in the clause (cf. Ovid's use of *tamen*, *Fasti* ii 688, *uir iniustus*, *fortis ad arma* tamen: and *Trist.* I v 82).

Let us begin, then, with Homer *Od.* iv 612 :—

Τοιγὰρ ἐγώ τοι ταῦτα μεταστήσω· δύναμαι γάρ.

iv 827 and v 25 are similar, giving 2nd and 3rd pers. sing.; as the plural would not suit the metre, the phrase is varied at x 69

δύναμις γὰρ ἐν ὑμῖν.

In Aesch. *Agam.* 1564 we have μίμνει δὲ . . . παθεῖν τὸν ἔρξαντα· θέσμιον γάρ. (See also *Choeph.* 374, *Eum.* 382, where, however, the text may possibly be doubted.)

In Eurip. *Med.* 1272, 1276, one child ends his line ὀλλύμεσθα γάρ, and (apparently) the other responds with . . . ἐν δέοντι γάρ. *Orestes* 251 ends line and clause with ἔξεστι γάρ. *Iph. Aul.* 1355 is a divided trochaic line,

ΑΧ. τὴν ἐμὴν μέλλουσαν εὐνὴν μὴ κτανεῖν. ΚΛ. δίκαια γάρ.

Achilles resuming his interrupted sentence in the next line. (Cf. Soph. *Trach.* 409.)

In the Greek Old Testament, Isa. xvi 10 πέπαυται γάρ is dubious, as some (Lucianic) MSS add κέλευσμα. But xxix 11 is plain enough, οὐ δύναμαι ἀναγνῶναι, ἐσφράγισται γάρ. Also Genesis xviii 15, ἠρνήσατο δὲ Σάρρα λέγουσα Οὐκ ἐγέλασα· ἐφοβήθη γάρ. And xlv 3 καὶ οὐκ ἐδύναντο οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἀποκριθῆναι αὐτῷ· ἐταράχθησαν γάρ. (Here eight of Brooke and McLean's selected cursives, and two versions, add 'at his presence'

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with Heb.) One of these Genesis examples contains the very verb used by St Mark, and the other is a sentence rather closely parallel to his.

It seems, then, that neither Homer, nor the tragedians, nor the translators of the O.T. into Greek, saw any objection to ending a sentence with γάρ if they had occasion to do so. The occasions, and consequently such sentences, are not very numerous; but that is all. Without wishing to suggest, or attempting to demolish, any theory as to the ending of St Mark's Gospel, I merely wish to point out that a sentence ending with γάρ is not without precedent. With any superstructure that might be raised on the foundation of the grave accent and the broken sentence, I have nothing to do; desiring simply to suggest that the foundation itself is scarcely secure.

One thing, however, seems to give a possible ground for thinking that some words may have followed the γὰρ in this passage. The tense of the verb is imperfect, and this, more than anything else, gives something of a feeling that the matter is, perhaps, not finally closed[1] (as it is in most of my examples) with the γάρ. The effect of an aorist would have been much more conclusive. Such, at least, is my own impression; but Dr Thackeray, who kindly read through this paper in an earlier stage, is not inclined to agree. Still, I think it only fair to mention the point. At any rate, my object is mainly to urge, that, if in future editions of the text of St Mark this small change should be adopted, it should not be done without definite explanation of the reasons for it.

R. R. OTTLEY.

THE INTRODUCTION OF MONKS AT CHRIST CHURCH, CANTERBURY.

AT the close of his paper on 'The Early Community at Christ Church, Canterbury', in the last number of this JOURNAL,[2] Dr Armitage Robinson inclines to accept the tradition that the introduction of monks in the place of clerks was effected by Archbishop Ælfric after his return from Rome with the pallium in 997. As the evidence for this is exceedingly scanty, it seems worth while to supplement it by the following observations.

The *Regularis Concordia Anglicae Nationis*, a body of regulations drawn up about the year 970 for the use of the English reformed monasteries, directs that, on the death of a monk, a letter should be

[1] I suppose that this is what Prof. Burkitt (quoted above) means when he says 'even the subordinate clause seems to hang in the air'.

[2] *Supra*, p. 240.

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sent round to neighbouring monasteries asking for prayers.[1] This letter runs as follows:—

Domnus .itt. abbas monasterii .itt. cunctis sanctae ecclesiae fidelibus tam praelatis quam et subditis. Cum cunctos maneat sors irrevocabilis horae, notum vobis esse cupimus de quodam fratre nostro .itt. quem Dominus de ergastulo huius saeculi vocare dignatus est die .itt., pro quo obsecramus obnixe ut sitis strenui interventores ad Dominum sentiatque in interventione quibus fuerat unitus in ordinis communione.

This form is in both MSS of the *Concordia*, Cotton MSS, Faustina B 3 of the end of the tenth century (= F), and Tiberius A 3 of the first half of the eleventh century (= T)[2]; the earlier MS, however, has a note '*vel episcopus Ecclesiae Christi*' written in over the words '*abbas monasterii*'. The text of F breaks off with the words '*in ordinis communione. Valete*' at the bottom of fol. 198*a*, and on the reverse side of the folio is a variant form[3] of the letter as follows:—

Gratia Dei archiepiscopus .itt. humilisque Christi Ecclesiae monachorum coetus cunctis in Christo salutem fidelibus. Quoniam quidem carissimi caritatis vinculo iubemur uniri dilectioneque Dei fervere et proximi, et quia apostolo scimus obediendum ita monenti *Orate pro invicem ut salvemini*,[4] vestrae fraternitati notum cupimus fieri unum e nostris fratribus .itt. sacerdotem (*note*: vel levitam) et monachum .itt. (*note*: xi Kal. Febr.) ergastulo carnis exemptum vitam finisse temporalem; pro quo petimus ut strenui ipsa compellente caritate interventores existatis quo omnipotens, precibus complacatus vestris, animam eius gaudiis inserat sine fine mansuris. Vivat valeatque qui Deum postulat quo spiritus eius requiescat in pace.

Cotton MS Tib. A 3 fol. 177*a* (= F_2) contains a fragment of the text of the *Concordia* from the words '*in ordinis communione*' (the conclusion of the letter) down to the words 'de aliis vero infirmis ut supra dictum est agatur'; i. e. exclusive of the Epilogue (Praefatus equidem rex ut huius libelli epilogum, uti proemium . . . cepit, orthodoxe concluderet, etc.) found only in T. This fragment is in the same hand as F; thus, if it is not the missing portion of that MS, it probably belongs to a sister MS now lost. On fol. 177*b* of F_2 are the following variants[5] of the letter:—

Gratia miserationis Dei archiepiscopus .itt. omnisque (*sic*) omnibus senioribus et iunioribus fidelibus in Christo salutem. Sanctitati vestrae

[1] *Regularis Concordia* cap. xii.

[2] The text of T is printed in Reyner *Apostolatus* (Appendix), Dugdale *Monasticon* vol. I p. xliv, Migne *P. L.* cxxxvii 475 ff, and W. S. Logeman *Anglia* (Neue Folge, i).

[3] See 'Rules for Monks and Canons' by Miss Bateson in the *English Historical Review*, Oct. 1894, p. 708.

[4] James v 16.

[5] See 'Rules for Monks and Canons' by Miss Bateson, *loc. cit.*

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volumus sit notum de obitu fratris nostri .iii. monachi et sacerdotis (*note*: vel levitae) qui obiit N (*note*: xi Kal. Febr.), pro quo petimus ut intercessores existatis quatinus vestris (*sic*) valeat aggregari coetibus sanctorum in coelis. Valete.

Gratia miserationis Dei archiepiscopus .iii. omnisque congregatio Ecclesiae Christi omnibus ecclesiae fidelibus salutem. Cum omnes diem mortis nostrae expectamus et necesse habeamus mutuis salvari precibus, suppliciter petimus ut pro fratre nostro .iii. monacho et sacerdote (*note*: vel levita), qui carnis ergastulo exiens N (*note*: xi Kal. Febr.) hoc saeculum deseruit, intercedere dignemini quatinus per vestra sacra suffragia ad aeterna spiritus eius perveniat gaudia. Valete.

The variant form of the letter in F (fol. 198 *b*), and the variants of F_2 (fol. 177 *b*) are by the same hand and are, in the opinion of the British Museum authorities, of the end of the tenth century.

The note '*episcopus Ecclesiae Christi*' written over the words '*abbas monasterii*' in the F text of the letter, together with the three variant forms quoted, would seem clear evidence of the presence of monks at Christ Church, Canterbury, in the last years of the tenth century or at the very beginning of the eleventh. This would point to the archiepiscopate of Ælfric (995–1005).

THOMAS SYMONS, O.S.B.

NOTE ON 'THE MESSIAH BEN JOSEPH'.

IN his paper on 'The Messiah ben Joseph' in this JOURNAL (vol. xxvii, p. 130) Dr Dix refers (p. 132) to Gen. xlix 10 and the sentence rendered in A.V. and R.V. 'until Shiloh comes'. This rendering, Dr Dix says, 'is not found in any version before 1534, but the English versions make use of it'. In the interests of accuracy it may be pointed out that the rendering referred to is found in at least two versions before 1534, namely, the Graecus-Venetus which is believed to have been written about the year 1400, and Tindale's version of the Pentateuch published in 1530. The actual words of the Graecus-Venetus are: ἄχρις ἂν ἀφίκοιτο σιλών. The actual words of Tindale's 1530 version are: 'untill Silo come'. Dr Dix mentions in all four possible interpretations of the word 'Shiloh'. There is a fifth, namely, 'his son' (see *BDB*, p. 1010[a] שִׁילֹה). Besides the references for this last rendering given in *BDB*, it is to be found in Tremellius and Junius' Latin version: *usquedum venturus erit filius ejus.*

JAMES EDWARD HOGG.

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REVIEWS

Israel and Babylon (the twenty-fifth Hartley Lecture), by W. LANSDELL WARDLE, M.A., B.D. (Holborn Publishing House, London, 1925.)

THESE lectures, which Mr Wardle here publishes in the form of a book, are a welcome contribution to the literature on the much disputed question of the relations of Israel and Babylon. Mr Wardle discusses fully the problems raised by the various stories of the Creation, of Paradise, the Fall, and the Deluge, of Israel's ancestors, of the origin of Hebrew monotheism, of the Sabbath and the name 'Yahweh', and of Hebrew legislation. The whole work is introduced by a brief account of Babylonian and Assyrian history, and brought to an end with a discussion of the Pan-Babylonian theory. The author has read most of the relevant literature and concludes each discussion with an admirable summary, disentangling the probable from the possible and distinguishing the results of sane enquiry from the extravagances of certain schools of criticism. The whole book may be studied with great advantage alike by the beginner and by the specialist.

It will, perhaps, be in place to add some remarks on a few special points to which Mr Wardle has referred. On pp. 17 and 43 it should be noticed that Dhorme[1] still denies the equation of *SA.GAZ* with *Ḫabiru*; the identification, however, of *SA.GAZ* with *ḫabbatum* is made almost certain by a syllabary published by Meissner,[2] which reads *SA.GAZ* = *ḫa-*[*ab-ba-*]*tum*. On p. 9 the reference to a script found in the Indus valley as 'largely identical with Sumerian' would seem to be an overstatement; the authorities at the British Museum claim that only nine signs are closely similar to and seven bear a general resemblance to Sumerian signs.[3] On p. 23 the date now given by Fotheringham for the sixth year of Ammizaduga, though accepted by Schnabel and others, is disputed anew by Meyer.[4] On p. 31 it should be remarked that Winckler's theory of 'Azriya'u of Yau'di' (not Jau'di, as the name is wrongly written) is denied by Luckenbill.[5] On pp. 33–34 more might be

[1] In the *Revue Biblique*, 1909, pp. 67–73.

[2] In his *Studien zur assyrischen Lexicographie* p. 7, l. 69.

[3] Cp. Mackay in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1925, pp. 697–701: Scheil in the *Revue d'Assyrologie*, vol. xxii, pp. 55–56.

[4] In his *Die ältere Chronologie Babyloniens, Assyriens und Ägyptens* (1925), pp. 24 ff.

[5] In the *American Journal of Semitic Languages* vol. xli pp. 217–232.

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made of the comparative accuracy of the account in 2 Kings xviii 14–16 (which is omitted in the corresponding part of Isaiah), as confirmed by Sennacherib's inscriptions. On p. 69 *Elimmu* appears to be a misprint for *Ekimmu*. On p. 122 the name *Šumma-ilu-lâ-iliya* means 'surely the god is my god', the Semitic construction whereby a strong assertion is expressed by a negative condition being now well established in Assyrian. On pp. 140 ff why is *apsû* 'the deep' written *apšu*? The word is, as far as I know, always spelled with *s*, and this is what would be expected if it is cognate with the Hebrew אֶפֶס 'end' (of the earth, i. e. the ocean) and the Greek ἄβυσσος 'abyss'. On pp. 248–249 the question of proper names compounded with *yaûm* is more complicated than Mr Wardle's words imply; for it is extremely probable that such names as *Ya-u-um-ilum* without the divine determinative before the word *yaûm* do not mean 'Yaû(m) is God' but 'God is mine', the existence of a possessive pronoun *yaûm* 'my', 'mine', having now been established by Landsberger.[1] Further, it is not impossible that the king of Hamath named *Yau-bi'di* = *Ilu-bi'di* may have been a usurper of Hebrew origin, just as *Azriya'u* of *Ya'udi* may have been the petty king or chief of an originally Hebrew colony in Syria. In names like *Ya-a'-we-ilum* and *Ya-we-ilum* the element *yâ'we* or *yawe* may conceal a verb, as it may well do in the name *Yaḫwi-ilum*.[2] On p. 270, that Ḫammurabi was compiling his code from earlier laws is proved by the discovery of a copy of § 7 on a tablet of Lipit-Ištar, the fifth king of the dynasty of Isin.[3] On pp. 276–277 there is another small distinction between the Babylonian and Hebrew laws, besides the difference of conjunction: in the former the hypothesis is always stated as a fact in the preterite, in the latter it is set out as still in the future by the use of the future tense. On p. 284 Mr Wardle's claim that a common phraseology need not be a mark of literary interdependence receives striking confirmation from § 80 of the *Leges Constantini Theodosii Leonis*, where the words *pāleš pûlšāthâ* 'who makes a breach in a wall'[4] are philologically identical with *pilšam palâšu* 'to make a breech in a wall' in § 21 of the Code of Ḫammurabi; yet no one can suppose that the Syriac writer was dependent on the language of a code which had disappeared many centuries before he lived. On p. 293 it is all the more likely that *-ši* is an error for *-su* in the passage under discussion because the reverse error occurs in the *Old Assyrian Laws*, § 12 l. 15, where *-zu* 'him' must from the context be an error for *-zi* 'her'.

G. R. Driver.

[1] In the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* vol. xxxv p. 24, n. 2.
[2] In Schorr *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden* no. 215, l. 3.
[3] See Boissier *Lipit-Ištar, Législateur* (Genève, 1922).
[4] In Sachau *Syrische Rechtsbücher* p. 166.

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Sacrifice in the Old Testament: its Theory and Practice, by GEORGE BUCHANAN GRAY, D.Litt. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1925.)

THIS book consists of Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford. They are well worthy of publication, both on account of the interest of the subject and also on account of the person of the Lecturer. Dr Gray takes a wide range. The book opens with a reference to Robertson Smith's view of Sacrifice, that the leading idea of animal sacrifice as practised by the Semites was that it was an act of communion, in which the god and his worshippers partook of the flesh and blood of the sacred victim.

Without denying Robertson Smith's general view, Dr Gray shews that a different idea is more prominent in the Old Testament. Israel, at least in historic times, thought of Sacrifice rather as a gift to God. The Hebrew terminology of Sacrifice favours this view. Of the general terms for 'sacrifice', which are four in number, no one suggests the idea of communion. *Zebaḥ* is simply 'a killing': *'Olah* is 'a going up' or 'something which goes up'. Of the remaining terms *Minḥah* is 'gift', and *Ḳorbân* is 'present'. As far as the Hebrew terminology speaks clearly it suggests that a Sacrifice is a gift.

Dr Gray shews further that custom, at least later custom, suggests the same view. Worshippers were allowed to substitute a money payment for a victim in certain cases. Moreover, when the Prophets repudiate Sacrifice, they are found in truth to be repudiating the notion that God wants gifts.

Dr Gray discusses at some length ideas of propitiation and expiation in the Old Testament. On this difficult subject he is carefully undogmatic. The Hebrew כפר (Assyrian *Kuppuru*) may have the original meaning of 'to cover' or, again, 'to wash away with a liquid', but in historic time in Israel כפר has become just a technical term, and it is best rendered by 'to atone'.

There is further an interesting discussion on the form of the altar. Four types of altars were in use in Canaan in early times: (1) Single moveable stones, 1 Sam. xiv 33; (2) fixed rock surfaces, marked sometimes with cup-like depressions; (3) structures of earth, Exod. xx 24; (4) structures of stones. But the later time did not allow this variety. 'The Hebrew law', writes Dr Gray, 'in its insistence on a structural altar to the neglect . . . of the table-like rock-surfaces, is accommodated to the Hebrew conception of God as housing neither below, nor on the earth, but in heaven; . . . the burnt carcasses are offerings to him, but are no longer his food' (p. 129).

Another interesting discussion is that on the Priesthood of Moses. Eduard Meyer is quoted as asserting, 'The Moses whom we know was

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ancestor of the Priests of Kadesh and so a figure connected with the cultus in the genealogical legend, (but) not an historical personality'. 'But', retorts Dr Gray, 'if we are right in detecting behind the narrative of Exod. xviii a tradition of a Midianite priest instructing Moses and initiating him into the priesthood, we have to deal with a legend at once very ancient and very difficult to explain as a fiction. . . . Moses, at least as pictured in early Hebrew tradition, was a priest; later representations depict him rather as lawgiver, yet this is less a contradiction than a partial continuation of the earlier presentation; or as a prophet, which again is not incompatible with the priesthood' (pp. 209 f).

And who were the priests from the time of the Return from Babylon? 'Ezekiel's priests of the future are sons of Zadok, but after the Exile the actual priesthood is known as Aaron, the house of Aaron, the sons of Aaron. . . . Are now . . . the sons of Aaron identical, except in name, with Ezekiel's sons of Zadok?' Dr Kennett has suggested that after the fall of Jerusalem the people who remained in Judaea, being deprived of their priests, appealed to the Bethelite or Aaronite priests to exchange Bethel for Jerusalem. Joshua, the colleague of Zerubbabel, was one of these, and by a genealogical fiction this Bethelite (and Aaronite) priest was made son or grandson of Seraiah, the last of Zadokite priests before the Exile. This theory of Dr Kennett is not adopted by the caution of Dr Gray, but it evidently has an attraction for him (pp. 228 ff).

Another good section of the book discusses the High Priest. What was the actual place of 'the most important priest' before the Exile in the national life of the entire kingdom? Was he supreme, not only among the priests, but also among all the people? Or was it only the post-exilic high priest who occupied the commanding position assigned him in P?

Other subjects treated are the Festal Kalendars, the Day of Atonement, the Blood Ritual of the Passover, and 'Passover and New Testament'. All this work is well done. Dr Gray was both a competent scholar and an interesting writer. His judgement is always good, and his *dicta* when he sums up his results are very happily and forcibly expressed.

Such a book as this deserved to be given to the world in the best possible form. But this is hardly the case. Many sentences are given evidently in the unrevised form in which they appeared in the lecturer's notes. Many references, specially Biblical references, are missing from places where they are most wanted. The list of *Addenda* and *Corrigenda* on page [xv] is much too short: it could profitably be increased fourfold. Are we to read *Satúḳu* (page 27) or *sattuku* (page 402)? Page 34, 15 read 'Ex. 22^{29} f'. Page 39, 2, 3 read 'if that is *not* . . . if that is'. On page 58 the Arabic words *'iṯm*, 'sin', and *'aṯām*,

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'punishment', are cited as though they were one and the same word. On page 61, 4, 5 from bottom, the bracket containing MT and LXX is badly arranged. On page 63, 17, the clause, 'which followed' &c. yields no satisfactory sense. Page 68, 4 (from bottom) read 'I turn'. Page 74 read ὀφειλέτω. Page 75, 10 read 'for him who offers them'. Page 81, 11, read בשביל. Page 99, 13, read 'blood' for 'bread'. Page 116, last line, 't' is left out of 'intended'. Page 141, 25, read 'a new (καινόν) altar' for 'an altar'. Page 149, 9 (from bottom) read זבול with *Zayin*. Page 166, 5 read 'sickle' for 'axe'. Page 202, note (what does it mean?). Page 208, 25, the note which cites LXX (καὶ ἔλαβεν = ויקח) as supporting a reading ויקרב in Exod. xviii 12 is wrong. Page 217, 5 (from bottom) read 'Sennacherib' for 'Sargon'. Page 222, 25 read 'thy children' for 'my children'. Page 233, 24 read '*ye* present'. Page 281, 21 read איתוקם with *Waw*. Page 282, 19 read זמן with *Zayin*. Page 317, 21–28 read 'transgressions, sins . . . on this day . . . bowed down and worshipped'. Page 321, 30 read 'Lev. 16'. Page 376, 9 read νησταία. Page 404, 8 read טלה with *Hē*. The passage (*b*) quoted on p. 407 from Megillath Ta'anith is difficult to translate literally, but the translation given there is hardly adequate. It might be improved both at the beginning and at the end somewhat as follows:—

'On the 12th day [of Adar] is the *Trajan-* (not *Tyrian-*) commemoration, when they seized *Julianus* and his brother Pappus in *Laodicea* (of Syria?). He (Trajan) said, "*If* ye are of the *people* of Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, your God *will come* and deliver you out of my hand" (a sneer). . . . It is said that before he could depart from that city, there arrived a *despatch* from Rome concerning him, and that he was brained with clubs and billets of wood.'

Trajan during his reign put down several Jewish revolts with great severity. It was one of his subordinates (Lucius Quietus), not of course Trajan himself, who after executing many Jews was himself executed by order of the emperor Hadrian.

The Heart of Israel: An Approach to the Book of Psalms, by GEORGE W. THORN. (S.C.M., London, 1925.)

THIS is a short book of 171 pages, containing a brief but helpful study of the Psalter. One chapter is headed 'The Glory and Grace of God'; another, 'The Sacrament of Nature'; another, 'The Nature and Need of Man'; and another, 'The Divine Purpose in History'. Under each heading a number of appropriate passages from the Psalter are grouped. Mr Thorn has read recent literature on the Psalms, Cheyne, Kirkpatrick, Macfadyen, Oesterley. He gives some happy

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illustrations of his points from time to time from a catholic study of English literature, e. g. from Oliver Cromwell, John Masefield, William Blake, F. von Hügel.

Deutero-Isaiah: A Commentary, together with a Preliminary Essay, by REUBEN LEVY, M.A. (Oxford University Press, 1925.)

THIS book in accordance with its title deals with Isa. xl–lv. The Commentary is brief and good. Mr Levy uses the work of recent Christian scholars, Cheyne, Duhm, Driver, and he does not hesitate to cite in an objective way passages from the New Testament. The fact that he dedicates his book to the distinguished Jewish scholar, Mr Claude Montefiore, indicates his general position.

The really important part of this work is the Preliminary Essay. Here the Christian reader finds much material that is new to him. Mr Levy after tracing in scholarly fashion the ideas of Deutero-Isaiah in later prophecies and in the Apocrypha and Philo devotes four and twenty valuable, well-documented pages to the subject of 'The Deutero-Isaianic stream in the Talmud and earlier Midrashim'. Much that is contained in these works is the product of times of Oppression, yet even Oppression could not make the Rabboth forget entirely the Mission of Israel to evangelize the nations. The 'Universalism' preached by Deutero-Isaiah came to be accepted as one of the doctrines of Judaism. In the discussions of the Talmud the Rabbi who speaks for exclusion is regularly answered by his fellow who welcomes the proselyte and has hopes of the Gentile.

R. Johanan said: The heathen who studies Torah is worthy of death, for it is said, *Moses commanded* us *Torah* (Deut. xxxiii 4). . . . R. Meir on the other hand used to say, Whence do we know that even if he be a heathen and study Torah, he is as the High Priest? Because it is said, *The man* (האדם) *who doeth them shall even live by them* (Lev. xviii 5).

There is also an interesting discussion of the problem of suffering and specially of vicarious suffering. That a man's sufferings atone for his sins is a familiar thought in the Talmud: 'Chastisements', it is written in *Berakhoth* 5 *a*, 'scour away all a man's iniquities', or, again, in *Pesiḳta d'Rab Kahana*, 'As the day of Kippurim atones, so the death of the righteous atones'. And further, the Rabboth taught the spiritual value of vicarious suffering: 'As the dove (of sacrifice) atones for iniquities, so Israel atones for the nations' (*Shir Rabba* i 15). The conception of a suffering Messiah was not entirely strange to Judaism, so writes Mr Levy. The passages, however, which allude to this con-

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ception are obscure and late. For example, the *Book of Secrets* (of about the thirteenth century A. D.) contains this passage :—

And Messiah the son of Ephraim shall die there and Israel shall mourn for him. And afterwards the Holy One (Blessed be He) shall reveal to them Messiah the son of David. And Israel shall be minded to stone him, and they shall say to him, *Thou hast spoken a lie, for Messiah hath already been slain*, and no other Messiah is destined to arise. And they shall despise him, for it is said, *Despised and rejected of men* (Isa. liii 3).

Here it seems are two 'suffering Messiahs'. One is slain, the other is despised and denounced as an impostor. But such passages do not go farther than to shew, as Mr Levy says, that a Suffering Messiah was not wholly strange to Judaism.

On p. 3 correct the date of the fall of Nineveh to 612 B.C. The book is generally printed accurately, but there are misprints on p. 98, line 1 of Hebrew; p. 102, line 1 of Hebrew; p. 105, line 2 of Hebrew.

W. EMERY BARNES.

Jeremiah and the New Covenant, by W. F. LOFTHOUSE, D.D. (Student Christian Movement, London, 1925.)

THIS volume consists of a number of studies based on the life of Jeremiah. It is written in a popular style, and the author makes use of a vivid imagination in order to bring the prophet and his surroundings into touch with modern minds. Dr Lofthouse, although the plan of his small book does not include the detailed discussion of critical questions, shews an adequate knowledge of the large mass of literature which, especially in recent years, has been called forth by the renewed interest in Jeremiah.

L. ELLIOTT BINNS.

Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des N. T., von D. Dr. CARL CLEMEN. (Zweite Auflage, Verlag von Alfred Töpelmann in Giessen, 1924.)

THIS book gives a comprehensive and sound account of a difficult subject. There are masses of material at hand, often fragmentary, much of it relevant but all plausible and tempting. For the treatment of it erudition and critical acumen are required in the highest degree. With these the author is well equipped. Since the first edition in 1909 much literature has appeared upon the subject, the fruits of which have been incorporated in this new edition. The arrangement of the matter throughout has been slightly modified.

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A greatly enlarged history of the problem is followed by an exposition of the method to be followed: seven sound principles are enunciated, which would restrain the ingenious from rushing to clever derivations where a simple explanation would obviously meet the facts. Pp. 22–55 give accounts and estimates of religions and philosophies which can be suspected of influencing the N. T. This section, too, is enlarged, especially in the account of the Hermetic Literature. Then the main body of the book. Pp. 56–128 deal with the doctrines of God, of Christ and of the Holy Spirit, and close with four pages on the Triadic formula, which is derived from nothing more particular than the general popularity of the number Three. Pp. 128–135 are on the Moral Ideas, pp. 135–154 on Eschatology. The remainder of the first part deals with the institutions, Worship and Organization, Baptism and the Last Supper. The second part, pp. 192–489, is rearranged and works straight through the New Testament—the Synoptic Gospels, the Fourth Gospel, Acts, the Pauline Epistles, the Deutero-pauline Epistles, Hebrews and the Catholic Epistles, Revelation.

The author has scant sympathy with those who would explain away the whole of Christianity by foreign influences. And while he is ready to acknowledge debt from without wherever due, he generally has to repudiate any borrowing from without in fundamental ideas: it is only the form of an expression at the most which has been subjected to or derived from foreign influences. He recognizes that there was such a thing as the person of Christ, existing and creating in its own right, and that the main facts of early Church History, e. g. the Resurrection and the Christian Sunday, may be accounted for internally.

To the guiding principles he adopts at the outset might be added the warning of Cumont, that 'Resemblance does not necessarily presuppose imitation, and frequently a similarity of ideas and practices must be explained by common origin, exclusive of any borrowing'. For instance, the ideas of Bread of Life and Water of Life, of Light and Darkness, might surely be accounted for in different parts of the world without any borrowing. This is a principle to which the author is generally faithful: not but that there are passages in which he might take his own critical principles more deeply to heart, e. g. in his treatment of numbers. On p. 277 foreign references, especially Greek, are suggested for Jn. ix 2. But the Hebraist is perfectly acquainted with the question: the whereabouts of the punishment of sin, the punitive value of suffering, the culpability of the children for the fathers' sins, can be traced throughout Jewish history, through Exodus, Ezekiel, and Job, and can fend for itself without external support.

On the Mysteries he decides that Paul and the Gospels are non-sacramental, and that the worst that can be proved against the

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Christian institutions is that their forms were taken over from heathen terminology. But here again the author does not seem to give sufficient attention to the thesis that both Paul and the Mysteries were developing a terminology based on current expressions, and while neither was definitely indebted to the other, both were developing a common phraseology. Meanwhile, those addressed by Paul were already conversant with Mystery ideas and practices, and read into Paul's teaching what was not really inherent in it.

This book is an excellent treatise. It will also be invaluable as a reference book. There are full indexes at the end (18 pp.), which suffer from containing too many strings of figures, unrelieved by any guiding letterpress.

JAMES WALL.

Sol Salutis, by Dr F. J. DÖLGER. 2nd ed. (Aschendorff, Münster, 1925.)

OF all testimonials that the *Journal of Theological Studies* could receive none is more satisfactory than that of the grateful author of a second edition. That the author is grateful shews that the remarks of the reviewer have been useful, and that a very learned work is in a second edition shews that there is somewhere an appreciation of sound learning, even in these days. Prof. Dölger's *Sol Salutis* was reviewed in this JOURNAL, vol. xxii, p. 283, to which the reader may be referred. In this second edition Dölger gives due prominence to the true text of the Syriac Canons as published in Cureton's *Ancient Syriac Documents*, for as he acknowledges this document is the oldest and clearest witness to his theory that the turning of Christians to the East in prayer is intimately connected with the ancient eschatological belief that Christ would return, like the lightning (Matt. xxiv 27), from the East.

It may be noticed that Prof. Dölger in this new edition makes an effective use of R. H. Connolly's edition of 'George of Arbela', where similar ideas occur (p. 238 f). What is even more curious and interesting is his quotation from the *Summa* (ii 2, 9, qu. 84, art. 3, 3), in which St Thomas points out that we pray towards the East (1) because the very Heavens move from the east, (2) because Paradise is there, (3) because Christ is the Light of the world and called the Orient (Zech. vi 12), also He ascended to the East (Ps. lxvii 34) and will return from the East (Matt. xxiv 27): 'without any alteration the ideas of the Patristic age are here repeated', says Prof. Dölger very truly (p. 242).

On p. 307 he points out that in ancient times efforts were made to

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direct the dying gaze of sacrificial animals towards the seat of the God in whose worship the sacrifice was being performed. It may be remarked that this explains why Mithra in the well-known group of the tauroctony lifts up the muzzle of the Bull with his left hand while he slays it with the knife held in his right hand.

F. C. BURKITT.

The Rule of Faith in the Ecclesiastical Writings of the first two centuries: a dissertation for the degree of Doctor in Sacred Theology in the Catholic University of America, by the Rev. A. J. COAN. (The Catholic University, Washington, 1924.)

ANY one reading this title must be warned (i) that what Father Coan means by the Rule of Faith is not what is now commonly meant by that phrase:—this book has nothing to do with the history of the Old Roman Creed; (ii) that the Catholic University of America would seem to have different standards from those of Louvain, or l'Institut Catholique de Paris.

This dissertation is a contribution not to knowledge but to polemics. The author begins by saying that the Catholic Rule of Faith is expressed in a decree of the Vatican Council, 'Porro fide divina et catholica ea omnia credenda sunt, quae in verbo Dei scripto vel tradito continentur et ab ecclesia sive solemni judicio sive ordinario et universali magisterio tanquam divinitus revelata credenda proponitur'. The 'Protestant Rule of Faith' has to pack itself into smaller compass. It is 'the Bible, privately interpreted'. From this starting-point the author sets out on an excursion into the writings of the first two centuries (or some of them, for Fr Coan only deals with Clement, the Didache, Ignatius, Polycarp, Irenaeus, and Tertullian) with results altogether satisfactory to himself.

It is true that in starting he has observed that modern Protestants do not stand on quite the ground he has defined. But he does not let that draw him from his objective in his 'Protestant Rule of Faith'. It is, needless to say, a very easy target to score on. But unfortunately the Fundamentalists, whom it may cover, set no store by the Church Fathers. And the Protestants who discuss the Church Fathers are not covered by that target.

In the argument assumptions are much in evidence; such as that if Clement is the author of the Roman epistle to Corinth, this fact precludes its bearing any authority distinguishable from that of Clement; and alternatively, if the epistle bears the authority of the Roman Church or presbytery, it ought to shew signs of multiple authorship. Or again,

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that Clement's reference to 'the words spoken of God through us' means that in speaking (as Pope) he knows that his words have a recognized Divine authority. And so on.

Naturally, Fr Coan is least at his ease with the Didache. But he is not perturbed. 'The work is shrouded in no little obscurity. It is difficult therefore to understand how some critics can attach undue importance to it.' 'Nothing is more foreign to the author of the Didache than private interpretation. Nor does he give the slightest suggestion that Scripture is the sole standard of belief. Non-Catholic critics seem to overlook this point.' We are reminded of the famous argument that since St Paul wrote an epistle to the Romans and no epistle to the Protestants, there could not have been any of the latter.

From the difficulty raised by the injunction 'Appoint for yourselves, therefore, bishops and deacons', Fr Coan has alternative escapes. (*a*) There is here accorded by apostolic authority a privilege for the people to nominate candidates for approval and consecration, (*b*) a community in a very primitive state in the backwoods of Christianity selected its own officials. This disparaging use of the word primitive is out of accord with the general trend of the argument.

Polycarp 'has nothing favourable to say of the private interpretation of the Scriptures'. This saying is just if 'perverting the oracles of the Lord to one's own lusts and saying that there is neither resurrection or judgement' can be called 'private interpretation' of Scripture. But then Fr Coan makes the whole theologies of Valentinus, Basilides, and Marcion 'private interpretations', and the phrase is elastic. Surely, however, from the Roman point of view, Polycarp must have had a 'private interpretation' of the text 'Thou art Peter' &c. when he stuck so doggedly to the 'Johannine' tradition for the keeping of Easter.

The study that Fr Coan has made of his selected documents has been diligent and careful. He has also read non-Roman writers about them. But he has kept these last at arms length, and it has not put him in any danger of losing the five authoritative signatures that grace his imprimatur page.

W. TELFER.

Johannes Scotus Erigena: a study in mediaeval philosophy, by HENRY BETT, M.A., Handsworth College, Birmingham. (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1925.)

'IT is rather a reproach to English philosophical literature that there has not existed in our language hitherto anything like a complete treatise on Erigena. There have only been some brief studies, ex-

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cellent in their way, but not professing to give a full exposition of the Scot's doctrine. I feel, therefore, that this volume may reasonably claim to fill a real gap, but no one can be more conscious than I am of the deficiencies both of the book and of the writer.'

That is Mr Bett's claim: a modest claim, for his book too is only a brief study. But it is an attractive and instructive study, and will bring wholesome enjoyment to those who do not know too much about Erigena's period to be satisfied easily.

Among the earlier English studies Mr Poole's chapter in *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought and Learning* stands out supreme. Mr Bett uses (apparently) the early edition of this continually; and is able to correct a slip of Mr Poole's mind or pen about Maximus 'the monothelete', or 'monothelite' as Mr Bett prefers to spell it. When Mr Poole wrote forty years ago he began by setting out plainly the primary printed authorities whom all biographers of Erigena must recognize. An enlarged list of this kind would be of use to Mr Bett's readers: his references in foot-notes are frequent: with such a prelude they would be even more serviceable.

The first chapter, 'The Life and Writings of Erigena', is fresh in style though scarcely so in matter. In Chapter II, 'The Philosophy of Erigena: a Summary', Mr Bett comes to his own. From Erigena's 'greatest work, *On the Division of Nature*', by cutting out repetitions and allegorical expositions of Scripture he has found it possible 'to present a summary of the philosophy of Erigena, almost wholly in his own words, which omits nothing of real significance, and yet is scarcely one-tenth of the bulk of the original'. This is very well done: indeed it could hardly be bettered. The reader is held at once by the uncommonly bold ideas, is obliged to attend, and attending, understands. It is so good that 'An Exposition' (Chapter III) falls rather flat after it. Mr Bett repeats, reflects, compares, co-ordinates, contrasts modern developements, criticizes the superfluous inherited machinery of Erigena's method. And again and again it appears (on Mr Bett's own shewing) that the very strength of Erigena would be mutilated if these 'excrescences' were pruned away. For us they are fanciful interpolations, left behind by the river of thought as it runs on cleansing its streams: for him they were constructions in the living skeleton of his complete creation.

Perhaps that one word, creation, might be added to what Mr Bett implies in his last two chapters on 'Sources and Authorities' and 'The Influence of Erigena upon later times'. No philosopher, he says, 'was ever less original, in the narrow sense, than Erigena. It would be easy to find in the pseudo-Dionysius, Maximus, Origen, Gregory of Nyssa and Augustine, a source for almost every single thought in the Scot's

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system. Yet, on the other hand, he is by no means a mere compiler, for he has wrought all these thoughts into an impressive scheme, and he has done it with remarkable skill and subtlety. The form and system are his, and that is no small praise. It was only a metaphysician of great insight who could have found all that he needed in the incomplete and disorderly literature to which he had access, and it was only a philosopher of great speculative power who could have wrought it all into so massive a system.'

Like Erigena, philosophers to-day are obliged to depend upon accumulated thought. The happy impression left by Mr Bett's study is that such dependence may through genius issue in real creation.

A. NAIRNE.

The Constitution of the Dominican Order, 1216 to 1360, by G. R. GALBRAITH, M.A., Ph.D., Member of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford. Sometime Roscoe Scholar, Manchester University. (Manchester: at the University Press; London, New York, &c.: Longmans, Green & Co. Publications of the University of Manchester, No. CLXX.)

MORE than ten years ago in an interesting study[1] Dr Ernest Barker called attention to some matters of constitutional importance in the Order of St Dominic, but Dr Galbraith has given us for the first time a complete and systematic account of the working of the constitution of the Order. Her book presents the results of so competent an examination of the primary authorities that it is likely to remain for a long time the standard work on the subject. In the first paragraph of the Introduction Dr Galbraith says that the Order's 'chief title to fame' is that 'in the thirteenth century it produced and lived according to a constitution which was efficient, intricate, and surprisingly *modern*'. This is probably the most questionable assertion in the book, but an error of enthusiasm, even when it overlooks St Thomas Aquinas, is very pardonable, for in the remainder of the book Dr Galbraith displays a judgement uniformly shrewd and impartial. With rigid self-restraint, that at times is tantalizing in its correctness, she has excluded everything that does not bear on the administrative study undertaken.

The subject is extremely complicated. It lacks the picturesqueness that is the bane as well as the attraction of much mediaeval history. Many pages of the book are of necessity dull and even difficult reading. Usually Dr Galbraith's exposition is lucid, and the reader who perseveres to the end is adequately rewarded by a complete view of the

[1] E. Barker *The Dominican Order and Convocation* Oxford 1913.

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matter which is not the less pleasant for having been somewhat laboriously earned.

Two sections concerning the Chapters and the Officers of the Order occupy by far the greater part of the book. Here are set out with meticulous particularity the composition and functions of the Conventual, the Provincial, the General, and the Generalissimum Chapter and the powers and responsibilities of the Conventual Prior, the Provincial Prior, the Master-General, the Vicar, the Visitor, and the Preacher. The world has never known a more skilfully constructed constitution than that which is here described. Though every contingency seems to have been foreseen and provided for, constant adaptation to changing circumstances was made easy. By a comparison of the Constitutions of 1228 with those of 1256, 1260, and 1358–1363 Dr Galbraith has illustrated the way in which these adaptations were made. The officers of the Order, despite the free exercise of power allowed in their own sphere, were in fact as well as in theory responsible to their brethren; the constant change of officers made the popular control real. For once at least in the history of institutions efficiency and responsibility were combined.

The short sections that open and close the book have perhaps the greatest interest for the general reader. In these Dr Galbraith examines St Dominic's debt to his predecessors, his personal contribution to the Constitution of the Order, and the manner in which his work developed. Her thesis is that 'the primitive Benedictine monastery can . . . be regarded as at one end of the scale of constitutional development, the Order of St Dominic at the other'. By an examination of constitutional developements connected with Cluny, Cîteaux, the Canons Regular, the Hospitallers, the Templars, and Prémontré, Dr Galbraith claims for St Dominic that high kind of originality which adapts the work of others to a special end. Two sentences summarize the matter: 'It remained for St Dominic to create a democratic, centralized, and highly organized body, which was an Order, and not a collection of houses.' 'St Dominic's followers merely filled in and elaborated his conception.' Dr Galbraith has some illuminating observations on the relations of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders. The limitations of her subject do not permit personal sketches, but Dr Galbraith has made the founder of the Order live in his work: his subordination of everything to study and preaching, his abandonment of manual labour as 'so much waste of time', his reluctant and unromantic adoption of 'the Lady Poverty'—these are the lineaments of the man.

The Appendix contains, beside a number of tables concerning provinces, chapters, masters, preachers, and visitations, the Constitutions of the Order as they stood about the years 1358–1363, printed

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for the first time from Additional Manuscript 23935 in the British Museum, with two admirable reproductions.

It is extremely regrettable that so scholarly a book should have been issued without more careful proof-reading. The text itself, though the irregular alinement is most irritating, is fairly free from errors; there seem to be mistakes in punctuation on pages 38, 49, 54, 57; figure from wrong fount p. 132 *n.*; *through* for *though* p. 48; *were* for *was* p. 111; *ordnance* for *ordinance* p. 138; *who* seems to have been dropped from p. 46. The first sixty pages of the Appendix contain more misprints than the whole of the text. The transcript of the Latin manuscript contains more than a few grotesque errors and a number of very questionable readings. It is hard to see why *y* is retained in words like *ydoneis* since it is stated that modern spelling has been used.

B. L. MANNING.

La Réaction Wesléyenne dans L'Évolution Protestante, par MAXIMIN PIETTE. (La Lecture au Foyer: 34 rue de Stassart, Bruxelles.)

THIS volume has a peculiar interest because it contains a Roman Catholic's estimate of the Wesleyan Revival. It is written with no polemic purpose, but is a calm and impartial and (on the whole) accurate survey of the facts. Only about one-third of the book is on the Wesleyan Revival. The first two parts deal with the developements of Protestantism before the days of Wesley. The author has evidently studied the sources closely and has acquainted himself with the history of Methodism since Wesley's death. The most interesting and important chapter is that on the doctrines of Methodism. It is rightly said that Wesley was no innovator in doctrine, but may not originality sometimes be selective rather than creative?

Wesley certainly brought into prominence and made current coin doctrines of experience which had almost passed from view—doctrines which may be traced, through Luther and Augustine, back to St Paul. The author holds that Wesley was a Pragmatist before the Pragmatists. Probably this is too sweeping a generalization. There are elements of truth in it, but there is misunderstanding also.

Dr Piette is in harmony with most interpreters of Wesley when he says that the most characteristic element in his theology is *the appeal to religious experience*. But by 'experience' Wesley did not mean feeling only, as our author appears to suggest. No attempt is made in the volume to expound or appraise the doctrines of experience—those doctrines which Wesley and his followers called 'our doctrines'.

There is, in Wesleyan Methodism to-day, a small body of conservatives

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who would bind the ministry to conform to the letter of Wesley's teaching. This section is almost entirely without influence. But unfortunately our author has heard of them, and, with a lack of perspective pardonable in a foreigner, has attributed to them greater importance than is their due. He refers to them as 'the best minds'. He thinks that Methodism can only return to its first works by a return to the form of Wesley's teaching. He seems to imagine that Liberal Methodists derive their theology purely from emotional experiences. But a church which emphasizes the importance of religious experience in the developement of doctrine can never permit itself to be in bondage to the *letter* of ancient documents. That is the belief which the Wesleyan Conference has affirmed. The loyalty of Methodism to the historical revelation saves it from becoming the prey of mere emotionalism.

English readers who are familiar with the literature of the subject will not find much that is new to them in this volume, but it will probably serve a valuable purpose on the Continent, where comparatively little has been written on the life and work of Wesley.

H. M. HUGHES.

Science and the Modern World, by A. N. WHITEHEAD, F.R.S., Sc.D., &c., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Professor of Philosophy in Harvard University. Lowell Lectures, 1925. (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1926.)

IN the first eight of these lectures their author sketches the history of that product of scientific thought that may be called the mechanical theory of the world, and deals with the supplementation and revision which the theory has recently received from the doctrines of relativity and the quantum. By 'science', in the title of the book, is thus chiefly meant natural philosophy or the ontological interpretation of theoretical physics suggested to minds steeped in applied mathematics. Dr Whitehead devotes one of these lectures to the romantic recoil from exact science; and he has much to say, by the way, of philosophers as well as of scientific investigators. These lectures deal with the history of science mainly in order to sketch in a background or foil against which the writer gradually expounds his own view of Nature: a theory which is completed in lectures entitled 'Abstraction', 'God', 'Religion and Science'. This is the main contribution of the volume; and as it is also the centre of interest for theological readers, attention shall be confined to it together with certain philosophical issues that are involved.

The main defects in the materialistic and mechanical theory which has been heuristically used, whether or not accepted by men of science

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as ontology, since the seventeenth century, are stated to be that 'it provides none of the elements which compose the immediate psychological experiences of mankind' nor any trace 'of the organic unity of a whole, from which the organic unities of electrons, protons, molecules, and living bodies can emerge' (p. 104). Further, it assigns no reason in the nature of things why material bodies should have any physical relations to each other. Dr Whitehead traces these shortcomings to the old assumption of what he calls 'simple location': i. e. of position in definite regions of space and time apart from relations to other tracts of space and time. If what is meant here is unrelatedness to *other things or happenings in* space and time—and I think it must be—I do not see why a body or a configuration definitely placed and dated does not 'mirror' bodies elsewhere, in the sense of being causally affected by them; and I am unable to see that the figurative term 'mirror' can legitimately mean anything else, when applied to matter. We cannot, I think, say that the mechanical theory is fallacious on this ground: if it were a theory about phenomenal Nature, we could: but it is a theory about the sub-phenomenal, or about matter defined as characterized by nothing but mass and movability.

But it is beyond gainsaying that the mechanical theory is abstract, and that if its mass-particles be the ultimate physical 'reals' then phenomenal Nature, rich in physical properties and qualities, must be 'made' by *rapport* of minds with it: a view which the lecturer does not countenance. And one can sympathize with Dr Whitehead's desire for a more fundamental expression of 'the concrete character of natural fact', and with his promise of paying due consideration to the empirical and the psychological. But unfortunately 'natural fact' seems to many of us much more than simple datum, purely objective, accepted or apprehended with directness and immediacy. The common or public event that seems here to be in question, such as a rainbow, is not concrete in the same degree as is an individual's 'percept of it'; indeed the physical object, as distinct from the private object of the individual's 'immediate' apprehension, is what *we think* is there: as, e. g. is especially plain in the case of the far side of the moon. And even the individual's object, commonly called appearance of the real or common and conceptual Object, is not immediately apprehended unless 'immediacy' connotes merely the percipient's ignorance, at the moment of perceiving, that his perception is dependent on previous experience, and is a complex process psychologically mediated, involving intersubjective intercourse and 'real' categories such as permanence, &c., as well as sensory acquaintance. In taking the 'event' as simple, concrete datum that is read off with immediacy, an important issue, I fear, is being begged; the thin end of the realist's wedge is seeking

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purchase and the knowing process is being assumed to be far simpler than the psychologist will allow it to be. Again when space and time are assumed as primary data, and as existents into which sense-objects have 'ingression', the author is assuming the conceptual to be equally actual as the sensory, and taking finished products of thought and idealization as gift-horses that must not be looked in the mouth. The issue between realism and idealism is in these respects not faced, and even the 'provisional' realism from which Dr Whitehead sets out is not established. It would seem that these two types of theory of knowledge, along with phenomenalism such as Kant's, are equally ventures beyond the given or the known, to be justified by remoter general consequences, and meanwhile guessful attempts to solve one equation between two unknowns.

Thus I would demur to starting from the 'event'; that is a start in the air, not from the 'ultimate unit of natural occurrence' (p. 146). Convinced as I am that there is no *knowledge* of an *ordo essendi* possible save through following whither it leads the *ordo cognoscendi*, which philosophers have practically always rejected as irrelevant, I am unable to recognize any ground, in concrete fact and its external control, for the theory elaborated in these lectures as to how things and occurrences come to be. Dr Whitehead's method is not empirically analytic; it seems to consist in the fashioning of concepts, a pursuit in which the poet in him predominates over the minute philosopher. There are an indefinite number of possible philosophies of this kind, and perhaps nothing to enable us to choose between them: just as there are an indefinite number of possible odes to Duty. But if philosophy would mean business and not intellectual pastime, it seems to me that it must not be an exercise in free composition, but rather an attempt to translate into metaphysical language the one and only original set us—viz. the forthcoming 'knowledge' so called that we have by common sense which, however presumptive, must be some 'function' of ultimate truth.

For the old materialistic mechanism Dr Whitehead substitutes an 'organic mechanism', such as will provide for emergent evolution and at the same time not leave all qualitative diversity, aesthetic and other value, to functioning of mind evoked by nervous response to mass-particles or their equivalents. The word 'organism', as he uses it, has nothing to do with vitalism: it merely means an organic whole, in which the parts have their natures and relations determined by the whole. His organic 'event' is credited, then, with intrinsic and extrinsic reality: which I construe as immanent and transient causality, terms from which I see no reason to depart for new ones. Its relations (which word, I presume, as usual ambiguously denotes actual *rapport*

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as well as logical and possibly factitious relations) are constituted internally: here, by the way, connexion with the pluralistic new realism is repudiated. The event has determinateness, persistence (or reiteration), and determinative capacity. It is, in fact, our old friend a 'substance' over again, as purified of obsolete historical associations and as recently reinstated by Mr Johnson in philosophical respectability: save only that it is not allowed 'independence', and so is to be compared with Spinoza's mode rather than with Leibniz's windowless monad. 'Independence' is a very ambiguous word; and one need not be a Spinozist for not being a Leibnizian. The organism is endowed (figuratively) with choice: it 'selects', say, as a magnet selects iron dust from a mixture of it and sawdust. In virtue of reciprocal action it is 'in a certain sense'—perhaps a rhetorical sense?—'everywhere'. It is not (p. 102) a mere assemblage of parts or 'ingredients' [qualities?], but is unified by what is called 'prehension', or by 'progressive realization'. Dr Whitehead speaks as if this realization were actual process; but perhaps this is only figurativeness comparable to Hegel's, and prehension means but the inverse of conceptual analysis, not anything genetic. If perchance it has the latter meaning, the doctrine would seem to involve the actual existence, independent of knowers or abstracters, of universals or timeless objects; and their 'ingression' into particulars will be but the converse of Plato's 'participation' by particulars in universals. This construction of the writer's meaning is certainly suggested in the later lectures. Anyhow, an event is 'the grasping into unity of a pattern of aspects' (p. 168). It is perhaps impossible for any one but the lecturer himself to understand precisely what is meant by highly figurative words such as abound in his discussion of the realization of the event; certainly I am at a loss when I would translate into forthcoming scientific or philosophical terms the 'aspects' and 'patterns' that are unified, the 'envisagement' of eternal objects, the 'reference' of event to event, and so forth. It is possible, therefore, that in this sketchy exposition of Dr Whitehead's thought I am misrepresenting or mutilating a construction which I confess I cannot at all points understand, and am unintentionally unsympathetic in entering a *caveat* against his love for metaphor; though on some occasions I am inclined to think it really mischievous. Thus 'prehension' is a notion like that of 'perception' as used by Bacon where he says that all bodies, whatsoever, though they have no sense, have perception. 'Perception' here is as figurative as 'sensitiveness' accredited to a thermometer. As the behaviouristic school have employed the rhetoric of William James in order to effect the reduction of the irreducible difference between the unique subject-object and the object-object relations, between a thing's being and a thing's

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appearing; and as Dr Whitehead himself seems in places anxious to impugn the uniqueness of 'consciousness', this protest may not be gratuitous. He construes Bacon's 'perception' as 'taking account' and describes prehension as uncognitive apprehension: I confess there seems to me no similarity between prehension and apprehension save in the sound of the names. Leibniz's 'mirroring', which is but 1–1 correspondence between states of monads, is again dangerously borrowed when it is suggested (p. 103) that 'an event mirrors within itself the modes of its predecessors as memories'...; for memory means reminiscence, and it is absurd to speak, as some do, of the 'memory of plants'. As for the word 'awareness', unless it be an elliptical expression for awareness of something (object) by something (subject), I should affirm it to be a mere nonsense-word. Yet Dr Whitehead dislikes, apparently, this assertion of fundamental duality in all experience which I take to be but an assertion of an analytical proposition; and he seems to repudiate all subjective activity when he says (p. 103) that a perception conditioned by bodily sense-organs 'is on the same level as all other events, except for an unusual complexity and stability of inherent pattern'. But perhaps 'unusual' and 'stability' reinstate surreptitiously the ejected ego and the rejected uniqueness of consciousness, as in the case of William James's dictum that awareness of breathing is the same breathing 'taken in another context': 'taking' being, of course, either consciousness over again or nothing.

Dr Whitehead is convinced that secondary qualities such as colour, and value which perhaps he might call tertiary, are intrinsic to Nature, not due to the mind's coloured spectacles, so to say. Unfortunately he does not define 'Nature' or indicate the level of experience-organization at which his 'Nature' is object of 'knowledge'. If Nature be taken as what the painter or the man of common sense talks of, of course these qualities inhere in it; if 'Nature' means the world as resolved into electrons, &c., it becomes difficult for the scientific realist to read colour and value into it, even if electrons be called organisms. If I am not mistaken, Dr Whitehead is realistic as to electrons; they are for him, that is to say, more than conceptual scaffolding or descriptions of the 'as if' kind. But he has no use for the ether; he thinks the atomic theory (p. 184) is in a state like that of pre-Copernican astronomy with its epicycles; and he repudiates the notion of space-time as self-subsistent. The relativity-theory has been adopted in science, as he says, because it is the simplest or most economical kind of description and dispenses with particular *ad hoc* descriptions. It will indeed be a break in the continuity of the development of theoretical physics if the electron, which has been 'supplied' like the ether, and which is already convicted, I believe, of

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suffering distortion, does not follow the ether, as an attempt to rationalize the partly alogical, or to mechanicize the non-mechanical, and to thrust on Nature a kind of explanation to her patience of which there are limits.

Reason is one of the 'finished products', heaven-descended and sacrosanct, which have imposed acceptance at their own valuation on philosophers.

Roughly speaking, in the comprehensive sense in which we commonly use the word without knowing or caring what we mean by it, reason contains two disparate functionings. There is logical rationality, the reading off of relations such as likeness and numerical diversity, which yield the 'formal' categories of logic and mathematics and underly deduction; and there is the alogical reasonableness which is outcome of the reading in of subjectively derived 'real' categories such as substance and cause, anthropically interpretative, more directly concerned with satisfaction of hope and conational disposition, and presupposed in all induction. The lecturer uses 'reason' without explicitly distinguishing these disparate functions, perhaps without recognition of their diversity. 'Faith in reason', he says, 'is the trust that the ultimate natures of things lie together in a harmony which excludes mere arbitrariness' (p. 26). The harmony here mentioned would seem to be both logico-mathematical and aesthetic; and it is left doubtful whether arbitrariness is negation of the logical or of the teleological. That this faith in reason 'springs from direct inspection of the nature of things as disclosed' in immediate present experience, I cannot accept: I take it to be a late stage in an age-long developement, the outcome of trial, error, and pragmatic success, and presupposing a whole world-theory as much as did Schleiermacher's alleged immediate intuition or 'feeling'. 'Immediate', as I have hinted already, is a veritable pit-fall to all who neglect the deliverances of analytic and genetic psychology when constructing their theory of knowledge.

In the stricter and 'logical' sense, our world cannot be rational without remainder; our science of it is what it is just because individuals' *sensa* happen to be what they are. In what sense, then, one may ask, does 'the harmony of logic [lie] upon the universe as an iron necessity' (p. 27), or in what way can we hope to shew that, though we are unable to discern the laws of Nature to be necessary, it is necessary that there should be an order of Nature (p. 104)? Apparently the answer is that 'detached details, merely in order to be themselves, demand that they should find themselves in a system of things' (p. 26). But apart from our experience of this world and finding it actually to be more or less of an order—it is easy to be wise after the

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event—is it not conceivable that the world *might* have been one in which the 'same' impression never recurred, in which anything might ensue upon anything, and in which all occurrences were as disparate as are heroism and a smell? There is no necessity *a priori* why such a chaos might not exist, for the assertion does not involve a contradiction; there would then be no logic or science, no universals or timeless objects. To be less fanciful, one might say that Euclid's geometry could not have emerged had there not happened to be solid bodies, and arithmetic could not be applied to actuality if its constituents behaved as does one drop of water when added to another.

Again our world might conceivably be a perfect order in being penetrable by mathematical and physical thought, and yet have neither beauty nor purpose or 'meaning'; and it might embody purpose or meaning and be intelligible as one's friend's conduct is, while as irreducible to regular sequences of events. Philosophers are said in one of these lectures to be rationalists in the sense that they would seek to go behind irreducible facts, eliminate arbitrariness, and demand meaning. And it may be observed that science and theology both seek rationality in the world, and each postulates what it desires to make it wise; only what is wisdom for the one is largely superfluous folly for the other, their respective rationalities, though overlapping, being diverse. Science would find Nature's structural elements and their laws, with indifference to values; theology seeks the world's 'meaning' and takes world-structure for scarcely more than stage and scenery for the spiritual drama. Dr Whitehead thinks that God is required by philosophy; not as Prime Mover but as Principle of Concretion. But his thought, at this later stage of his construction, I find difficult to follow, and possibly on that account difficult to accept. In the lecture on Abstraction there is much that appears to me reminiscent of Wolff's attempt to conjure the actual out of the so-called possible. But if I here misjudge, I would at least demur to the statement that it is necessary to conceive actuality 'as in essential relation to an unfathomable possibility' (p. 243). 'Concretion' seems to be what the theist would call creation; that it involves choice between possible worlds is Leibnizian though anthropomorphic.

But Dr Whitehead's discussion of God or the principle of Concretion seems to evince his kinship rather with Spinoza. The Prime Mover or First Cause is objected to early in the book: to invoke Him is but to appeal to an ultimate reality for the removal of our perplexity. And what else, one might ask, are the unseen 'realities' of physics? But later (p. 249) a choice is indicated between contentment with alogical determination of the particular, its 'what' and its 'how', and a pressing on to a reality, of which, apparently, the alogical is illusory appearance.

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The former alternative involves stopping short at God, the ultimate determinate and determinant, whose existence is 'the ultimate irrationality'. I gather that Dr Whitehead himself does not wish rationalization or explanation to be carried farther back than to the theistic concept, nor desire to deduce 'why' from 'how' and 'what'. The concluding sentences of Lecture XI are so condensed as to be not easily intelligible, and I am not certain whether God, as conceived by the author, is 'sufficient' as well as logical reason or ground of all. I am inclined to think that his God is will-less as Spinoza's. With the protest against the bestowal of 'metaphysical compliments' on the Deity by philosophers, I largely concur, if thereby be meant infinitude, perfection (in all its many senses save one), absoluteness, &c. But I should have thought that this is not a mediaeval and modern habit due to anxiety to establish the religious significance of God, but rather one of the evil legacies of great Greece, whose theology was fashioned in the schools, not out of experience and living touch with the world, and for metaphysical rather than for religious purposes. Dr Whitehead observes that it is only when some of these attributes are discarded that theism can possess a theodicy. But I do not see how theodicy is possible on his own theory. He writes: 'If He be conceived as the supreme ground for limitation, it stands in His very nature to divide the Good from the Evil, and to establish Reason "within her dominions supreme".' This may perhaps mean that God is the ground of 'absolute' values, but it leaves us confronted with the fact that in God's world there is much that is evil that is not of our making.

I trust that I have not misinterpreted Dr Whitehead's thought; but my readers who have not already read this important work will doubtless pass on to it and judge for themselves.[1]

The Nature of Religion. Gifford Lectures delivered in the University of Glasgow, 1924–1925, by W. P. PATERSON, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. (London: Hodder and Stoughton.)

THE chief service rendered by this series of lectures to students of theology consists in the collection of facts and of views of thinkers in diverse fields, which the author has presented, and in the systematization which they receive at his hands. Dr Paterson's wide range of learning has enabled him to deal with a variety of questions connected

[1] The book is very free from misprints, but a delightful one occurs on p. 117: thoughts 'too deep for terms'.

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with the nature of religion. Perhaps his voluminous book would have been the better for some condensation: outgrowths from its proper subject into space belonging to dogmatic theology and apologetics might with advantage have been pruned away. The lecturer does not break new ground: and his discussion does not seem to throw important new light on any specific issue.

Dr Paterson begins by distinguishing types of religious subject that have been studied more or less exclusively by particular writers or schools. There is a class of individual subjects of religious experience and a class of over-individual or collective subjects. In the former class are put the 'man as man'—the normal whole man—the convert and the saint. The pathological person favoured by W. James, and the mystic, of normal or of abnormal experience, at least might have been added here, though they are dealt with in other contexts. As to alleged kinds of collective subject, Dr Paterson recognizes that they are generally taken to be but aggregates of subjects proper whose experience, through intercourse, is vastly enhanced by attainment of the common standpoint; but he seems to prefer to take notions such as that of 'the mind of a nation' literally. The only ground assigned for this preference (p. 63), that from the empirical point of view a mind or soul is but a convenient name for a system of psychical occurrences, is disastrous to theology and, I venture to think, inadequate for psychology. It seems to me to be not empiricism but pseudo-empiricism to dispense with the abiding pure ego with its several kinds of individuality: that the so-called facts which the soul is said to transcend, to its own perdition, are not facts without it, but artifacts. And if individual souls are actualities, there is no more reason to postulate a group-soul than to call a constellation of five stars a sixth star.

The next topic is the connexion of religion with the instinctive. Much depends here on whether we adopt the narrower and definite or one of the broad and indefinite meanings for 'instinct'. In the former sense instinct is response to particular if complex stimulations of sense; it is fixed in the species; its continued exercise requires provision for its fulfilment; it is not necessarily accompanied, when operating, by any specific emotion. Such specialized instincts are very few in man; and 'religious sense' cannot be one of them. When the wider meaning is adopted, instinct includes much more that is inherited disposition, such as appetites and aversions, parental 'love', curiosity, reactions dependent on body-sense or coenasthesis and accompanied by emotion. These things are sometimes more difficult to distinguish with security from acquired experience. In this latter sense there are many instincts in man as well as in lower creatures; though the number catalogued by some psychologists would be curtailed by

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others: that of gregariousness, e. g., is reasonably disputed. That the instinctive in this wider sense is drawn upon in religious experience goes without saying; that religiousness is a specialized instinct is a very different matter. Dr Paterson favours the view that religion is instinctive in the narrower sense; he even allows himself to speak of man as endowed with a moral instinct. But morality is certainly a social acquisition, as is reason, though both have roots in the innate; and psychology knows no ground for putting religious experience on a different status. Indeed, if religious experience owes its uniqueness not to any element, discoverable by analysis, such as is peculiar to it alone, but to the theological concept of God or its primitive equivalent, i. e. to the ideational object towards which religious emotion is directed, the doctrine of a religious instinct will involve the obsolete notion of innate ideas. I am inclined to think that in his argument Dr Paterson has confounded the two meanings of instinct which he has more or less distinguished, mistakes religion for its non-religious roots or for some of its factors, and overlooks the differences between the individually innate and the socially acquired.

The next lecture treats of religion and the subconscious. We could wish here for more explicit recognition that phrases such as 'the bodily self', 'the possessive self', &c., are figurative, and that 'the censor' and 'the dungeon' are but words cloaking ignorance. However, there is no serious fault to be found with the exposition of facts in this connexion; it is rather the application of them that evokes suspicion. The pathological state of 'divided personality' has nothing to do, by way of antithesis, with 'the destiny of the good man to unify his spiritual state' (p. 136), as the former is not ethically conditioned. 'Possession', or supposed control of one body by a plurality of egos, again, is not to be compared with inspiration or *rapport* between minds. In this lecture, the question of the divine causality of the deeper spiritual experiences of saints and prophets is taken up. Dr Paterson argues as if a court of spiritual experts could settle such a question in virtue of their spirituality. Of course, theistic belief having been acquired on other and wider grounds, the believer in God is entitled to attribute his experiences to the agency of God. But the experiences themselves no more yield immediate acquaintance with their causation than do public 'miracles'; causation or efficient action is always read in, not read off, and is interpretation of the seen by the unseen; the saint can no more discern it than can the analytical psychologist; and his convincedness, as a psychologically caused state, has not *necessarily* any connexion with logical certainty or actual fact. One fears that the writer's apologetic zeal here outruns his psychological discretion.

In the next lecture, on the religious mind, among much that is good in the exposition, there seem to be particular errors in epistemology.

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The derivation of the idea of God is compared to the derivation of an object of universal experience by means of the Kantian categories. It is here overlooked that the categories work on sense-data to produce a phenomenal object, while the derivation of the idea of God only begins when such objects and their relations are finished products of knowledge. Again, the ideas of the reason, within which that of God is included, are not 'necessary'. Kant was right there, if wrong in sharply distinguishing them from the 'real' categories such as cause, which we now know to be equally regulative or anthropically interpretative. Once more, 'logic of the sentiments' which seems to be invoked, is a spurious and hybrid notion, a confusion of logical grounds with psychological causes of belief. The process of ideation has been clearly traced by psychology, and there is no longer any reason, such as in the days of scantier knowledge there naturally seemed to be, to put the origin of the idea of deity in the obscure region of 'the depths of human nature', or to resort to the '*a priori*' of the supposed unique sense of the numinous.

I have touched only on the chapters in this volume which are most likely to be of especial interest to scientific students, and have bestowed my attention almost exclusively on some of the points where I disagree with the author. There are many more, in later lectures, as to which I could not concur. Not all theists to-day would accept Dr Paterson's definition of theism with its retention of the attribute of infinity. In which of the historic senses of 'infinitude' God is infinite, I cannot discover. The lecture on Man's vision of God, in which theism and alternative theories are discussed, does not appear to me to be one of the strongest or even abreast of modern knowledge. It seems to me that theism must receive such 'proof' as is possible for it from its capacity to co-ordinate and explain the facts of all sorts that it claims to comprehend and unify: because in this, and not in any other sense, it 'works'. That it 'works' in the sense of being valuable for spiritual edification is important, but is irrelevant to 'proof' of its truth so long as it is not demonstrated that convincedness that is nevertheless erroneous can never issue in spiritual efficiency. What I take to be the ultimate issues in this connexion are not adequately discussed in the work before us. These are, what are the grounds for believing the objective element in religious experience, which conceivably may be only imaginal or ideal, to be actual or existent in the same sense that we exist; is this object known with immediacy, and if so with which of the two essentially different kinds of immediacy distinguished as 'psychic' and 'psychological' in the technical senses of those terms: and lastly, is such immediacy any guarantee of truth?

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Le Problème du Miracle dans le Christianisme primitif, by A. FRIDRICHSEN, Maître de Conférences à l'Université d'Oslo. (Felix Alcan, Paris, 1925.)

THE word 'problem' in the title of this work is a little misleading, suggestive as it is to us of scientific and philosophical issues. The author's research is historical. He deems it unnecessary either to accept such metaphysical theories as leave no room for the possibility of miracle or to found apologetic on theories of like nature. The alleged miracles of the New Testament age can be studied as reflecting early Christian religious experience or faith, and as productive of an actual impression, whatever be their ontological status; and the author of this essay limits himself to expounding the general ideas concerning miracles that were presented to the early Church, and formed one of the features of the character and activity of our Lord as interpreted by believers in the 'power' of Christ operative in themselves. He divides his book into three sections dealing respectively with the early Christian manner of conceiving and using the miracles of Jesus, with the hostile criticism which from the first the miraculous received, and with such general issues as there are signs of the earliest Christian thought having felt itself confronted with. I do not know whether New Testament scholars will gain from these pages any fresh light on questions that have exercised their minds, but they will find reasoned and scholarly discussion.

Personality and Reality, by J. E. TURNER, M.A., Ph.D., Reader in Philosophy in the University of Liverpool. (G. Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London, 1926.)

ON its title-page this book professes to be 'A proof of the real existence of a supreme self in the universe', and in its preface claims, as against the general confession of philosophical theologians that the being of God is not demonstrable, to attain quite positive conclusions. Proof, however, turns out to mean no more than exposition of the world's cumulative suggestiveness of domination by one supreme self; which is what disclaimers of demonstration in this connexion generally take to be the nature of theistic arguments. The author would dissociate his proof from such as are described as teleological; he would establish Nature's revelation of order and method, as distinct from purpose, and thence conclude to a supreme mind, leaving aside the

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further question whether the supreme self be such as the God required by religious experience.

The argument is one as to the implications of the mechanical. But the mechanical seems to be so defined as to contain the conclusion to be educed. The dominance or control of personality over the material, ordering its constituents, creates out of them forms of mechanism—tools and machines. The essence of mechanism, *ex eius definitione*, is to be mind-ordered, to be the expression of mind. The machine or mechanism may, however, be the outcome of methodical ordering without expressing purpose. The world and its parts down to the atom are mechanisms; therefore they are outcome of ordering mind or a supreme self.

If this be, as it seems to me to be, the core of Dr Turner's argument, it is hard to see how it can be other than a *petitio principii*. At least it needs to be shewn that 'mechanism', as defined by the author, is applicable to the world. The anti-theistic argument supplied by the mechanical theory of traditional science is nowadays condemned because science fails to establish that the world is mechanical in *its* sense—i. e. explicable wholly in terms of such concepts as mass and motion, although parts and aspects of physical Nature are at least approximately describable in terms of the mechanical, as thus conceived. Dr Turner's arbitrary definition of 'mechanical', which bears little relation to the scientific, similarly needs to be proved applicable.

It would seem that in his proof he shifts from the conception of mechanical as the 'ordered or arranged by mind or self' to the conception of it as 'ordered' in the mathematical rather than the psychological (teleological) sense. Being in order, or having a methodical structure, conceivably may not be caused by an organizing mind. That what is mechanical in the scientific sense is mechanical in the author's sense, is precisely what needs to be proved: whereas it seems to be assumed.

Another essential feature of the mechanism as defined by Dr Turner is fixedness. This is an arbitrarily assigned connotation, shewing that the definition is one of a conventional fiction, not of a concept derived from the actual. It leads, also, to the result that the world, in virtue of its emergently evolutionary character, is not a mechanism at all. And as there is no logical connexion between fixity of structure and orderedness by mind, the apparently one argument becomes disrupted into two.

The demonstration offered in this volume, as I understand it, is its weakest feature: the book contains much that is worth saying, and the style in which it is written is of unusual excellence.

F. R. TENNANT.

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The Christian Religion and its Competitors To-day, by Rev. A. C. BOUQUET, D.D. Hulsean Lectures, 1924–1925. (Cambridge University Press, 1925.)

THESE four lectures and the epilogue are inspired by a double purpose; for with his analysis of various competing interests, Dr Bouquet is able to give us some hints of his view of what the Christian religion is, and this adds greatly to their value. Since they are in the nature of an *exposé* of some of the false gods of our time we cannot expect them to exhaust their subject, but the competing interests which Dr Bouquet has chosen are none of them men of straw: he has selected them with discernment and brings to his judgements considerable practical experience as well as wide reading and a balanced enthusiasm. They are Secularism, or no religion; Pantheism; Traditionalism; and Relativism, or the belief that Christianity will yield to something truer. Secularism is a clumsy critic, rarely troubling to distinguish religion from the name; it is a kind of 'stark insensibility' whose many forms agree in being ways in which we 'lay waste our powers', and fail to satisfy the religious sense which is part of our nature. Pantheism may 'explain the world', but it lacks practical power for the direction of life. Religion is, after all, nothing if not practical, and the real value of the historical element in Christianity is best explained in terms of this necessity. Even so, it is doubtful whether this forces us to go so far as to say that 'the Christian religion champions the essential reality and uniqueness of all events, and the reality of time' (63).

That the current mode of presenting Christianity will remain unchanged few will think probable, and the view put before us is that we should have less to fear from any change which may occur if we learnt to think of religion, the church, and the ministry in terms of their more fundamental features. It is not another religion which is the chief competitor with Christianity at the present time, but the worship, in some form, of the world, that is, no-religion.

Providence—Divine and Human, by E. GRIFFITH-JONES, D.D. Vol. I. (Hodder & Stoughton, 1926.)

THIS is a conscientious attempt to deal with the doctrine of Divine Providence 'under evolutionary categories'. 'The validity of the essential Christian doctrines is taken for granted', and we are conducted through the various departments of the physical universe, in each of which the workings of purpose and providence are pointed out. Part of the book is taken up with a restatement of the conventional

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view of the 'providential order', and the rest with displaying the scientific evidence for a teleological view of the universe. The main problems considered are those connected with purpose and evil, and the universe is regarded throughout as the 'conditioned will of God, not His free personal activity'. There is a second volume to follow in which human history is to receive similar treatment. We may, perhaps, doubt whether the time has not now passed when it is any longer profitable to attempt to 'prove' the existence of Providence or Purpose. Rather we should ask, 'what kind of a Providence can we believe in?'

M. OAKESHOTT.

A Handbook of Christian Ethics, by D. S. ADAM, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology and Church History, Ormond College, Melbourne. (T. & T. Clark.)

The Ethics of the Gospel, by FREDERICK A. M. SPENCER, B.D., M.A. (George Allen & Unwin Ltd.)

THERE is a real demand to-day for a reasoned exposition and defence of Christian Ethics, yet many of the books published on the subject fail to meet the demand. They are for the most part expositions, of the recorded sayings of Christ, and endeavours, to apply the gospel precepts to the wholly different conditions of modern life. Such books may be useful to the preacher and expositor, but they do not go deep enough to meet the needs of a world sadly perplexed concerning the very foundations of morality. Expositions of Scripture may edify the faithful, but they do not satisfy the many who are not prepared to grant immediately the claims of any absolute authority, and who wish to discuss the prior question as to whether there is a moral order which can claim their allegiance. So the attempt to escape from the problems of philosophy and theology and to fall back upon the study of moral theory can only enjoy a passing popularity. Any really adequate treatment of Ethics must stand in relation to a definite theological and philosophical faith.

Of the two books before us Dr Adam's is the more elaborate and satisfies these conditions best. Not that it is in any sense a philosophical treatise on ethics, for it contains little discussion of the problems of philosophy and the treatment of the great philosophical systems of ethics is very meagre. Half a page is devoted to Utilitarianism, and about the same space to Evolutionary Ethics. But at least the writer leaves no doubt as to his theological position, and throughout his book he relates moral theory very closely to

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dogmatics. From the point of view of an orthodox and somewhat uncritical Presbyterianism Dr Adam develops his views upon questions of conduct, and in so doing he covers a wide field and enters into considerable detail. Indeed, it may be thought that he covers too wide a field and enters into too much detail; the central part of the book is really a treatise on systematic theology, and the latter part, in which the author discusses Christian duties in the spheres of home, Church, and State, might well be abbreviated.

There are some details which are open to criticism.

On page 11 appears the surprising statement that 'in its extreme form Stoicism developed into the Cynicism represented by the famous Diogenes'. Diogenes had been dead for years when the equally famous Zeno began to teach in his Stoic school. It may be true that 'Conscience is the fundamental presupposition of the moral life' (page 365), but many respectable philosophers have thought that they could dispense with it. On page 43 we are dogmatically told that Dualism cannot furnish an adequate basis for an absolute system of ethics or a confident optimism; does the author mean that the two must necessarily go together? If not, it may be replied that dualism is particularly strong on the moral side, for to the dualist the struggle against evil is a matter of life and death.

Again, surely Dr Adam does not mean that 'Nietzsche declares that the prevailing judgement on good and evil is a mere prejudice which has arisen from the enslavement of the weak' (p. 44). It was the enslavement of the strong that seemed to Nietzsche the mischievous characteristic of Christian morality.

In matters dogmatic Dr Adam is rigorously conservative. On page 96 he writes, 'In enduring vicariously sin's penalty and acquiescing therein as the rightful expression of the Divine antagonism to human sin, Christ as sin-bearer has satisfied the requirements of Divine justice'. If so, Divine justice is something other than what we are accustomed to understand by that term. Less orthodox is the statement on page 117 concerning the beginning of the Christian life which ignores Baptism altogether. On page 196 we read that 'the ascetic ideal finds expression in the monasticism of the Roman Catholic perversion of Christianity': of course a professor of Church History knows very well that monasticism is not the invention of the Roman Church, but the wording may give a wrong impression.

Taken as a whole the book is well worthy of study. It would be hard to find a better definition of Christian virtue than that given on page 160, 'the acquired moral capacity to act in all circumstances as the will of God, who is Holy Love, prescribes'; Christian duty is 'the obligation resting on us as moral individuals so to act'. The

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INTENTIS ITAQUE ANIMIS SYMBULŪ
DISCITE ET QUOD VOBIS SICUT ACCIPI
MUS TRADIMUS. NON ALICUI MATERIE
QUI CORRUMPI POTEST SED PAGINIS.
VESTRI CORDIS ASCRIBITE. CONFESSIO
ITAQUE FIDEM QUAM SUSCIPISTIS HOC

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discussions of practical questions are marked by a moderation and common sense not always discernible in works of this nature.

Mr F. A. M. Spencer's *Ethics of the Gospel* is a much less ambitious book. The author aspires to no more than a careful exposition of the Gospel teaching, and his chapters abound in quotations from the New Testament. As I have said, I do not regard this method of treating the subject as adequate to meet the needs of the present time, but for those who are content to confine their study of Ethics to the New Testament Mr Spencer's book may be commended as stimulating and suggestive. He is fully alive to the difficulty of applying the teaching of Christ to the changed conditions of the present time, and his discussion of the various problems connected with non-resistance, wealth, marriage, &c., may be commended to many who are disposed to lay down the law on these thorny subjects without any attempt to meet reasoned objections to what they consider to be the Christian view. Mr Spencer quotes unnecessarily from modern versions of the New Testament, but perhaps he caters for those who prefer new wine.

Towards the end of the book there are short chapters on Kantianism, Utilitarianism, and Ethical Idealism. They would have been better at the beginning, for it is in relation to other moral systems that the richness of the Christian ideal is best appreciated. It is the claim of Christian Ethics that in it are comprehended all the elements of value in the secular moral systems, and that being therein an integral part of a religion these elements acquire a new meaning and a new force.

P. GARDNER-SMITH.

Palaeographia Latina, iv, edited by W. M. LINDSAY. St Andrews University Publications, xx. (Milford, 1925; 8vo, 85 pp., vi collotype plates.)

THE plates all illustrate MSS from Mainz in the Palatine Collection in the Vatican, one in Anglo-Saxon script, the others in a bold Caroline. The Mainz Library, in its history and fate, is comparable to that of Lorsch, treated by Professor Lindsay in Part iii, but it has nothing quite so early and has left much fewer relics. The best known of its MSS is the Codex Oblongus of Lucretius. Lindsay's account is supplemented by P. Lehmann's enumeration of early Mainz MSS at Munich. In Part ii we had the first half of the late S. Tafel's study of the Lyons Scriptorium; this is now continued as far as the author had prepared the MS, and we are given from his papers an outline of what he hoped to accomplish. The most interesting part is the account of Florus Magister, the great Lyons scholar of the ninth century,

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whose annotations are found in many MSS, including apparently Codex Bezae. The sketch of the author's intentions makes us hope that some one will be found to take up his work and clear up for us the history of the great centre of learning and religion in Southern Gaul. Dr W. Heraeus points out a method of indicating variants by *i.a.* (= *in aliis* sc. *libris*), often misunderstood by scribes as *iam*. A discussion of the Question of the Origins of the Caroline Minuscule by A. de Boüard seems hardly more than a matter of names and classifications. Such studies as appear in this publication will gradually throw light on the process by which the Church kept learning alive in Gaul and spread both learning and religion in Germany.

E. H. MINNS.

The Theology of the Real, by R. GORDON MILBURN. (Williams and Norgate, London, 1925.)

MR MILBURN has written a thought-provoking book. It is not that any of his ideas are strikingly novel, but that he writes with a stimulating freedom on problems which theologians too frequently shirk. His main aim is to indicate the fact and the nature of the objective experience which Theology is concerned with. This objectivity is, he thinks, evident in the causal agency 'of God, of the Supernatural, of Spirit'. He suggests that such propositions as 'God saves', 'God heals', 'God provides', 'may be dealt with objectively and that our attitudes and feelings towards the universe must very largely be determined by the view which we have previously come to upon such subjects as these'.

In the first chapter, entitled Mythological Theology, we meet at once a really fundamental problem. The author considers revelation from two points of view: (i) as 'divinely imparted information'; (ii) as 'an impression of God'. He appears definitely to reject the former. For example, he says that 'except upon the assumption of a quite untenable view of revelation' religion cannot know whether there is such a thing as personal survival or not. Personally I agree with Mr Milburn that there is no way of knowing this apart from revelation, but I fail to see why he should judge the idea of revelation implied to be 'untenable'. There seems to be no satisfactory manner of accounting naturalistically for the fact of the existence of the idea of personal immortality. On the other hand we may just as reasonably regard this fact as due to the causal agency of God as any of those which throughout his book the author accepts as such. I fail to see why it should be untenable that God should cause ideas to arise in our minds, or in

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the minds of particular individuals who are to teach others. Mr Milburn's assumption that such a view of revelation is untenable seems itself untenable.

In discussing the idea of God, the author propounds what he calls 'Organic Theism'. 'The universe is a living organism and God is the immanent and personal soul of it.' But what is meant by 'the universe'? There is obviously a sense in which God cannot be outside the universe. In this case the universe is either all God, or God plus x. For the latter the question remains as to the character of the relation of God to x. Mr Milburn describes as mythology the theology which maintains 'transitive divine action' on that part of the universe which is not God. But it has yet to be shown that the notion of 'immanent action', accepted by the author, is more intelligible and more justifiable than that of 'transitive action' which he rejects. Into the objections which may be urged against doctrines of divine immanence it is hardly necessary to enter again in the pages of this JOURNAL; but Mr Milburn might at least have attempted an answer to some frequently reiterated criticisms of such doctrines.

In his very interesting chapter on Medical Theology Mr Milburn raises the question whether there are instances in which cures are effected by direct divine power. Redemption from mental and moral evils is one side of this problem. He maintains that redemption can be found only when God is truly loved. 'Love, if once *it can be kindled*, introduces a new force.' The italics are mine. The author does not press home the implication of the argument in this direction as bearing on the objectivity of theology. But may it not be reasonably maintained, as relating with the view of the causal agency of God, that love is kindled evidently at least in some instances by divine influence, not by a self-induced volition but by a prompting from a reality without?

The chapter on Mystical Theology is suggestive but in no small measure confused through the lack of appreciation of the difficulties of the doctrine of divine immanence. The discussions on Providence, Grace, and Judgement reflect the confusion.

The greatest opposition will be aroused by the views expressed in the chapter on Moral Theology. The relation of the views to the main aim of the volume is not clear. The chapter is a bold challenge to religious leaders to face the problems of the actual moral life. The author is evidently convinced, and I should largely agree with him, that we have not reached an ideal theory or a satisfactory attitude and practice in reference to sexual ethics. Mr Milburn's implication of a religious significance in sex life must be remembered in reading his pages on genuine freedom in these matters. It is unfortunate that he

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does not discuss the many practical difficulties in carrying out the ideas expressed. The acceptance of the *liaison*, of temporary marriages, and of other unconventional suggestions of modern times, will call forth intense opposition. Yet self-satisfied assumption that the prevalent orthodox conventions are the best and final attitudes in the matters of sex is to-day insufficient: if no changes are accepted, at least a reasoned defence of conventions seems called for.

With the concluding discussion of Metaphysical Theology we come back to the fundamental problem indicated in the third paragraph above. Without a clear conception of a distinction between man and God, it does not seem possible to develop views concerning their relationship which shall be intellectually acceptable and practically helpful in the religious life.

A. G. WIDGERY.

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RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, April 1926 (Vol. cii, No. 203: S.P.C.K.). BISHOP OF WINCHESTER The vision of unity and the problems of re-union—A. H. KELK The Psalms in public worship—H. JOHNSTONE Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres—M. E. SANDBACH-MARSHALL A study of Schleiermacher's conception of God—A. L. WILLIAMS The Jews: Christian apologists in Spain in the thirteenth century—P. C. A. USHER A mediterranean province: and the College of St George the Martyr in Jerusalem—Z. The Missionary Council and the world call to the Church—M. FROST The Irish text of the *Te Deum*—C. JENKINS The manuscripts of the Laura—Pelagius' Commentary on St Paul—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, April 1926 (Vol. xxiv, No. 3: Constable & Co.). M. D. PETRE An Deus sit?—E. HOLMES Two or One? a defence of the higher Pantheism—J. MACMURRAY Christianity: pagan or scientific?—R. G. COLLINGWOOD The place of Art in education—Religious conditions in Russia—J. NEEDHAM 'The limitations of optick glasses' and some observations on Science and Religion—R. ERSKINE OF MARR Back to Arcady—W. H. WARBURTON A worker's study of certain tendencies in modern industry—G. JACKSON What do we mean by the Holy Spirit?—L. A. POST A philosopher attempts to reform a state—T. A. LACEY Symbolism in the Creed—J. M. C. CRUM The document 'Q'—V. TAYLOR The alleged neglect of M. Alfred Loisy—THE EDITOR 'The riddle of the New Testament'—Survey and Signed Reviews.

(2) AMERICAN.

The Princeton Theological Review, April 1926 (Vol. xxiv, No. 2: Princeton University Press). J. MACLEOD The Reformed Faith in modern Scotland—G. JOHNSON The revival of Scholastic philosophy—H. ELLS The genesis of Martin Bucer's doctrine of the Lord's Supper—O. T. ALLIS Old Testament emphases and modern thought—Notes and Notices—Reviews of recent literature.

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Gospels—K. LAKE and R. P. CASEY The text of the *De Virginitate* of Athanasius—G. L. MARRIOTT The Messalians, and the discovery of their ascetic book—R. HARRIS Hadrian's decree of expulsion of the Jews from Jerusalem—R. P. CASEY Julian of Halicarnassus—R. P. CASEY Bentley's collation of Codex Bezae.

(3) BELGIAN.

Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique, April 1926 (Vol. xxii, No. 2: Louvain, 40 Rue de Namur). G. BARDY Asterius le sophiste—M. DUBRUEL Les congregations des Affaires de France sous le pape Innocent XI—E. TOBAC Notes sur le IVme évangile—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

(4) GERMAN.

Theologische Quartalschrift (Vol. cvi, Nos. 3 and 4: Herder, Freiburg im Breisgau). STORR Einige Bedenken gegen die Echtheit des hebräischen Jesus Sirach—ADAM Kirche und Seele—HERWEGEN Kirche und Seele, entgegnung—BAUR Thomas v. Aquin als Philosoph—GRAF Individuelle Gotteswege—BREMER Ist Subdelegation auch bei Eheassistenz möglich?—FISCHER In welcher Schrift lag das Buch Amos den LXX vor?—Besprechungen.

Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte (Vol. xliv, No. 4: L. Klotz, Gotha). H. KOCH Die Τεσσαρακοστή in can. V von Nicäa (325)—F. FLASKAMP Zum Leben Sturms von Fulda—F. BÜNGER Studentenverzeichnisse der Dominikanerprovinz Saxonia (ca. 1377)—I. PUSINO Ficinos und Picos religiös-philosophische Auschauungen—H. DÖRRIES Calvin und Lefèvre—E. KOHLMEYER Noch ein Wort zu Luthers Schrift an den Christlichen Adel—O. CLEMEN Aus einem Kolleg Melanchthons von 1546—H. LOTHER Zur Geschichte des Pietismus in Schweden und Dänemark—Literarische Berichte und Anzeigen.

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